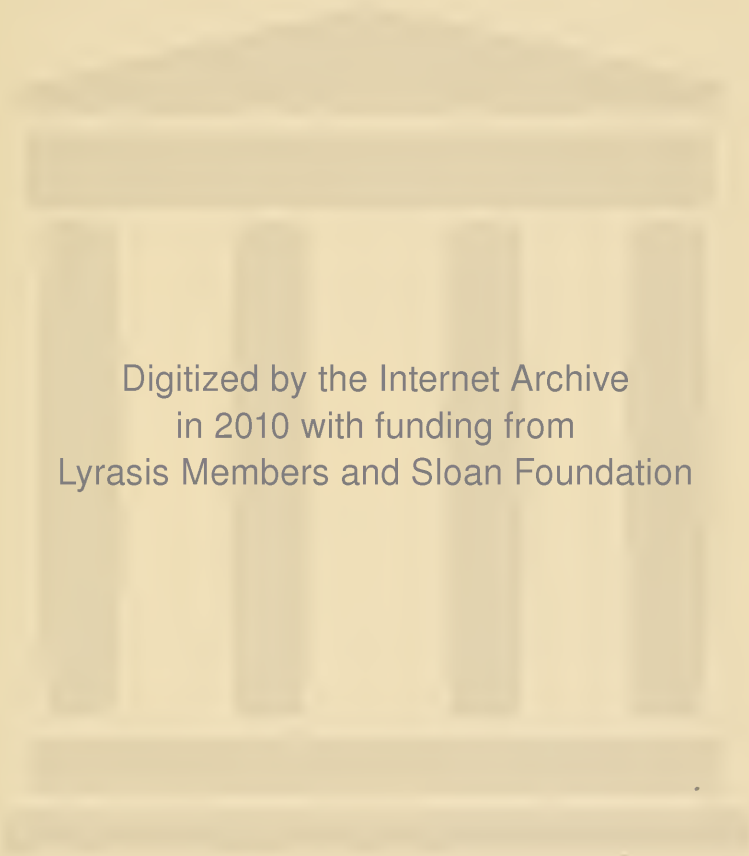




The History
of
Mary Baldwin College



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MAIN BUILDING

The History
of
Mary Baldwin College
1842—1942



Augusta Female Seminary
Mary Baldwin Seminary
Mary Baldwin College

BY MARY WATTERS, PH.D.
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MARY BALDWIN COLLEGE

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The building of Mary Baldwin through a hundred years has been the work of many hands and many minds. To the memory of the long roll of men and women who have laid her foundations and insured her progress and to their successors still laboring to prepare her to serve effectively the women of today and tomorrow, this book is dedicated.

FOREWORD

This history attempts to tell the story of Mary Baldwin in the light of the social and educational development of American women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The author has tried to describe the evolution of a system of education in Mary Baldwin not merely in the restricted sense of courses of study, faculties, and class room procedures, but also in its larger social aspects as a pattern of living, or, at least, as a piece of life. In order to furnish a convenient and easily accessible record for reference, many details have been included which may appear unnecessary in a study of this nature.

The record of the past cannot be regarded as a chart for the future, and the effort spent in the recording may, therefore, need justification. A critical analysis of the past should show us what we are today. An institution is its history. This holds true for its social and intellectual concepts as well as for its material foundations. And to build the future we must start from where we are. Today the liberal arts college is undergoing a critical study as to its fitness for present emergencies and a questioning as to its serviceableness for the future. Changes in curricula, organization, and procedure will result from external and internal examination of its program of education. Nevertheless, it is believed that the ideal of a liberal education, the objective of the liberal arts college, will not only survive, but that such an education will be recognized as more valuable to society than ever before. The college is faced with its finest opportunity for service to civilization. Hence it is well that it examine its foundations and superstructure and gird itself for action. Moreover, the examples of courageous living of the builders of Mary Baldwin should serve to stiffen the wills of those who today have the responsibility for the future of this institution for the higher education of women.

The writer is grateful to Dr. L. Wilson Jarman, President of Mary Baldwin College, for his able counsel and his generous encouragement in the prosecution of this study; to other members of the Administration for their assistance; to the Alumnæ Office for access to and aid in finding records; and to individual alumnæ for information graciously given.

MARY WATTERS

December, 1942

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The History
of
Mary Baldwin College

Chapter One

THE BEGINNINGS of AUGUSTA FEMALE SEMINARY



CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE AUGUSTA FEMALE SEMINARY

MARY BALDWIN reaches the end of her first hundred years at a crisis in world history so formidable that the hope of many for the preservation of our western civilization has been seriously shaken. The contrast between the social outlook and the state of mind in 1942 and 1842, the year of her birth, is striking. She was born into a world filled with optimism, with faith in the continuous progress and even the perfectibility of mankind; a world that believed that all its evils, its injustices and inequalities could be removed and its social problems solved by individual reason. Man could lift himself by his own bootstraps; and woman could, too.

It was a great Age of Reform. After the reaction which followed the French Revolution, there had arisen in 1830 a new revolutionary movement, initiated in France, which gave impetus to similar movements in other parts of Europe and to the Great Reform in England. Jacksonian Democracy was the expression of this great liberalizing social philosophy in the United States, a movement born in part from the currents of thought from Europe, perhaps more from the influences of the frontier on the older East. This reform movement embodied far more than a demand for a more democratic form of government; it was a great wave of social uplift and of humanitarianism. World peace, foreign missions, the emancipation of slaves, labor reforms, temperance, popular education, woman's rights: these were some only of the more general objectives. Along the outskirts, the "lunatic fringe," were many others—new religions, utopian communistic experiments, extremist movements of great variety and fantastic

forms. It was an age of intellectual and social ferment, of discussion and agitation. The liberation of the individual, the expansion of his opportunities for self-development, progress, and happiness were the goals. This great age of geographical expansion, when America was pushing on to the Pacific, was likewise an age of personal expansion; the dignity and worth of the individual were emphasized, and of woman as an individual. To be sure there were contradictions and cross-currents in the movement. Some leaders were enthusiastic for certain reforms; lukewarm, indifferent, or hostile to others, due to their selfishness, their class interest, or to simple human contrariness. Certain classes did not welcome the full program of changes proposed, and certainly doubted the perfectibility of human nature. The merchants of the North and the planters of the South were not in the front ranks certainly of the reform movement; their influence was relatively conservative. But the current was sufficiently strong to take even the aristocratic elements much of the way.

THE DAY OF THE FEMALE SEMINARY

One of the liberal and liberalizing movements of the 1830's and 1840's was the expansion of the facilities for the higher education of women. Generally speaking, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century only rudimentary education had been provided for women. The facilities even for rudimentary education were far from adequate. There were, to be sure, a number of educated women in America; women who had been educated by fathers, tutors, or who were self-educated, but the percentage of such was minute. Private academies took the first step toward broadening the base for advanced studies. Many of these were, however, of the nature of finishing schools, stressing dancing, music, a little French, and the social graces. But around the turn of the century the incorporated female seminary with a much more substantial program of studies began to appear; in the face, it is true, of much opposition, of doubts and fears as to the wisdom of extending higher education to women.¹ To educate women in the sciences, mathematics, the classics, and philosophy as men were educated would, it was thought, unsex them and unfit them for their sphere in life. State legislatures generally

refused aid to seminaries for women, but some tolerated the movement to the extent of granting incorporation. The idea of higher education for women was slowly popularized by the earnest efforts of a few enthusiastic men and women who insisted generally, in answer to criticism, that the education they offered to women in the seminaries was not the same as that offered to men but that they aspired to make it the equivalent. In the years from 1800 to 1860, especially after 1825, the seminaries multiplied rapidly, both in the North and in the South, for this was a nation-wide development. The foundation of the Augusta Female Seminary in 1842 was a part of this movement for the higher education of women. Some of these seminaries were destined to be short-lived; others to survive, as the Augusta Female Seminary did, to become the foundation for the building of the modern liberal arts college. The seminary was definitely the forerunner of present-day collegiate education for women. It arose, however, before the day of exact classification and rigid standardization, and one finds great variation in the program of studies and in the efficiency of instruction. Some approached and perhaps reached the standard of the men's colleges of that day; others were not above the level of the modern high school; and some hardly equalled the high school. The Augusta Female Seminary began on a relatively high level and later raised that to collegiate rank. It is significant that the foundation of this school came relatively late in the history of the seminary movement, a fact that gave it an opportunity to profit by the experience of the earlier seminaries and to avoid some of their mistakes.

The growth and spread of the seminaries were checked by the Civil War and, in the South, by Reconstruction. In the country generally, the seminary began after the war to give place to the college on the one hand and the high school on the other. In the South, however, one finds that the seminaries took on another growth, new ones appearing in the 1870's and 1880's. But their revival was destined to be temporary. The college and the high school had apparently come to stay. Mary Baldwin was one of the last of the famous old seminaries to take on the character of the college.

THE LOCAL BACKGROUND OF THE SEMINARY—STAUNTON AND
AUGUSTA COUNTY IN 1842

From the standpoint of natural beauty and healthful climate, it would be difficult to find a location for a school more favored than the city of Staunton in the heart of the Shenandoah Valley. It is, however, to the social setting rather than the physical that this short section refers. Historic Augusta County of Governor Spottswood and the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, of John Lewis, of Betsy Bell and Mary Gray, Augusta County that originally extended to the Mississippi River, or, as one interprets the charter, to the Pacific Ocean, offered in 1842 an encouraging field for progressive educational experiments. Settled predominantly by Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, whose faith for three centuries had been a seed-bed for democratic thought, and by German liberals who had sought freedom in the New World, finally reaching the Valley by way of Pennsylvania, Augusta County was receptive to most of the liberal thought of the 1830's and the 1840's. It was perhaps not so quick to embrace new currents as some other communities, it is true. The Scotch-Irish, with all their religious and philosophic liberalism, were prudent and cautious. Moreover, their orthodox Calvinism was untouched by the more liberal unitarianism of the Northeast. There existed, moreover, in Staunton and its environs another element, the more conservative, aristocratic, Episcopalian Englishman, who had migrated from the coast or up from Winchester; and he no doubt exerted considerable restraining influence on the currents of public opinion. Staunton, it is true, had only recently emerged from the frontier stage, and this English element itself consisted of the more radical, or less conservative, folk who had left the Tidewater for the Piedmont backcountry. All in all, Staunton presented a very interesting mixture of social and national elements whose interaction should itself have been a factor for change and progress. But, it should be repeated, there was nothing of the visionary romanticism which characterized some aspects of the Great Reform about the people of Augusta County.

EARLY SCHOOLS FOR YOUNG LADIES IN STAUNTON

There had been schools for girls in Staunton before the opening of the Augusta Female Seminary. These were all private, unincorporated schools of the old type, conducted in private homes or rented quarters. Most of them were of short life. The most stable and efficient of these older schools was Kalorama Seminary, conducted by Mrs. Daniel Sheffey and her daughters. Mrs. Sheffey was the wife of a successful German settler, a shoemaker turned lawyer, who had migrated to the Valley from Maryland.² Her seminary, conducted in the building still known as Kalorama and the present home of the Staunton Public Library, had been in operation twenty-one years before the opening of the Augusta Female Seminary.³ It might be mentioned with respect to the German element in woman's education in the United States that two of the first seminaries looking toward the higher education for women were the Bethlehem (Pennsylvania) Female Seminary of the Moravians, established in 1742, and the Salem (North Carolina) Seminary, also of the Moravians, established in 1802.⁴ Kalorama Seminary did not attain the level of these institutions, however, as a school for the higher education of women.

Several private schools for girls had been opened in Staunton by Presbyterians earlier in the nineteenth century. Although under Presbyterian influence and encouragement, none of these had, however, any real connection with the Presbyterian church organization. Mr. Joseph A. Waddell in his *History of Mary Baldwin Seminary* mentioned a school of Mr. Easterbrook, conducted in a private home, now Hill Top, one of the residences for women belonging to Mary Baldwin College; also the schools of Mr. Thatcher and Mr. Cooke.⁵ These men were from New England and thus introduced another element into the social and educational background of the Augusta Female Seminary.

There were no public schools for girls in Staunton either of elementary or higher character and were not to be for a generation yet. Nor were there such schools for boys. There was, nevertheless, much agitation of the public school question in Staunton at the time that Augusta Female Seminary was

founded, and much sentiment in favor of state support for education. No doubt this agitation helped to promote interest in the foundation of the Seminary in 1842.

All of these private schools, and there were others not listed here, were due entirely to individual initiative and were under personal, rather than corporate, control. They suffered the weaknesses and impermanence generally inherent in such a foundation. The first step toward an organized effort, a corporate control, and a separate material foundation in permanent buildings for a school for women in Staunton was taken when the Reverend Rufus W. Bailey suggested to some Presbyterians of the city in the summer of 1842 the establishment of such a school.

RUFUS WILLIAM BAILEY, THE FOUNDER OF THE AUGUSTA FEMALE SEMINARY

The history of Mary Baldwin should certainly give prominent place to the contributions of Dr. Bailey, the founder, although the exact weight of these contributions are admittedly somewhat difficult to measure.⁶ The school declined after his withdrawal and in the crisis of the Civil War it was on the point of being closed. But in this emergency it was revived and reorganized by Mary Julia Baldwin, so that eventually it became affectionately designated in Staunton and abroad as "Miss Baldwin's School." This revival of the school constituted a sort of second foundation, although the school had never been closed. Apparently the work of the original founder was more or less lost to view in this second foundation. There are probably, or have been, many alumnae who have never heard the name of Rufus W. Bailey. Within the last two decades there has been, however, a considerable revival of historical interest in the founder. A grandson of his, Dr. Harry D. Campbell, Dean of Washington and Lee University, was elected a member of the Board of Trustees in 1927 and served on it until his death in 1934. Memorabilia and writings of Dr. Bailey have been secured by the college. In this history an earnest effort is made to give just weight to the work of Dr. Bailey, so far as the documentary materials make it possible to measure his work.

As founder and head of the school for the first seven years of its history, he gave it a stability, a character and integrity, and a local reputation that must have been largely responsible for its survival in the difficult years that followed. He secured its incorporation under a Board of Trustees that would survive the changing headship. Its name, the Augusta Female Seminary, endeared it to the county so proud of its heroic record. From the beginning the founder strove to secure a permanent location and building for the school. Main Building, around which the college has grown not only physically but in unity of architectural type, stands today as a monument to his efforts. In his own day it was proudly regarded as the chief architectural glory of Staunton, a credit to "Old Augusta"; and today the buildings for which it furnished the type are famous for their stately classic beauty. Certainly few factors are more stabilizing to an institution of this character than a fixed habitation, such as Dr. Bailey secured for the Seminary. The very high standards of instruction he established and maintained immediately attracted the respect and support of the community. Before the end of his administration the local press was pointing to it with pride as one of the glories of Staunton and the equal of the best schools for women in the country. Woody in his comprehensive *History of Women's Education in the United States* speaks of it as one of the most famous of the early seminaries in Virginia.⁷ It was in this school and under the teaching of Dr. Bailey that Mary Julia Baldwin was educated.

ORIGINS AND EARLY LIFE OF THE FOUNDER

When Rufus W. Bailey came to Staunton in 1842, he was in his prime, a little short of fifty years of age. In spite of reputed ill-health, he had lived a very full and active life as minister, teacher, and writer. His family background and his earlier activities should contribute to an appreciation of his educational philosophy and practice.

The Baileys had been a substantial family of Massachusetts from the time of their migration from England in the early seventeenth century, possibly by way of Virginia.⁸ The family had included well-to-do farmers, holding positions as magistrates in

their towns, commissions in the local militia, or other public office—sound, useful, enterprising people. Dr. Bailey's grandfather, Colonel John Bailey, had attained renown in the American Revolution. He had played an important part in the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga and of the Hessians at Trenton, for which he was personally commended by Washington. He was with Washington at Valley Forge. His wife was reputed a very beautiful woman, who retained her beauty until her death at the age of ninety.

Rufus W. Bailey, the son of Lebbeus and Sarah Sylvester (Myrick) Bailey, was born at North Yarmouth, Maine, on April 13, 1793. Of his childhood the writer has discovered no data nor of his immediate family. One may judge that his father was well-to-do by the extent of the educational opportunities given to his son and that his parents were perhaps the more orthodox Congregationalists with no Unitarian leanings in that they sent him to Dartmouth instead of Harvard. He was graduated from Dartmouth in 1813. For a short time he taught in academies in New Hampshire and Maine, and read law for a year under Daniel Webster; then, having decided to give up law for the ministry, he attended Andover Theological Seminary and completed his study of theology under Dr. Francis Brown, President of Dartmouth. He received the Master's degree from this college in 1816, and during the year 1817-18 was a tutor there. Then for ten years he worked as minister and teacher combined in New England; first at Norwich, Vermont, 1818-1823, where he was pastor of the Congregational Church and Professor of Moral Philosophy at Norwich Military Academy; then, 1823-1827, at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where he served as pastor and organized the Pittsfield Female Academy. In 1821, he returned to Dartmouth as the Phi Beta Kappa orator.⁹ In this year the presidency of the University of Vermont was offered him. He served as a trustee of Williams College and also of the University of Vermont.

Of New England blood, Dr. Bailey had for thirty-four years been subject to New England social influences. Then, in 1827, he left for South Carolina, for reasons of health. The last twenty-six years of his life he spent in the South—in the Carolinas,

Virginia, and Texas. During this time he became in many respects a good Southerner in social outlook. As Mary Baldwin has brought together as her daughters young women from the different sections of the nation, so the founder represented this union of the sections. One is permitted to wonder whether he came South solely for his health's sake; perhaps he was attracted as many New Englanders were by the itch to civilize, to educate, to reform the people out yonder away from home. From his various writings he does not appear to have had, however, the fiery zeal, the enthusiasm bordering on fanaticism, which characterizes the "born" reformer. His life and books indicate that he was a man of considerable tolerance, moderation, and a spirit of compromise, ready to see both sides of a question and adjust himself to circumstances. He became thoroughly acclimated socially in the South and a defender of it against the attacks of extremists in the North.

Another question might arise with respect to the frequent change of location. Neither in the North nor in the South did Dr. Bailey ever really settle down. He stayed longer in Staunton than in any other place. This was apparently due to no inherent instability or lack of success in the work pursued. He showed devotion to the professions of teaching and preaching throughout his life; he loved to guide and admonish through the spoken and written word. His frequent change of scene may be attributed in part to a constant search for a more healthful climate. And he was, no doubt, a victim of the restlessness of this age of expansion when "all America seemed to be breaking up and moving west."

In South Carolina Dr. Bailey spent twelve years. He helped to build the prosperous church at Darlington and served it and churches at Sumter and Cheraw as pastor. During this period he organized the Richland Normal School and was for a time Principal of the Rice Creek Springs Military School, a position which he resigned in 1833, because "public sentiment engendered by the nullification embroglio was averse to Northern men being in charge of a military school in South Carolina."¹⁰ In 1839, Dr. Bailey moved from South Carolina to Fayetteville, North Carolina, where for three years he was in charge of a seminary for women.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE SEMINARY—THE SCHOOL AND THE CHURCH

Just what brought Dr. Bailey to Staunton one is not able to state with certainty. He had perhaps discovered here conditions favorable for a successful school for the higher education of women. It is known at least that he came with the plan of establishing such a school. From the summary survey of his earlier activities, it is apparent that he had had considerable experience with both schools for men and seminaries for young ladies. Likewise he had had an opportunity through a number of years to observe the functioning of this new institution, the female seminary, in both the North and the South. He had daughters in school in the North, whom he had visited. Thus as father, as pastor, and as teacher, he should have been rather thoroughly acquainted with the problems of the young ladies' seminary.

Founded in 1842, Mary Baldwin is the oldest institution of higher learning for women in the Southern Presbyterian Church and the second oldest connected with the Presbyterian Church in the United States.¹¹ Like many of the new seminaries it began under church sponsorship; hence one of the first questions that arises in the story of its origins is that of the exact relation of the Seminary to the church. Investigation into this presents some very interesting facts. A connection existed from the beginning, but it would appear that there was little formal direction by the church except in the initiation of the movement. And even this initiation was rather by Presbyterians, than by a Presbyterian church. According to the account of Mr. Waddell:

He (Dr. Bailey) sought the acquaintance of Presbyterian ministers and people, and suggested the establishment here of a seminary of high grade for the education of girls and young women, distinctively under Presbyterian control. The suggestion was cordially received. A number of ministers and other gentlemen met from time to time to confer in reference to the matter, and after much consideration in August, 1842, a *Plan or Constitution of The Augusta Female Seminary* was adopted and signed by the persons present. . . .¹²

A report in the *Staunton Spectator* of September 29, 1842, stated :

At a meeting of several gentlemen in Staunton on the day of August, after consultation, it was decided that the interest of the community would be promoted by the establishment in Staunton of a Female Seminary. Several individuals were appointed trustees of the proposed institution whose names are presented in the plan which is herewith submitted to your inspection.

At a subsequent meeting composed in part of some of those trustees and in part of others friendly to the scheme, this plan was adopted as exhibiting a brief outline of the general principles on which the institution shall be conducted.¹³

Neither of these statements indicates that the Presbyterian Church in Staunton sanctioned the plan or chose the first Board of Trustees. And, it might appear possible that of these "several gentlemen in Staunton" not all were Presbyterian. After the selection of the Board, which was made self-perpetuating, the control of the institution passed to it. Pastors of other Presbyterian churches in the vicinity were members of the first Board and most likely had a part in the original conference. Apparently there was no control by the Presbytery or Synod; such relationship as existed with the church was local. However informal this may have been, the school was regarded from the beginning as Presbyterian; and the informal relations with the pastor and members of the Staunton church were close. This association has been a very important factor in the history of the school. The Presbyterian Church of Staunton in the heart of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian community has had some very distinguished and able men, both as pastors and lay members, who have been prominent throughout the history of the school.

Very soon, too, the Seminary was brought into more intimate relations with the church over the matter of a building site. The trustees of the church agreed to grant to the trustees of the Seminary the right to erect a building on a vacant lot adjoining the church and to guarantee to the Seminary the possession of the building on the condition that three-fourths of the trustees be ministers or members of the Old School Presbyterian Church. A formal contract to this effect was to be executed as soon as the trustees of the Seminary were incorporated by an act of the

Virginia Legislature. According to Mr. Waddell, this agreement was never formally ratified. In return for the earlier right to build on the lot, the Seminary was to set aside one room in the building erected for the use of the church as a lecture room. In 1872, the property was granted to the Seminary by deed.

Although recognized as a Presbyterian school in which Presbyterian influences certainly prevailed, neither in its beginnings nor at any later date was Mary Baldwin narrowly sectarian in character. Among the first statements to the press about the school the Trustees insisted:

Though attached to that church which is predominant in size and influence in the county, and desirous of its prosperity, and committing to one of its ministers the instruction of our school, thus distinctly announcing the institution Presbyterian in its religious aspects, yet we invite your scrutiny to detect in its administration aught that is bigoted or offensive to other evangelical churches or aught to tarnish her own fair fame as at once the ardent supporter of sound learning and the tried defenders not only of civil but religious liberty.¹⁴

The Reverend Benjamin M. Smith in his address upon the dedication of Main Building in June, 1844, expressed similar views.¹⁵ Strict historical truth requires, however, that one state that there did exist prejudice against Catholicism, a prejudice which had helped to foster the establishment of Protestant schools. A great increase of Catholics in the country, due especially to Irish immigration, was to lead a few years later to an anti-Catholic party in politics, the Know-Nothing Party. Mr. Smith declared in this same address that he rejoiced in the wakening spirit of genuine Protestantism and the establishment of Protestant schools as a check to the Roman Catholic Church.

THE SEMINARY SECURES A PERMANENT HOME AND A CHARTER

For two years the Seminary was conducted in rooms rented in the residence of Mr. William Craig on Greenville Avenue.¹⁶ The proprietor and his wife furnished board to non-resident students in the Seminary. Although the local press notices contain no mention of another earlier and temporary home, Mr. Waddell stated that the Seminary was conducted "for some months in the upper rooms of a frame house, which stood at the south-west

corner of New Street and Courthouse Alley . . . the lower floor of the house being used as a cabinetmaker's shop."¹⁷ Dr. Fraser, first President of the College, found an interesting and pious, if perhaps a little strained, parallel between the beginnings of the Seminary and the Carpenter's Shop of Nazareth of Judaea.¹⁸ The following recollection, written in 1896, by Mrs. M. Catherine Baylor McChesney, a pupil of 1844, gives some other interesting details about the physical arrangements in the temporary homes, the new building, and the "tears of commencement":

The Augusta Female Seminary opened September, 1842, upstairs in an old frame building, long known as the Plant Building, situated on the corner of Court House Alley and New Street. This house was entered by a flight of stairs, leading up from the alley. It consisted of one large room used for study-hall, recitation room and all other duties relating to school, excepting music, for which purpose there were two small rooms. The Reverend R. W. Bailey, wife, and two daughters were the teachers. The school only remained there about six weeks; then it was removed to the Craig house on Greenville Avenue. The frame building was used for boarders, and an old brick building adjoining, which consisted of two large rooms upstairs, was used for school-rooms, with a small room below, used for music. Mrs. Craig kept the boarding house; Mr. and Mrs. Bailey boarded there, his daughters elsewhere. A good many private families kept boarders, and the girls boarded through the town generally. . . . Those days school opened the 1st of September and closed the last of June. The school remained in this building until the first building of the A. F. S. was constructed. . . . I only remember a few things that were placed in the cornerstone: A Bible, the *Staunton Spectator*, and some compositions written by the pupils, neatly tied together with blue ribbon. After the laying of the cornerstone all went into the church, the school in the gallery, and sang a song composed by one of the pupils, Miss Anna Maria Miller Clark. . . .

The last day of June, 1844, the session closed. A parting song, composed by the same pupil, was sung by the whole school, which sang out very loud at first, but by the time the last verse was reached, the voices had nearly died into sobs of weeping, and if it had not been for the assistance of the teachers, the music would have been lost. This ended my school life at the A. F. S. and all immediate connection with it, until I had daughters of my own to send, four in number, and one granddaughter. . . .¹⁹

A friend added to this account that two of the compositions placed in the cornerstone were written by Mrs. McChesney. She was the mother of Miss Margaret McChesney, faithful alumna of the Staunton Chapter.

As soon as the agreement was effected with the Presbyterian Church (in 1843) to build on the church lot, a public subscription was opened to raise money for the erection of a permanent home for the seminary. Sufficient money was secured from the town and county to erect the building in 1844 in time for the opening of school in September. The energy of Rufus W. Bailey and the beneficence of the citizens of Staunton and Augusta County thus laid the foundation for the present Mary Baldwin College plant. In the college archives is found the following list of subscribers to the Main Building Fund:

We, the undersigned, promise to pay to Alexander S. Hall, Treasurer of the Augusta Female Seminary, the sum annexed to our names, one third Nov. 1st, 1843, and the remainder in two equal payments, 1st Nov. 1844, and 1st Nov. 1845; for erecting and furnishing a building on the lot of the Presbyterian Church in Staunton for the purposes of the said Augusta Female Seminary, said building to be erected on such terms as the board of trustees may hereafter agree upon respectively.

Jas. A. Cochran	\$100.00	Alex. Crawford	5.00
Dr. A. Waddell	100.00	Jas. Nelson	20.00
Wm. M. Tate	100.00	Robt. Gamble	5.00
John McDowell	100.00	John A. Patterson (1000 ft. plank)	
William A. Bell	100.00	B. T. Nelson (beef and flour)	15.00
William A. Hanger	100.00	John Crawford, Jr.	9.00
Breeze Johnson	50.00	Jno. A. Tate	10.00
Jno. Marshall McCue	50.00	William Gilkeson	30.00
John McCue	50.00	Samuel Hunter (in plank)	15.00
David Fultz	100.00	Mrs. Mary Warden	25.00
H. J. Crawford	25.00	Norborne C. Brooks	15.00
Alexander S. Hall	50.00	Robert G. Bickle	10.00
William Craig	50.00	Ben T. Points	10.00
Benj. Crawford	25.00	William Kyle	10.00
Adam Southbaugh	15.00	Joseph Smith	30.00
Hugh G. Guthrie	50.00	John B. Breckenridge	20.00
Sam G. Francis Bell	50.00	William G. Gilkeson	30.00
Merrill Cushing	10.00	John Brandeburg	10.00
James Bell	50.00	Josiah C. Ridgway	10.00
William Frazier	50.00	Franklin T. Geiger	10.00
William B. Kayser	30.00	William Eagon	10.00
Arthur D. Wren	10.00	P. E. Wilson	10.00
Robert Cowan	5.00	William G. Sterrett	10.00
Sam. A. Kayser	5.00	W. B. Crawford	10.00
Charles T. Cochran	5.00	D. A. Pitman	10.00

Jno. B. Watts	23.00	George W. Fuller	5.00
David Kerr	30.00	Sam E. Clarke	25.00
Hugh McClure	10.00	Adam Link	50.00
Jas. Rankin (load of corn)	15.00	Henry Bare	8.00
Wm. J. D. Bell	25.00	Kenton Harper	50.00
E. Hogshead	10.00	Jas. Crawford	50.00
Alex. Walker	15.00	I. G. Fulton	500 ft. plank
Wm. H. Bell	5.00	Saml. Finley	15.00
George W. Crawford	9.00	George Imboden	5.00
Geo. C. Bourland	9.00	Ananias Davidson	5.00
John Bourland	9.00	Benj. Crawford	10.00
B. T. Reed	10.00	Luke Woodward	5.00
Robt. Guy	5.00	William Dunlap	5.00
Jas. Crawford (Maj.)	5.00	Robt. C. Kerr	5.00
Robt. Anderson	9.00		

On June 15, 1844, the corner-stone of Main Building was laid "with appropriate religious ceremonies." According to the description given by the *Staunton Spectator*, the ceremony was one of simplicity and solemnity.²⁰ The weather was inclement, the audience was small, and the proceedings, so far as they could be, were conducted in the church. Prayers were offered by the Reverend R. R. Howison, Pastor-elect of the Presbyterian Church, and by the Reverend Francis McFarland, President of the Board of Trustees. The President deposited in the corner-stone: "The *Staunton Spectator*, newspaper of the week, a copper plate with a record of the ceremony; a Record of the Trustees, Officers, and Pupils, with the names of the Architect, Stonecutter, Mason, and Carpenter; the Holy Bible, enclosed in oil silk, with the superscription 'The only Rule of Faith, and the First Textbook of the Augusta Female Seminary.' " The stone was then set in place by the operating masons. The Reverend Benjamin Smith delivered the dedicatory address "in his usual able and eloquent style." Thus was enacted without display or ostentation of any sort a very significant ceremony in the history of Mary Baldwin. A step had been taken that was to give it stability and, as time proved, permanence.

The *Plan or Constitution* drawn up in August, 1842, provided for a Board of Trustees of fifteen members, which was to be self-perpetuating, with the power to choose the Principal and the permanent instructors (the Principal might employ teachers for

the duration of a year) ; to approve the plan of studies outlined by the Principal; and to manage any properties of the school. This *Plan*, with only slight changes, was incorporated into the first charter of the Seminary granted by the Legislature of Virginia on January 30, 1845.²¹ The Legislature set the amount of property that might be held at \$30,000. In view of the later cosmopolitan character of the student body, it is interesting to note the modest aims set forth in the plan to give an education "to the female youth of this portion of our country."²²

MATTERS OF EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

More important than the construction of a physical home was the building of a program of studies. Here lies the *raison d'être* of the school; in that day more than today, since there were far less extra-curricular activities. A school then was a place to study long and diligently.

Upon what concept or concepts of the education of woman was the Seminary founded; what were the objectives sought, and through what system of studies were these to be realized? Fairly comprehensive answers to these questions can be found in statements of those who built the school. The most extensive expositions of Dr. Bailey's ideas on the education of women can be found in his book, *Daughters at School*, a series of letters written to his daughters in the 1830's and later published. There exist also certain statements of his to the local press on the objectives of the Seminary. The Board of Trustees issued, through a committee, of which the Reverend Benjamin Smith was chairman, an *Address to the Citizens of Augusta County* in September, 1842, explaining the objectives of the school. Finally, the Reverend Smith devoted his dedicatory address of June 15, 1844, to the subject of the education of women. Quotations from these will form a basis for generalization and for comparisons with the concepts of woman's education generally accepted in that day. In reading these statements it is well to remember that the education of women was not taken for granted then as now. What may seem to us obvious required justification.

In a notice to the *Staunton Spectator* on September 8, 1842, announcing the opening of the school, Dr. Bailey said: "The aim

is to give the pupil first a solid and useful education and then to supply that which is ornamental so far as may be required. . . . ” In this brief statement is embodied the reaction of the seminaries generally against the older private academy. The Augusta Female Seminary was not to be a finishing school.

In *Daughters at School*, the founder's ideas are set forth at considerable length, from which one can quote only briefly:

The place, then, which the female occupies in society and the influence she exerts require the most complete moral and intellectual education to prepare her for her duties. She may not only “learn to read and write and cipher,” but she ought to have her mind and character formed by whatever can adorn or give strength to the intellect. And why should she not? She has a whole life to live—why not spend it rationally? She must always be doing something. The mind must think. Why may she not as well be wise as frivolous? Why may she not as well be devoted to literature as to fashion? Why may not the conversation of mixed companies, which occupies so large a share of our time and attention, be rational, literary, and improving, instead of being, as it too often is, vain, unprofitable, and dissipating.²³

It was characteristic of this age of liberalism to stress (as Dr. Bailey does) woman's right to self-development for the sake of her own welfare and happiness “in order that she may live rationally.” The dignity and worth of the human being—man, woman, slave, African savage—were recognized. But it was the social objective he would stress more:

In every place she moves in a center and is a radiating point of influence. She gives laws to society and regulates social intercourse. . . . She forms her daughters to her own views and every habit of those young ladies is the practical result of her training. . . . Let it be considered also that the pillars of the state rest on the foundation of the family edifice. Our wives are the guardians of our liberties. . . .²⁴ None will deny that the children of every family take their character from the mother of that family. . . . What kind of education can qualify her to discharge the arduous and responsible duties of such a situation? . . . She must know and know intimately the physical, intellectual, and moral nature of the being she educates and be able to apply the principles of the true philosophy in the training of it.²⁵

Again, in a very significant statement, he declares the higher education of women to be more important even than that of men,

an idea more than once boldly advanced by the leaders of the new movement for the higher education of women:

How unnatural to subtract the severer studies from the female education while they are prescribed to the other sex! If the exact sciences and philosophy are to be confined to one of the sexes, I do not hesitate to say these studies should be excluded from the college and given to the education of our daughters. And for the simple reason that they need them more to form their characters and prepare them for their duties.²⁶

Throughout these letters, Dr. Bailey shows a high opinion of the intelligence of woman, her ability to make her own decisions, form her own judgments, and her right to do this. Like a good New Englander, he encourages in his daughters independence of character and self-reliance.

Similar views, perhaps not quite so advanced, were expressed in the *Address to the Citizens of Augusta County*:

No reflecting mind can fail to perceive how intimately connected not only with individual happiness, but with national welfare, the proper education of the female sex must ever be considered. Woman, who unfolds and cultivates the first buds of intelligence in man and presides over the earliest developments of the moral agency, should possess a cultivated intellect and a Christian heart. . . .

To secure for the mothers of our posterity such an education is the dictate of sound policy, the just aim of Christian philanthropy, and the requisition of enlightened patriotism.²⁷

In summary, the fundamental objectives of the Augusta Female Seminary were to prepare woman for a fuller, richer life as an individual and for her social duties as wife and mother. One finds these the objectives of the early seminaries generally. An argument sometimes given for the seminary was the need of teachers and a good many teachers went out from them. The seminary generally expected the graduate to teach only a few years, however, and then to marry.²⁸ No technical, professional training was given for teachers. For this reason, Horace Mann began to advocate normal schools in order to get trained teachers.²⁹ Neither professional nor vocational training was a special objective of the seminaries in their earlier life. Careers for women belonged to the future.

Incidentally, this movement for the higher education of woman did not join hands with the woman's rights movement of Margaret Fuller and her colleagues for economic, legal, and political rights of women; nor did it seek the complete equality of women demanded by certain extremists. These movements existed apart from the seminary movement for the higher education of women. From their nature they were related, however, in their long-time objectives. As to women in politics, Dr. Bailey said to his daughters:

I would not have you become politicians nor affect to volunteer grave opinions on political subjects. Yet I would not have you ignorant of passing political events, nor even of general politics. . . . A lady may appear amicable and modest in manifesting an interest in everything which affects the public weal, but always awkward and beyond her sex when debating the principles of politics or mingling in party feuds.²⁰

MATTERS OF CURRICULUM

As a guide for the analysis of the curriculum the statement of courses offered in 1842 will serve as a basis. This statement appeared in the *Spectator* of September 8, 1842:

THE AUGUSTA FEMALE SEMINARY

Mr. and Mrs. Bailey will open this Seminary on Thursday the 15th of September instant.

COURSE OF STUDY

Elementary Class—Reading, Writing, Spelling, the Elements of English Grammar, Elementary Geography, and Elementary Arithmetic. Tuition in the course \$10.00 per session of five months.

Second Class—English Grammar continued in parsing, critical analysis, and structure of sentences. English Composition and Geography continued. Tuition, \$12.00 per session.

First Class—English Grammar continued in its higher branches. Rhetoric and Composition, Comprehensive History, Geography, Astronomy, Natural and Moral Philosophy, the Elements of Natural Science, familiarly explained and practically enforced; Geometry, Algebra, and the simplest form of Bookkeeping. Tuition, \$15.00 per session.

Extra Classes—Latin, Greek, French, Music, Vocal and Instrumental, on Piano Forte, Guitar, and Organ. Mrs. Bailey will have entire charge of the extra classes with the exception of the Greek. Tuition in French, \$10.00 per session. Music on either instrument, accompanied by voice,

\$20.00 per session, including the use of the Piano Forte, Guitar, or the Parlor Organ.

Every young lady on entering the school will be strictly examined in the studies of the Elementary Class and, if placed in the studies of the higher class, will still be retained in the elementary studies until she becomes familiar with them.

As this program of studies shows, primary education as well as advanced instruction was given at the Augusta Female Seminary. Dropped for a short time, it was restored and continued for many years. The seminaries generally found it necessary to offer elementary education because of the inadequate preparation for the higher courses and hence a demand for the preparatory studies, and because they needed to increase their patronage for financial reasons. Some seminaries offered, however, an extensive list of higher studies, which they allowed students to enter without sufficient preparation in elementary subjects.³¹ The Augusta Female Seminary stressed in all its public notices the necessity of thorough preparation in the elementary subjects, which preparation must be tested by examination before the student was permitted to enter the higher classes. And it kept the list of higher courses to a conservative level. From the beginning there was, however, a relatively high percentage of the students in the higher courses. For example, out of the sixty students of 1843-44, there was the following enrollment by subjects: Rhetoric, 20; Botany, 30; Chemistry, 20; Astronomy, 25; Algebra, 10; Geometry, 12; History, 30; Natural Philosophy, 50; French, 6; Latin, 2; Music, 22.³² Greek was offered, but this year showed no enrollment in Greek. In the notices of the school in the local press Greek continued to be mentioned as one of the courses offered, but as the statistics of enrollment by subjects for these years do not exist, one does not know whether classes were actually given. The female seminaries generally did not offer Greek. Dr. Bailey recommended to his daughters, however, the study of both Greek and Hebrew.³³

The Board of Trustees stated rather comprehensively their ideas of the content of the course of studies in the *Address to the Citizens of Augusta County*:

To perform rightly the duties she owes to society, and to meet the responsibilities devolving on woman as an individual and the mother of a

family, it is, first, important to open to the mind the stores of truth contained in those substantial sciences which lie at the basis of all human knowledge. We, therefore, consider as an indispensable subject that art of reading well, with its important adjuncts, writing and spelling. . . . The science of arithmetic, whether for its results in the practical affairs of life or the influence of its study on the development of the mind, takes next rank in importance. To this must be added a knowledge of the earth we inhabit, the manners and customs of its inhabitants, their literary, political, religious, and moral conditions and prospects. With its present actual conditions, so far as geography informs us of that condition, we propose to connect the lessons of wisdom deduced from the history of the past. The formation and development of a taste for literary pursuits we found in the study of our vernacular language, its grammar and literature. We conceive the usual time devoted by girls to procuring an education may be fully and profitably employed in the acquisition of these substantial branches of study, and our first aim will be to secure the pupils in the thorough perception of these important sciences. Should time and inclination permit, other and ornamental branches of education, as music and painting, may be pursued, for which we present competent teachers.

We do not offer you a school in which your daughters are promised instruction in the various physical sciences, as multiplied by modern nomenclatures to an extent as absurd in catalogues as their attainment is impractical in the period of a girl's educational life. Yet in such elements of the physical sciences as can be acquired by the usual text-books, with the aid of oral explanation and lectures, we promise ample instruction. To the advanced pupils we present facilities for extending their English education in the study of Mental and Moral Philosophy and such principles of Logic and Rhetoric as shall secure the ability to express intelligently and elegantly the ideas which the acquisition of substantial education may furnish. We earnestly advocate, too, the importance of some elementary knowledge of at least one of the dead languages, for its obvious bearing in illustrating the structure and facilitating the comprehension of our own. To such as desire it opportunity will be offered to learn the French language.

Our purpose then, you perceive, is not to attract your patronage by a vain display of numerous studies, but we would fain urge on you the advantages of a substantial English education as the basis of all future acquisitions and the guarantee of the happiness and usefulness of your daughters. And this, without pretending to infinite wisdom or power, we flatter ourselves able to offer by the preparation we have made and shall make, both in the character of the principal, the general plan of the school, and the diligent efforts of the founders and trustees.

The Board of Trustees apparently considered that the time element would considerably restrict the scope of the young ladies' education; that most of them would not devote the years to go

beyond the common branches ; but for those who desired to give more time, the higher studies were offered. Their primary aim was instruction in the solid subjects, "a substantial English education," with ornamental subjects offered but not emphasized.

In preparing woman for her sphere religious and moral culture was given a prominent place. The Bible was to be "the first text-book" of the Augusta Female Seminary. All students were to bring two books: the Bible and Porter's *Rhetorical Reader*. A part of the Scripture was to be read each day, and there was to be a Bible School on the Sabbath. The week-day plan of studies did not, however, include courses in the Bible. In the seminaries and colleges generally the introduction of the Bible into the regular course of study came at a later date.

Dr. Bailey's ideas on the critical study of the Bible as set forth in his letters to his daughters are significant, since, without doubt, he influenced the philosophy and practice of the students aside from the routine of the curricular studies.

Read the Bible. Make it your manual, and if you aspire to investigate it in its original languages, you shall have my approbation and assistance. We recede from the fountain as the translations of the original are relied on. Auxiliary to the Bible, make use of the most approved commentaries without regard to sect or denomination, taking care always to deduce your own opinions from the text, with their help, and never go to them for your opinion.³⁴

Aside from instruction in the Bible or other religious literature, the religious and moral purpose permeated the entire curriculum and life of the school. There was a sort of high seriousness about these seminaries. The use of the word *seminary* as applied to them did not imply a place of training for an ecclesiastical career, as in the case of men's theological seminaries, but it does seem to have signified that the primary purpose of the institution was to fit one for her mission, her moral and religious obligations, a sort of superior discipline for the responsibilities of life. The study of certain subjects was defended primarily on religious grounds—Greek and Hebrew as a means to a more correct reading of the Bible; geology, "because it reveals the glories of God's creation," etc. Even etymology was taught "to form the soul for its immortal destiny." As the Board of

Trustees said in their *Address*: "We aim first to prepare each child to live in time with a wise reference to eternity."

Seminaries generally gave large place to the study of the natural sciences. This seems surprising, no doubt, since one thinks of that as the period of classical studies; and it might seem especially surprising that this should be true of the female seminaries. But natural science and mathematics occupied leading places. Botany, chemistry, astronomy, and natural philosophy were offered at the Augusta Female Seminary; but many seminaries had a much longer list—geology, mineralogy, physiology, zoology, meteorology, even navigation and surveying. As noted above, the Board of Trustees in their *Address to the Citizens of Augusta County* criticized such offering as being "as absurd in the catalogues, as their attainment is impractical in a girl's educational life"; yet added, "in such elements of the physical sciences as can be acquired by the usual textbooks, with the aid of some oral explanation and lectures, we promise ample instruction." One can readily conceive that the teaching of the natural sciences was greatly handicapped by the lack of laboratories. The initial steps toward the providing of equipment were made by Dr. Bailey. He invited a Boston lecturer to give illustrated lectures on the telegraph when interest in that invention was at its height, and he began the building of laboratories for scientific studies. He recognized in the sciences a valuable tool for the housewife and encouraged his daughters to study them with the practical objective in view.³⁵ The study of mathematics was defended on the same basis, its use in the home and estate, especially the study of arithmetic and simple bookkeeping.

Dr. Bailey advocated the study of what one would today call psychology—then listed in the curriculum as mental and moral philosophy. In his letters to his daughters, he declared:

Mental discipline is the first object to which all education should be directed in the management of children and in the entire instruction of youth. Hence the importance that mothers first, and all teachers who may come after her, should be well versed in the philosophy of the mind. The mental constitution is the same. Education, therefore, in every stage is based on the same principles. How perfectly preposterous then to separate from these principles the education of females, who exert the greatest influence on the whole character of our race.³⁶

Mental discipline as an objective of all education was indeed a prevailing philosophy of education at that time; and this aim appears prominently in the writings of Dr. Bailey and of the members of the Board of Trustees. Methods of teaching, as well as subject matter, were conditioned by this objective. And moral education was dependent on it, Dr. Bailey affirmed: "Moral education depends intimately on mental discipline. Without the latter, moral decisions are liable to be capricious and partial."³⁷ Modern educators could have little quarrel, it would seem, with this; they do object to the earlier notion that certain subjects in the curriculum have peculiar advantages over others as disciplinary subjects. Dr. Bailey seems to have recognized disciplinary values in a wide range of subjects covering the entire curriculum.

A special interest of Dr. Bailey was the study of philology, the etymology of words, and grammar, his writings on which are discussed later. As noted above, all the English studies were emphasized. Grammar, rhetoric, and composition were continued through the entire term of study at the Seminary. The reading of selected essays or compositions written during the year formed a part of the commencement exercises of the school. Dr. Bailey may have derived his special interest in the careful discrimination in the use of words in part from his association with Daniel Webster, to whose ability in this direction he paid high tribute.³⁸

As to the fine arts, or the "ornamental" subjects as they were called then, music was emphasized in all the advertisements of the school. The catalogue of 1843-1844 shows that of the sixty pupils, twenty-two were enrolled in music. The announcement of 1843 stated with reference to the music department:

This has been organized with a view to an advance in the ordinary advantages offered to young ladies at the Piano Forte. The ladies who have charge of it have been educated under the best German masters and their success justifies the Principal in presenting this department with great confidence to the patrons of the school. Music as a science is here taught thoroughly and as extensively as it is taught anywhere in the country or any other country.³⁹

Drawing and painting were introduced in 1844.⁴⁰ Aside from the cultural value of these subjects, a reason, no doubt, for their emphasis was the extra fees they brought. The new concepts of

woman's education had generally minimized the importance of these ornamental branches, which had been magnified by the earlier academies and finishing schools. Dr. Bailey continued, however, to stress the importance of the fine arts, and had said in his letters to his daughters:

Music is now considered a necessary part of a finished education for females. I think it should be so considered. First, vocal music, which is always best and the foundation of all other. Cultivate it, not merely nor principally as an accomplishment nor as an amusement, but as a science and for its moral effects; as a means of praising God and awakening devotion. Learn to sing well, if you can. Learn to play well, especially on the organ and piano. . . .

Drawing and painting I do not assign to the class of mere accomplishments. They are studies of real utility. Familiar practice in linear design, perspective, and landscape painting promotes habits of attention and discrimination of great importance in practical life. She who draws with her pencil the outline of an edifice will ever afterwards have her attention awakened to criticize the architectural proportions of other buildings. If she attempt a landscape or pencil a rose, she will in that effort direct her attention with greater minuteness of discrimination to every flower she plucks, to every scene of nature. This is the great practical benefit of drawing and painting—not so much to furnish amusement as to cultivate a taste and improve a faculty.⁴¹

One must admit that the aesthetic motive seems to have had little place in these evaluations—only the religious, the moral, and the practical were recognized. Against the dilettantism and superficiality of the finishing school, these early seminaries, without doubt, went too far in the other direction of stressing only the solid, the serious, and the disciplinary studies. Some schools, however, gave considerable attention to various sorts of needlework and crafts—wax work, filigree, etc., as a means of attracting students and enlarging income. Of such subjects Dr. Bailey said to his daughters:

There are some other branches of female education which I pass over as incidental. They may be omitted without material injury and cultivation of them should depend on circumstances of time, talent, genius, and faculties. Such is almost all which is called "fancy work." I would not stifle a genius in an attempt to avoid them, nor force a taste; let nature dictate.⁴²

For once, one suspects, Dr. Bailey was speaking somewhat lightly. Such subjects were not included in the curriculum of the Augusta Female Seminary under his administration.

The Reverend Smith carried his prejudices against foreign influence in American education, a point discussed below, into the field of music with its "German waltzes, French dances, and Italian music and painting." This feeling influenced many, in fact, against the fine arts. Mr. Smith declared, however :

We are not vandals to discard real accomplishments. We make no war on the fine arts. Presbyterians, it is true, once demolished pictures and tore down organs—not that they despised painting and did not appreciate music, but they were more zealous for a spiritual worship than for imposing pomp. Nor do the successors of the men who did these things deprecate the subjection of any art to the service of God when there is no danger that admiration for man's skill may not turn away the heart from God's worship. While then, on the one hand, we discard all pretensions to keep pace with the fashionable schemes of the puffed schools, we shall humbly attempt ever to provide that none of the branches of female education which are calculated to add worth or loveliness to female character shall be wanting. . . . ⁴³

There was no place in this first curriculum of the Augusta Female Seminary for physical education. Some of the seminaries had introduced the new science of calisthenics, but this did not become a common practice until after the Civil War, when it was popularized by the famous Dio Lewis from his school in Lexington, Massachusetts. In Miss Baldwin's day calisthenics received considerable attention in the Seminary. In the light of this fact, it is interesting to note the comments made by the Reverend Smith in his dedicatory address of 1844:

Now we want no Calisthenics—no measured plays, no scientific jumping—no running by rule and laughing by squares. Let nature rule, and our word for it, we shall not lack ruddy cheeks, and sunny faces, and bright eyes, and healthy bodies prepared for healthy minds. Surpassing beautiful for situation is the location. We reckon among its great advantages this broad green yard; we long to see it the scene of those healthy sports which invigorate without fatigue, amuse without corruption, excite unaffected good nature and even aid in cementing those early friendships which, in after years, will be remembered as pilgrims remember fountains and groves in the vast desert.⁴⁴

Thus the social as well as the physical values of play were recognized, but it was to be unorganized, undirected play.

Dr. Bailey carried the utilitarian and ethical motives into his ideas on physical education, as he did into the fine arts. In his letters to his daughters he included a special letter on physical education:

The preservation of health is among our first duties and inseparable from the first law of nature, which requires us to preserve our lives. Intimately dependent on it are happiness and usefulness as well as moral soundness and intellectual vigor. On the subject of health, let me say to you, it is principally affected by three causes—employment, diet and exercise. . . . Employment both of mind and body is essential to sound health. . . . The mere lounging student will never be characterized by an active and energetic intellect. . . . The decencies and proprieties of life are the forms and manners which the scholar should carry into the duties of the school and the school-room.

The diet of the student should always be plain, moderate, and seasonable. . . . Many of the peculiar diseases of students, I have observed, have their origin in a want of care in eating; either too much or too little, of improper food, or at unsuitable seasons.⁴⁵

Certain problems of boarding schools are, no doubt, age-old and eternal. But the evils from the two sources just mentioned would be diminished by a proper regard to exercise and rest, he insisted. As to suitable exercises he suggested:

A ride on horseback, or a botanical ramble, or a walk in the fresh air in the early morning, or even the necessary effort to put your own room in order before you leave it, furnish a more uniform and safer exercise . . . than all the physical discipline which can result from mere pleasure or constraint. I would rather see you able to cook well a penny loaf, or lead a charity enterprise, than to cut the "pigeon wing" in "measured motion" or to dance a cotillion.⁴⁶

In determining the academic character of the Augusta Female Seminary, it seems evident that the Reverend Benjamin Smith exerted an influence second only to that of Dr. Bailey. He was himself a teacher as well as a minister, and one of the chief promoters of the movement for public education in Virginia.⁴⁷ Young, vigorous, aggressive, he was to remain a force in Virginia education for almost half a century longer. Some comments of his on woman's education have already appeared above. Certain

other notions might be worth quoting at some length, since they reflect rather well prevailing opinions and prejudices of that day:

To prepare females for their part in society involves a requisition for more mental instruction and that of a far more solid character than some are disposed to believe. . . . Our forefathers have sometimes been reproached with having restricted female education to those limits which recognize the woman as a kind of upper servant. . . . From making a woman a drudge we too often seem to make her a toy. She must of course be taught to read, whether to read cookery books, or ladies' books, recipes for French rolls, soups, fricasees and omelettes, or French capes, flounces, bodices, and chapeaus. The latter seems now the chief use which some suppose the art of reading serves to the female sex. Whatever else is forgotten, she must be taught music—not the plain Anglo-Saxon national airs, or the tender touching songs of Scotch and Irish ancestry, or the solemn impressive notes in which God may be praised—but it must be some trifling air, manufactured to suit the lascivious waltz, or please the impure imaginations of a French theatre, or some fastidious taste of professed connoisseurs. Of all nations and peoples who have ever been imposed on by their inferiors in sense, true taste, in morals and character, the people of the United States rank first. The very air of a foreigner, his crooked name, his pompous titles, his overgrown whiskers, his coarse manners, even his looser morals, his drinking, swaggering habits, his low-lived cunning, his peccadillos of every grade, his notions on education, taste, music, dancing, and even the pronunciation of our own tongue are set down as so many items to his favor, so many evidences of his noble birth or genteel training, and he is forthwith heralded as the pattern of every virtue and the paragon of every excellence. To this fruitful source of evil may be ascribed many of those follies which render us contemptible in the eyes of the sensible and well-informed among foreigners. To this we may trace many influences operating on the manners of communities, the character of our domestic and social state and the happiness and usefulness of individuals. But in nothing do we more deprecate the disposition to revere and adopt foreign opinions, and ape foreign manners than in respect of the views now presented. It matters little who makes the laws if foreigners . . . educate our children.

We then advocate, in distinction from that which is merely ornamental, that which is solid; and in distinction from that which is foreign, that which is homebred.⁴⁸

In a footnote in the published address, probably not included in the dedicatory speech, the Reverend Smith added:

In the expressions of the foregoing paragraph, the writer will probably not be misunderstood by any to whom *they do not apply*. He wishes to be *understood clearly* by all others. He believes he has here expressed a com-

mon sentiment of the country at the present time, and while disclaiming all personalities, he by no means intends this disclaimer as an apology. . .

What, as an *American*, he has said of *Foreigners*, as a *Virginian* he is accustomed to think and say of *northern* men and others. The Tartars, admitted too freely into China, usurped the throne and changed the laws of the Empire. We must provide for ourselves lest similar results follow our injudicious liberality and excessive admiration. Let foreigners become Americans and Virginians in sentiment and *Protestant* in principles, if they wish to secure a deserved and permanent popularity. Our country is an asylum for the oppressed. We would take proper measures to prevent the oppressed from becoming oppressors.⁴⁹

This statement appears very strong in view of the fact that Dr. Bailey was a northern man. Apparently, however, he was so thoroughly accepted by the South that he had ceased to be considered a Yankee. As to the prejudice against foreigners, this became especially strong as America moved to the frontier and a more intense nationalism arose during and after the War of 1812. This anti-foreign feeling was encouraged by the large immigration of foreigners in the 1840's and the 1850's. Apart from the prejudice against foreigners, there had existed even much earlier a demand among leaders in women's education for an *American* system of education that would cease to imitate Europe and would prepare women for life in the United States. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia was the outstanding advocate of this American education.⁵⁰ Smith expressed well the sentiment of Rush, but in a more spread-eagle spirit, and with the addition of the demand, to be heard frequently in the coming years, that education be kept Southern.

In brief, the Augusta Female Seminary in its early years represented, as did the other seminaries of that day, the reaction against foreign imitations, against the "social butterfly" conception of woman, against the prejudice that higher education such as that granted to men would unfit woman for her work. Its entire program was characterized by a religious and moral objective to which intellectual and aesthetic development should contribute. It recognized woman as a rational individual with the right to self-improvement for her own sake, her own welfare and happiness; but, more important, education should fit her for her duties as wife, mother, and member of the community. Education should be practical and utilitarian in the service of these ends; edu-

cation for pure enjoyment, for amusement or pleasure, these founders did not advocate. Presbyterian divines had joined hands with the planters of the South to keep religion orthodox, with no taint of the earlier Deism and rationalism or of the later unitarianism, and to keep morals pure, even Puritan. (The South was probably more Puritan than New England, especially with respect to the conduct of women.) Although they thought education should be practical, there was no expressed thought yet of the vocational outside the home. Physical education or physical exercise was important, but not the business of the school. In fact, there was a definite feeling against gymnastics or any sort of organized play. Here the feeling seems in part derived from the Puritan prejudice against the dancing schools.

The program of studies was limited in range compared to present-day curricula; but it represented well the standards of the day and compared favorably with those of the best seminaries. There was no padding as in the "puffed" schools, to which the Reverend Smith referred. It made no parade or pretensions; its teaching apparently was honest, earnest, and thorough. And it was constantly working upward, as one may see from the following survey of the administration of the school.

THE AUGUSTA FEMALE SEMINARY IN OPERATION

During the first seven years, the faculty of the school consisted largely of members of the Bailey family, the Seminary retaining thus one aspect of the old private school. Mrs. Bailey assisted from the beginning, teaching music and French. At different times both daughters, Mary and Harriet, were teachers. In 1846, Mr. John L. Campbell, who had married Harriet, the younger daughter, taught for a time. He had been teaching at Staunton Academy and was later to go to Washington College (now Washington and Lee University). In 1847, Dr. Bailey's niece, Miss Elizabeth Bailey of Portland, Maine, and his cousin, Miss Cornelia Stockbridge from Bath, Maine, came to teach.⁵¹ At times and for short periods others taught, the Reverend Smith, now pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Staunton, and Mr. Imboden, a prominent lawyer in Staunton. In August, 1848, it was announced that the Reverend Samuel Matthews, of Abing-

don, Virginia, a graduate of Union Theological Seminary and former President of Greenville College, Tennessee, a prominent girls' school, had been employed to assist in order partially to relieve Dr. Bailey of his sedentary duties—a measure “imperiously demanded by his health.”⁵² The Reverend Matthews was to continue as principal upon the resignation of Dr. Bailey in January, 1849. Whether Dr. Bailey made any use of the monitorial system of Joseph Lancaster, still widely used in that day, the writer does not know. There are references to Miss Baldwin's facility in explanations, which made her sought by the younger students out of class, and it is possible that she and other students did some teaching. The fact that Dr. Bailey kept adding to the regular faculty and that he used adults from Staunton as supply teachers would suggest, however, that he did not employ the Lancasterian method.

In contrast to the wide geographical distribution of students in later years, it is interesting to note that the patronage of the school was almost entirely local and county until several years after the Civil War. After a twenty per cent rise in the second year, the enrollment remained relatively stable during Dr. Bailey's administration, in spite of the opening of another Staunton seminary, Virginia Female Institute, now Stuart Hall, in 1843. In the first year the enrollment was fifty; in 1843-1844, it rose to sixty and in the following year to sixty-five, and remained around this figure. In the *Address to the Citizens of Augusta County*, the Board of Trustees had made appeal for the support of the county:

Let a sufficient patronage from the county be concentrated on the school which, bearing its venerated name, aims to perpetuate in its daughters and through them, in its sons, the virtues and habits, the piety and the patriotism of their ancestors. Let it not be said that in a county noted for its resources, physical, moral, and intellectual there cannot be sustained on an economical administration and on a basis of sound learning and the Christian faith one such Female Seminary.

And in the announcement of the coming session published in August, 1844, it was stated that the school depended principally for patronage on the citizens of Augusta County, for whose benefit it was first organized and by whose munificence the ample edifice

for its accommodation had been constructed; and that to sustain its present organization that patronage must be prompt and steady.⁵³

Although the patronage was confined to the county, there were students who boarded in town in order to attend. In 1843-1844 there were twenty-seven students, out of a total of sixty, who lived outside Staunton.⁵⁴ Additions were made later to the Main Building to take care of the boarding students, but until the end of Dr. Bailey's administration these all lived in private homes. For those who wished it, arrangement could be made to board the student in the same family with a teacher.⁵⁵ To make a virtue of a necessity, the Trustees declared that by distributing pupils in families, they sought to avoid the objections to a large boarding establishment. It is true that epidemics of a serious sort had given an unfavorable reputation to some boarding schools on the score of health. The catalogue of 1843-1844 carried the following announcement with respect to boarding:

Instead of a single Boarding-House, the arrangement has been preferred to distribute the pupils into different families, where the social and domestic habits may be cultivated through the whole course of education. Such arrangements have been made with private families, of high respectability, in the immediate vicinity of the Seminary, that almost any number may be accommodated by placing from four to eight in a family. The young ladies will here be brought under the best moral influence and maternal supervision, exerted by those who will act in harmonious concert with the teachers to aid in the thorough education of the mind, manners, and heart. A list of these families may be found with the Principal.⁵⁶

Board was from \$8 to \$9 a month and this with tuition made the cost \$100 for the lower classes and \$130 for the higher. This did not include the cost of extras—music, French, etc. Music for a year, two sessions, was \$40; French, \$20; and drawing and painting, \$20. These costs were much lower than in some of the other leading southern seminaries. In Georgia Female Seminary the cost was \$200 a year exclusive of languages and ornamental subjects; in Judson Female Seminary it was \$260 without ornamental subjects in 1853.⁵⁷ On the other hand, in Mount Holyoke, the cost was only \$64.⁵⁸ In this school self-help was used as a device for cutting expenses.

The school year was divided into two sessions of five months

each, with no vacation between the sessions. School opened the first of September and closed the first of July.⁵⁹ Christmas and Easter holidays were luxuries or indulgences yet far in the future.

The formal rules and regulations, so far as there exists a record of them, were relatively few. Seminaries of that day varied considerably in this respect. Some had almost no set rules, some exceedingly detailed lists.⁶⁰ The catalogue of the Augusta Female Seminary of 1843-1844 stated: "The entire time of the boarding pupils is under the direction of the Principal for their advancement in study. Study hours in the school rooms are from eight to twelve a. m. and from two to four p. m., and in the boarding houses from seven to nine p. m. A strict regard to this arrangement is required." The following regulations concerning religious and social activities were adopted by the Board of Trustees in August, 1848:

1. Pupils of the Seminary shall be carefully instructed in the principles of Christian truths. For this purpose the whole school shall be assembled in the school room every Sabbath morning, at a suitable hour, for reciting to the Principal and other teachers such lessons in the Scriptures and in the catechisms of the Presbyterian Church as the Principal shall appoint. This time shall be so arranged that the pupils may proceed from the school room to the church where they shall be expected to attend with appropriate deportment on the sermon. From the obligation of this regulation, or any part of it, no pupil shall be exempt except by personal or written request of parent or guardian.

2. All visiting or receiving visits by the pupils is prohibited, except within the period from the close of the afternoon sessions of school till sundown, and on Friday till ten o'clock, p. m., with the whole afternoon of Saturday.

3. No pupil shall pay a visit in town or shall leave town, except when sent for by her parents, or on permission granted by the Principal or the persons with whom she boards.

4. No visiting or attentions to the pupils by young persons of the other sex shall be allowed, except in the presence of the head of the family in which she boards, or some authorized substitute.

5. The Principal is charged with the duty of enforcing these Regulations.

6. A copy of these Regulations shall be furnished to all persons preparing to take pupils of the Seminary as boarders.⁶¹

No copy of the rules and regulations affecting students living in the Seminary after the erection of the annexes to Main Building and before 1867 has been discovered.

THE REMINISCENCES OF A STUDENT OF 1845

Unfortunately there do not exist, or at least are not available, many records of the everyday life of the Seminary under Dr. Bailey. The following relation by Elizabeth Stephens Carmack, a student of 1845, is thus particularly valued and valuable for its suggestive personal details and its revelation that the strict discipline implied by official documents might be considerably relaxed in practice. Elizabeth Emma Stephens was a native of Augusta County and the niece of Judge Hendron, the Treasurer of the Confederacy.⁶² To judge by these reminiscences, written at the age of ninety-eight, she must have been a very lively young lady.

It is a far cry from March, 1930, to September, 1845, which was the date of my entrance into the Augusta Female Seminary, conducted by the Reverend R. W. Bailey—blessings on that red head of his, which housed such an efficient brain, and such a genial interest in the progress of humanity.

I was very young and thoughtless (just half-way into my fourteenth year) but he knew just how to deal with my perversities, and we were always the best of friends. History and the natural sciences were to my taste, but I shied at mathematics. We had some "scraps" about it, for he wanted to make a mathematician of me, yet he often condoned my delinquencies. And I think he "kinder" liked a streak of poetry, which constituted an item in the make-up of my crude intellect. One day he found on the floor near my desk a squib I had written in derision of General Cass, the Democratic candidate for President, then running against General Zack Taylor, the Whig candidate. All that I knew of General Cass was that he was a Democrat, and that was enough—I was a fire eating Whig! And you must know that Democrats were in very bad standing with the Whig party in those days (who usually termed them the "unwashed democracy"). Clay and Webster were the great Whig leaders and fought valiantly against the disruption of our union. Well, Mr. Bailey published my verses in the *Staunton Spectator*. That was the first time I ever saw myself in print.

On one or two occasions Mrs. Bailey, who taught music and French, wanted some more sentimental words to a popular negro melody to be sung at one of her concerts; and another time she wished for some

additional words for a tune of her own composing, I think. He took me to a class room, and presenting me with pen, paper, and ink, promised if I would write the songs, I should be released from mathematics that day. Of course I willingly acquiesced. He was without assistance when I entered school. His oldest daughter had taken the position of governess in a private family, which seemed more attractive than teaching in a large school. I am not sure though that my memory is entirely reliable on this point.⁶³

His youngest daughter married Mr. John L. Campbell, of Lexington, who had just been made a professor at Washington College. He and his wife stayed on and taught for about two months, when he had to leave to take charge of his duties in Lexington. We had become attached to them for they were a lovable couple, and we were loath indeed to see them go. Dr. Ben Smith, then pastor of the Staunton Presbyterian Church, taught classes sometimes, and Mr. Imboden, a young lawyer (afterwards a well-known commander of artillery in the Confederate army) taught until the teachers came—Miss Lizzie Bailey and Miss Cornelia Stockbridge, Mr. Bailey's niece and cousin, both from Maine. Miss Bailey, homely, but kind and genial; Miss Stockbridge, handsome and stately, commanding respect as well as admiration—both were most efficient and popular teachers. We had little plays, and sometimes Miss Lizzie was theatrical manager, and I usually cast for "leading lady" in comedy. Though I loved to take off queer illiterate characters when with my intimates, I was always seized with stage fright at the idea of activity before a large audience. So Miss Lizzie and I had sundry little altercations at rehearsals—scoldings, coaxing and laughter on her part, protest and ludicrous excuses on mine. I always came to terms in the end. Miss Stockbridge taught algebra and was a trifle stern, but I found outside aid. That dear gentleman of the old school, Mr. Addison Waddell, to whom I went with my troubles, never refused his help, so I managed to pass. I was not quite as bad as Leigh Hunt, the English poet, who confessed that he could never learn the multiplication table. I could and still know it and only stagger a little over the seventh and ninth columns.

I was in Mrs. Bailey's class of beginners in French and on our recitation days, Miss Mary Julia Baldwin, who had graduated a year or two before, came with a companion or two to read Racine, or some other French dramatist, under Mrs. Bailey's supervision. We became well acquainted and were friends always. But no one suspected what a blessing she was to be, to her church, her state, and her sex. How she extended far and wide the beneficent influences set to work by Mr. Bailey! He had two "hobbies," Morse telegraph and "the Big Hole through the Blue Ridge," as he termed the tunnel. Staunton had no railroad then, and the telegraph was a myth to most people, and was a subject of derision to many. But Mr. Bailey's faith never swerved and when Congress reluctantly appropriated money enough to set up a telegraph between Washington and Baltimore, and the message was sent and received, his triumph was great.

He soon had a Boston lecturer on natural philosophy set up a telegraph in the auditorium, and several large audiences came to learn the mysterious workings of the "tamed lightning." Staunton wanted a railroad more than anything. Oysters by stage coach ceased to be fresh long before they reached their goal, and so we had to eat them pickled. Oranges were costly and scarce; and things in general were high. The long talked of tunnel was begun at last and crews from both sides of the mountain began to dig and blast. "Wiseacres" said they would pass each other and never meet! But (strange to tell) they did meet and had a tunnel that trains have been passing through ever since.

Mr. Bailey left Staunton before this happy ending took place, to begin pioneering educational work in Texas, where he was professor for some years in Daniel Baker College [Austin College. Daniel Baker founded it]. The railroad was finished and on his return visit to Staunton he rode on the train. Soon after he came back, I met him for the last time. While in Texas he had written a grammar and asked me, jocularly, to write the poetry to be parsed in it. I often find myself wondering, if it were possible for him to return from that other world, just what he'd have to say about this present day of autos, airplanes, and strangest of all, radio.⁶⁴

At the time the preceding reflections were written for the Mary Baldwin *News Letter* (1930) Mrs. Carmack was the oldest living alumna. On her hundredth birthday, March 11, 1932, a special program was broadcast by the college in her honor, in which President Jarman greeted her as she "listened in" from her home in Handley, Texas.⁶⁵ (Incidentally this program was the first broadcast of the college.) Many of the students sent her birthday cards. Her reply to President Jarman is charming in its revelation of pleased surprise and gratitude:

Your radio program on my birthday was another great surprise and was most gratifying to me and mine. I want to thank every one of those nice girls who sent me that shower of beautiful cards, and I want them to know that a large crowd of my Texas friends gathered in to see those cards and hear them read. . . . Your demonstration has made me real *bigoted* (and caused my friends here to be proud of my being a citizen of Handley).⁶⁶

She died in the spring of 1935, a few days before she reached her one hundred third birthday.

THE FIRST MAY DAY IN THE AUGUSTA FEMALE SEMINARY

Of the ceremonials of Mary Baldwin College today none is more interesting or beautiful than the May Day Pageant, an event that forms a part of the commencement week activities. Because of its present place in Mary Baldwin, the beginnings of the celebration at the Augusta Female Seminary should have interest. It adds, too, another softening touch to this rather sober Presbyterian school of the 1840's. The *Staunton Spectator* in a long article, "May Day at the Augusta Female Seminary," described this event, which took place on May 1, 1848: "In company with a proper quantum of the Belles and Beaux of our town, not to mention a due sprinkling of the elderly and graver portion of our society, we attended the celebration of the time-honored festival on Monday last . . . " At this point the editor entered into a long disquisition on the history of May Day, which he had taken time to look up and study. He continued:

May Day has passed into comparative oblivion and for the first time in our lives have we been permitted to witness the present mode of observance, and truly, if this be considered a specimen, we shall hail the recurrence with joy. While there was no intemperate gaiety and not the least approach to boisterous merriment or disorder, we were offered a scene in which the mingling of sweet faces and tasty wreaths, graceful miens and dignified composure spoke well at once for the character of the rising generation of young ladies and the faithful and diligent course of discipline and instruction observed in this day. The young ladies acquitted themselves with modesty and propriety as speakers—distinct in uttering and yet retiring in demeanor. There is an old superstition traceable to the Romans that May was an unlucky month for marriage. Unlucky or not, we give it as our humble opinion that a few more such May days may add considerably to a certain list on our third page. . . .

We only add that as natural Kings and Queens are getting below par, we have to express our ardent hopes that both our Queen of May and all her faithful maids may long rule where the province of their sex has assigned them dominion—over the hearts and manners of an age ennobled by the influence and adorned by the virtues of women.⁶⁷

The author was able to discover no mention of another May Day at the Augusta Female Seminary until Miss Baldwin's day. One might wonder whether there was some criticism of the celebration on religious or moral grounds that caused it not to

be repeated in the following year; or more likely a change of administration—Dr. Bailey left in January of the next year—which caused a change of events. At any rate, here one finds the beginning.

AN EARLY SEMINARY COMMENCEMENT—PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS

The contemporary Mary Baldwin student is accustomed to a series of social and ceremonial activities, activities of grace, beauty, and traditional value, which constitute the annual commencement. Behind this front stage exhibition, which the public enjoys, there is the backstage burden of semester examinations. Suppose the backstage were shifted to the front, so that the public witnessed the ordeal of examinations conducted orally. That is what happened to the young lady of the 1840's. The main event of the annual commencement was the public oral examination of the students. This general practice of the seminaries was continued until the Civil War. At the Augusta Female Seminary this event was the main point of contact between the town and the school.

The *Staunton Spectator* of July 4, 1844, contained the following comment of the editor on the closing exercises of the Seminary:

The examination of the pupils connected with this institution took place on Thursday and Friday of the past week. The exercises of each day were witnessed by visitors, and it is a source of some regret that on the last day the number of relatives and friends of the young students was so great that they could not be comfortably accommodated. In an age when it has become common to lavish indiscriminate and extravagant compliments upon schools of learning, however undeserving they may be, it is not a little refreshing to find an institution so conducted that the praises bestowed upon it are founded in rigid truth and will bear the test of the most severe scrutiny. The recitations of the pupils of this Seminary were such as to convince all who attended that the accomplished instructors had succeeded in securing the only truly valuable object in such enterprises. No students could have recited as did these, who had not applied to their studies steady, deliberate and persevering labor; such exertion as will make not merely showy and fascinating girls but well instructed and valuable women. Where all acquitted themselves so well it would seem invidious to distinguish, yet we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of briefly noticing the class in Algebra. This admirable study so well adapted to the purpose of

training and disciplining the mind and of giving to it habits of close and accurate thought has been introduced in the Seminary with remarkable success. The equations solved were by no means easy; they were selected without discrimination, and the proof was complete that the young ladies had not merely applied rules they did not understand, but that they had seized upon the principles involved in this beautiful science. D'Aubigne's noble *History of the Reformation* presented another study—the recitations upon which were deeply interesting. The course of instruction upon which the pupils were examined is complete and the music by which the exercises were occasionally varied was such as to prove that to this department most sedulous attention has been given.⁶⁸

At the end of the following year the final public examinations lasted from Monday through Saturday. The *Spectator* wrote: "It was indeed a severe and exhausting labor to both the teachers and pupils, . . . but they were attended well throughout and gave entire satisfaction."⁶⁹ On Friday evening there was an exhibition of the musical class of the Seminary, which drew a very large audience. Compositions were read in the course of the week, and at the close of the examinations on Saturday Dr. Bailey gave an address, especially to those about to leave for good. As a part of such exercises there was always a distribution of prizes, awards of merit, and diplomas. Apparently the awarding of prizes and medals had not yet reached the point that it did in Miss Baldwin's day. Seminaries were criticized by educators for making too extensive use of such awards.

PROGRESS OF THE SCHOOL UNDER DR. BAILEY

The course of study was expanded under Dr. Bailey's administration to include chemistry, botany, and drawing and painting, which had not appeared in the first curriculum. In 1847, it was stated in the *Staunton Spectator*: "The course of study has been reduced to a system and the classes arranged in four departments. At the completion of this course, the pupil receives a certificate or Diploma of credit."⁷⁰ From the first there had been some attempts at such a systemization; Dr. Bailey was zealous for order and classification.

To the founder also belongs the credit for the beginnings of a library and a scientific laboratory. On October 9, 1845, there appeared a note in the *Spectator* in which Dr. Bailey thanked

Kenton Harper, the editor, for the gift of a copy of McCullough's *Map of the Heavens and Treatise on Astronomy* and Mitchell's *Map of the United States*; also he thanked John Marshall McCue for Bradford's *Popular Views on Astronomy*; Robert Cowan for Mitchell's *Map of the United States*, and another gentleman for Mitchell's *Map of the United States*. He added this notice: "The friends of the school are reminded that we are commencing a Library and the provision of a philosophical apparatus. Any contributions will be appropriated to proper use."⁷¹ In the college archives is found this list of subscriptions to the laboratories and the equipment purchased:

FOR PHILOSOPHICAL APPARATUS FOR THE AUGUSTA FEMALE SEMINARY

Astronomical Telescope	\$60
Air Pump	30
Electrical Machine	15
Galvanic Battery	15
Pair Globes	20
The High School Apparatus	20
J. A. Cochran	\$15
Jas. Smith	15
Wm. A. Bell	15
J. Marshall McCue	15
R. W. Bailey	15

The college has today a very interesting astronomical globe, apparently dating from this time. Here we have then the foundation, modest as it was, of the present Mary Baldwin library and the laboratories for scientific investigation.

From time to time the Board of Trustees issued reports to the public on the progress of the school; reports which give considerable information on methods and manner of instruction. The following is from the report of 1843:

We take pleasure in saying, as we do with great confidence, that the pupils of this school have given satisfactory evidence that they have been under *faithful and thorough* instruction. Their public examination was to us gratifying, because we perceived it to be *perfectly fair*—no collusion between scholar and teacher—no deceptive appearance. But our judgment does not rest alone, nor chiefly upon a public examination—at best a very doubtful test—but upon frequent visits of the Board to the School and careful inspection of its private and ordinary exercises. From this we can

say with entire truth that the daily mental training has been such as to deserve all commendation. A thorough system of analysis is carried through the school, and the student taught at every step to think for herself. We are particularly pleased to observe that, while due attention is paid to the higher branches, the utmost care has been given to the fundamental parts which are at once so essentially important and often so superficially touched. . . . ⁷²

The report of 1844 was of similar tone. "It was our purpose," the Trustees declared, "to found an Institution in which all the branches of a substantial Female education should be taught, and taught thoroughly. In this, we believe, we have succeeded in no ordinary degree."⁷³ Dr. Bailey and his assistants, they declared, had acquired a reputation as "skilful and experienced teachers" before they came to Staunton, and insisted that "teachers of such an Institution are rarely found better qualified or more devoted to their work." They related also in this report: "The members of the Presbytery of Lexington . . . spent several hours in a private examination of the school, and we have heard nothing but decided commendation." This evidence of Presbyterian interest and oversight is significant, although under the charter there was no suggestion of Presbyterian control. From these reports as well as from all other contemporary references to the school, it is apparent that the foundations of the Seminary had been thoroughly laid by Dr. Bailey for "a substantial Female education."⁷⁴

From various contemporary statements one may deduce that Dr. Bailey's abilities were not only appreciated, but that there was a certain amount of surprise that he should have devoted them to a small local school in Staunton. Mr. Waddell, a canny Scot, not given to exaggerated praise, declared: "He was a man of superior ability and could not have resided anywhere without being felt as a power in a community."⁷⁵ Mrs. Nellie Hotchkiss Holmes, an alumna, who studied under Miss Baldwin and was very close to her in friendship and who next to Mr. Waddell has been the chief historian of the Seminary, declared, in reference to Miss Baldwin's school days: "Dr. Bailey is spoken of as 'a good man, a *great* man, a fine teacher' and why he sought Staunton was a question often asked."⁷⁶ Dr. Bailey had a national reputation as a writer in his own day that no doubt

explained the surprise at his coming to Staunton to establish a school of local character.

Incidentally, one might refer here to certain genial and gracious qualities in Dr. Bailey suggested also in Mrs. Carmack's reminiscences included above. In the college archives is a letter, written by him to Sarah Bell, a graduate and later the wife of Davis Kayser, long a member of the Board of Trustees, which exhibits the deep personal concern that Dr. Bailey took in his pupils.⁷⁷ And in her account of Miss Baldwin's school days, Mrs. Holmes declared:

He builded wiser than he knew, for his faithful direction, fatherly praise and sympathy roused all the young girl's enthusiasm, and she sought his aid and companionship just as a daughter would do. She herself related this incident, in her later years, with evident gratification: on one occasion Dr. Bailey, wishing to bestow commendation, raised her hand (such a beautiful one it was!) to his lips, thus delighting the heart of his reverent pupil by his graceful homage.⁷⁸

Already the educational influence of the Augusta Female Seminary was being extended abroad through its graduates. In 1847, Sarah H. Douglass, who had taken the full course in the Seminary, opened a girls' school in Waynesboro, to which she went highly recommended by the Faculty and Board of Trustees.⁷⁹ The shining example of a teacher formed in the school of Dr. Bailey is, of course, Mary Julia Baldwin, who began her teaching in a private school in Staunton before she became Principal of the Seminary. If all the records existed, there might be found others who went out as teachers from the Seminary in its early years.

Dr. Bailey was apparently fully admitted into the society of Staunton, which is not quick to embrace outsiders. He was spoken of as "of this city" even after he left to take up work elsewhere; and his later activities were followed with interest and admiration. In various community interests he took an active part—in the Good Samaritan Temperance Society, in the Education Commission for promoting the idea of free public education, in which he was a member of the special committee to draft the program, as an examiner at the Virginia Institute for the Deaf and Blind, and, naturally, in the work of the Presbyterian Church. He served as

preacher when the pastor was absent, at one time for a period of three months, for which service he would take no remuneration. In gratitude the church presented to him a silver service. According to Arista Hoge in his *First Presbyterian Church of Staunton*, Dr. Bailey was largely instrumental in securing the construction of the manse, later to be the birthplace of Woodrow Wilson.⁸⁰

Dr. Bailey paid tribute to the gods of the county and city as a good citizen. Although from New England and of a Massachusetts family, he eulogized the services of "Old Augusta" in the Revolution; declared Virginia's university second to none; and was extravagant in his praises of the beauty and natural wealth of the Shenandoah Valley.⁸¹

Although actively interested in public questions, Dr. Bailey was never mentioned in connection with local or national politics. He declared in 1837 that he had never voted, that as a minister he did not like to be mixed in politics.⁸² Although he may have voted later, it seems unlikely. It seems a little strange that one so interested in national issues should not have voted. The substantial classes of Staunton in the 1840's were Whig in politics, and it is probable that Dr. Bailey's sympathies were with the same party.

DR. BAILEY'S PIONEERING IN LATER YEARS

Dr. Bailey resigned as Principal of the Augusta Female Seminary in 1849 to become the Virginia agent of the American Colonization Society. His work in this organization was not indeed of a pioneer character. The Society had been created in 1816 with the primary object of removing the free Negroes to the Republic of Liberia, which had been established as a national home for them. Jefferson had proposed such a plan during the American Revolution, the liberal philosophy of which was in contradiction with the existence of slavery and thus provoked plans for emancipation. The colonization idea was one of such plans. The South feared the presence of a large number of free Negroes and thus could be encouraged to emancipate the slaves only by the provision of some means, such as the Society provided, of their removal from the country. Various outstanding national figures, among them Henry Clay and James Madison,

had served as presidents of the Colonization Society. Although it was primarily a Southern movement, it received for a time much support from the anti-slavery forces of the North, who regarded it as a means of encouraging voluntary emancipation. During the 1830's, however, Northerners began to withdraw and to criticize the movement as a mere tool of the South to rid itself of the free Negro. Dr. Bailey favored the movement for two reasons: he still regarded it as a step to voluntary emancipation; and he saw in it a means of Christianizing the natives of Africa through the introduction of Christian Negroes. It thus effected, as he regarded it, two great liberal reforms of the mid-century—anti-slavery, or emancipation, and foreign missions.

As Virginia agent of the Society, Dr. Bailey was instrumental in getting a grant from the Virginia legislature of \$30,000 a year for five years to use for the transportation of Negroes.⁸³ Other funds were raised from voluntary subscription. From all reports he was very successful in this work. Conditions were naturally more favorable for emancipation in Virginia than in the Lower South, where the Negroes were more profitable. About half of the Negroes who were sent to Liberia during this period were from Virginia. A notice in the Staunton *Republican Vindicator* at one time reported that a boatload of one hundred forty had just been sent, more than half of whom were from the Valley, and that many of them had been recently emancipated.⁸⁴ Thus, in spite of the opinion of the North, the Society was still able to encourage emancipation. Slavery, it is true, had never been prominent in the Valley; anti-slavery sentiment had arisen early, and it was easy to secure emancipation.

In connection with his work in the Colonization Society, something might be added with reference to Dr. Bailey's views on the slavery issue, which by the later forties was threatening the division of the United States. Dr. Bailey never owned a slave and opposed slavery in principle. He came to South Carolina in 1827, when men of the Old South were still anti-slave in feeling, awaiting a practical solution of the question of the free Negro, and when they were in the meantime attempting to humanize the institution by the reform of slave codes and the education of the Negro. Dr. Bailey thus saw the institution with its best face on.

He sympathized with the practical difficulties of the Southerner; declared that the Southern slave owner suffered more from the institution than the slave; and that he was doing all he could to work out a solution. When some years later the abolition movement began, he realized at once the disastrous effect that this movement was going to have on the South in its attitude toward slavery, the free Negro, and toward the North. In a series of letters written in 1835 to abolitionist friends in the North he ably expressed these views and urged them to desist. These letters, originally published in the *Christian Mirror*, were widely copied in the press and later published in a book, *The Issue* (1837).

Dr. Bailey felt that the Southern Negro was not ready for freedom; that gradual emancipation was the solution; and that ultimate universal emancipation should come and could only come legally through the state legislatures; that the Southern owners were doing much for the slave and should be undisturbed in their efforts. Although it is difficult to summarize this able and interesting exposition, a statement or two will indicate fairly well the general trend of his thinking and show how well he understood the mind of the South and the influence the abolition movement would have on it. He declared in a letter to Silas McKean, August 22, 1835:

The present is evidently not the time for the extinction of slavery in the Southern States. But it is eminently the time for their moral improvement, and in this we are diligently engaged. *Let us alone.* . . . Many good men of the South look forward with hope and expectation to the eventual termination of slavery. Indeed I have always been struck with the similarity of views entertained on the subject by intelligent men at the North and at the South. But that cannot now be discussed. The subject must be deferred. The idea has been favored in many minds to effect a termination of slavery, *after the slaves are prepared for freedom*, by a compensation to the owners. But this must be done by consent. It cannot be made a national question. You will not be permitted to discuss it on the floor of Congress. *It might have been done* (but for the Abolitionists) on any principles of common courtesy. But it cannot now be done for years to come, if ever . . . ⁸⁵

And he warned Asa Cummings, editor of the *Christian Mirror*: "This, then, is the issue. It is inevitable. When the North shall say to the South, 'We do not claim a constitutional right to inter-

fere with your institutions, but you must and shall abandon your slavery, for it is wrong,'—then the union is at an end. The practical result is inevitable."⁸⁶

Dr. Bailey was accused by his Northern friends of an unholy compromise with the slave interest. It is safe to assert that there was no conscious sacrifice of principle on Dr. Bailey's part. Historians generally hold today that forces of circumstances or of institutions produced a sort of compromise between the clergy of the South and the planter class for mutual support. The planter would give up his free-thinking deism and become orthodox in religion and correct in morals, the clergy would forego attacks on the institution of slavery. Dr. Bailey, as a member of the clergy long resident in the South, was perhaps an unconscious party to this compromise. It would be impossible to declare dogmatically.

Dr. Bailey spent several years as the agent of the Colonization Society. In 1854, he became professor of languages in the pioneer Presbyterian College of Texas, Austin College, located then at Huntsville. This college, chartered in 1849, had graduated the first college class in Texas.⁸⁷ The death of the president in 1857 and other difficulties led to the suspension of the school until February, 1859. In the meantime, Dr. Bailey had been elected president of the school, a position which he held until his death in 1863. During this time Dr. Bailey was active in the affairs of the Presbyterian Church in Texas and in the South. He supplied as pastor of the church at Huntsville for a time, turning the salary back to apply on the church debt. He was moderator of the Synod of Texas in 1861. As a member of the first General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian church in 1861, he signed the *Address to the Churches of the World* drawn up by this body to justify their separation from the Northern Presbyterians.⁸⁸ In 1859, the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him by Hampden-Sydney College. Dr. Bailey died of pneumonia in Huntsville, April 26, 1863, at the age of seventy.

Before leaving the story of the founder's Texas pioneering, a word might be said of an architectural venture of his, the Steamboat House. Preacher, teacher, author of textbooks, journalist, it is interesting to find that Dr. Bailey was also an architect. The

following account of this venture is given by Marquis James in his life of General Sam Houston :

The Steamboat House was erected about 1860 by Dr. Rufus W. Bailey, President of Austin College, at the other end of the town. Deploring the lack of originality in the prevailing style of architecture, Dr. Bailey determined to remedy this defect. His inspiration, the Mississippi River steamboat, was executed with alarming perfection. The stairways were on the outside leading from one deck of the gallery to the other. The motif found further expression in the design on the doors and the windows with their little panes of vari-colored glass. The parlor was on the "saloon-deck" upstairs. Bed chambers have some resemblance to staterooms.⁸⁹

In 1861, the Steamboat House was rented by General Sam Houston, and in it he died in 1862. He never particularly liked the house. From the pictures and descriptions of it, one is perhaps inclined to consider it an example of Yankee ingenuity rather than architectural beauty. General Houston, it should be added, was a trustee and an ardent supporter of Austin College.⁹⁰

DR. BAILEY'S WORK AS WRITER AND EDITOR

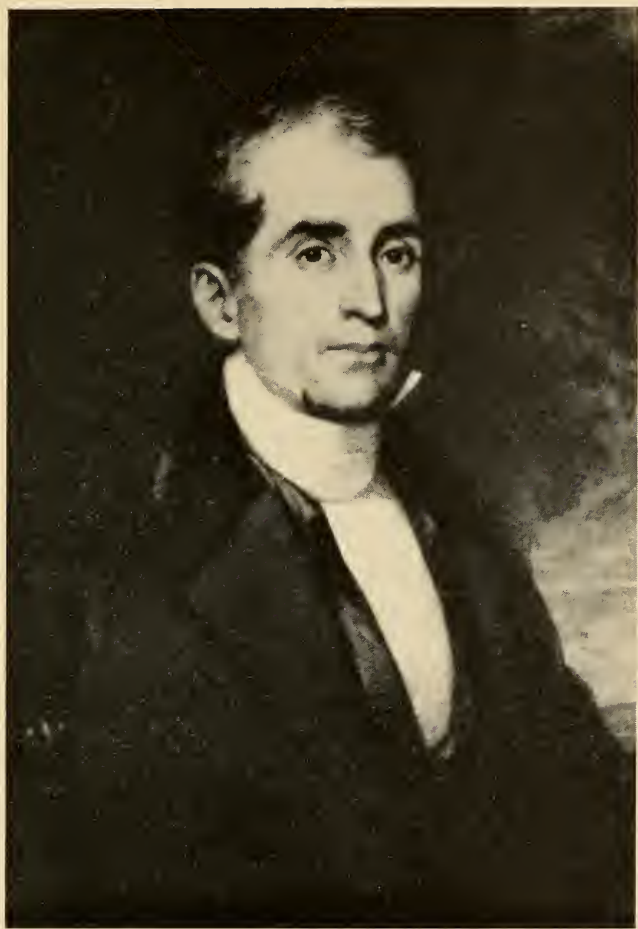
Dr. Bailey liked to instruct by the written as well as by the spoken word ; and, incidentally, there are many testimonies of his facility as a speaker. Throughout his life he was busy as writer, compiler, and editor of works primarily designed as guides or textbooks for instruction in the home or the school. Reference has already been made to his *Daughters at School*, in which one gets his philosophy of education. These letters, written in the early 1830's, were not published until 1857. Two other books were the product of his South Carolina years, *The Issue*, (1837), already mentioned, and *The Family Preacher*, a book of sermons on family relationships, published in 1838. Just before he came to Staunton Dr. Bailey had edited (1841-42) a family magazine, *The Patriarch*, or *Family Library Magazine*, published in New York, which, after 1842, passed into other hands as *The Mother's Magazine*. This work, to which Dr. Bailey contributed many articles, brought unstinted praise from the press from Maine to Florida and from Baptist and Methodist journals as well as from Presbyterian. Typical of the comments is the statement of the *Boston Recorder*:

We cheerfully and confidently express the opinion that *The Patriarch* is preeminently entitled to the patronage which it modestly claims. An object more important to the rising generation of our country in its relation both to time and eternity cannot be proposed. If parents can be enlightened and moved to judicious and efficient action, the object will be secured. And that they will be enlightened and moved, we have reason to believe, if they shall avail themselves of the instructions of *The Patriarch*. Though we have not the pleasure of personal acquaintance with the editor, his character is too favorably and widely known to leave the shadow of a doubt that, with the cooperation he can readily secure, he will supply the public with a periodical of surpassing interest and value.⁹¹

The Raleigh *Star* considered it "one of the most useful and interesting publications" of the American press, and the Richmond *Christian Advocate* declared it entitled to rank with the best publications of the day.⁹²

Attention is directed to this work of Dr. Bailey because it embodies a foremost conception of his—that parents, and especially mothers, should be educated—and it thus put into operation the modern notion of adult education. The magazine contained also lesson plans, devices for teaching, etc., that mothers might use in instructing children. A wide range of subject matter was included, from botany and hygiene, which was especially emphasized, to music. It was beautifully executed with many illustrations. Incidentally the picture of Dr. Bailey which appears in this book was made from an engraving done by the well-known artist, John Sartain, and reproduced in the first issue of *The Patriarch*. One may wonder if this editorial venture proved a financial success. Dr. Bailey's objective to get it into the homes of those who perhaps did not have books or other facilities for education encouraged a low subscription price, remarked upon by many press notices. The *New York Mechanic* said it was "decidedly the best got up work for the price in the country."⁹³ Perhaps Dr. Bailey had to give it up because of inability to make it pay. One does not know. But it represents a most interesting educational idea and project of this prolific and ingenious mind.

Dr. Bailey was the author of a book on etymology widely used, especially in Southern schools, entitled *The Scholar's Companion*. When a new edition appeared in 1863, it was announced that half a million copies had been sold in more than a hundred



From Steel Engraving by John Sartain

RUFUS WILLIAM BAILEY

editions. That it was extensively used outside the South, too, is indicated by the fact that the edition of 1863 carried a statement from school authorities in Philadelphia that it should be the textbook on etymology for all the schools of that district; and a statement of the Maryland Department of Public Instruction indicated that it had been adopted for use throughout that state. A few years ago, President Jarman found a copy, published in 1890, that had been used in school in San Luis Potosí, Mexico, in 1911. It was the Roget's *Thesaurus* or Trench's *Study of Words* for thousands. Incidentally, Dr. Bailey paid tribute in his introduction to these more elaborate studies. Some years ago an alumna sent a clipping from the *Baltimore Sun* (date unknown), an account by the "Benztown Bard" of a tour of the Valley of Virginia in the 1930's, in which he said:

One of the most interesting incidents connected with my recent tour of the Valley of Virginia was when I stood in front of an old painting of the Reverend Dr. Bailey on the walls of Mary Baldwin College at Staunton. Not only because Dr. Bailey was one of the progenitors of this fine school, but because he was the man who wrote and compiled *The Scholar's Companion*, a book that every man who was ever a real schoolboy will remember . . . ⁹⁴

In the *Introduction* to the edition of 1863 Dr. Bailey discussed his conception of the importance of the history and evolution of language:

The study of words is the study of philosophy, of history, of morals. We may read a nation's history in a nation's words. . . . There is often more of true history to be learned in a Dictionary, which cannot lie, than in written annals, which may be formed by prejudice, pride, affectation, misconception, or intended falsehood. . . . The study of words has never yet had its proper place in the educational course. If pursued at all it has been a study of definition merely, disconnected with etymology. . . .

"Word warriors" have caused more bloodshed and misery than all the executioners of martyrs to truth and principle. . . . Theological controversies, political asperities, judicial litigations, personal animosities have their origin and vitality most often in the misunderstanding of words.⁹⁵

These observations had a peculiar timeliness. For a generation a battle of words had been raging in the United States, eventually to turn into a battle of guns, over the meaning of "sovereignty," "liberty," the "state," "state's rights," and "the

nature of the union." Perhaps the author's final comments on words may appear to sober sense a bit extravagant, but they suggest his inclination to carry the moral and religious objectives into all his study and teachings. He insisted :

Definitely the *study of words* is the object of this treatise intended to initiate the young learner early into the habit of a critical definition of the language he uses. Beyond mere orthography and correct pronunciation, it is designed to introduce the young mind into the inner life of words and thus into the inner life of the soul. It is a spelling book, but that is not all. It teaches correct pronunciation, but that is not all. It is a defining Dictionary—but still more it discriminates the nicest shades of difference in words, in thought, and contributes eminently to form the mind to truth and the character to uprightness and the soul to immortal destiny.

If we may have contributed to awaken the mind of teachers and educationists to the true dignity, importance, and influence of the *study of words*, we have installed our subject in its proper place and accomplished the object of this brief Introduction to the *Scholar's Companion*.

Dr. Bailey was the author also of two text-books on grammar, a *Primary English Grammar* and a *Manual of Grammar*, the latter highly appraised by the *National Intelligencer* of Washington.⁹⁶ The book was commended also by the famous Dr. William McGuffey, of the University of Virginia, who had examined the manuscript.⁹⁷ Incidentally it is interesting to note this indirect connection of Dr. McGuffey with the Seminary before Miss Baldwin's day. Through these several textbooks and through *The Patriarch*, Dr. Bailey had had, without doubt, considerable influence on American education in his day far beyond the range of his local activities.

THE FIRST BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE AUGUSTA FEMALE SEMINARY

Undoubtedly the foundation and early success of the Augusta Female Seminary owes much to the devoted service of the able body of men who made up the first Board of Trustees. The members of this Board were all citizens of Augusta County, most of them of Staunton, and were hence in very close contact with the school. As these pages have indicated, they attended frequently the regular daily activities of the school and always were present for the annual examinations. Occasionally members of the

Board supplied as teachers and, according to Elizabeth Stephens Carmack, might be a refuge for the student distressed by the intricacies of algebra. And they had a prominent part in the establishment of the school physically and academically and in the promotion of it before the public.

The following men comprised this first board: Francis McFarland, James Crawford, William Brown, Adam Link, John McCue, P. E. Stevenson, A. Waddell, S. J. Love, Jacob Baylor, John Marshall McCue, William Frazier, A. S. Hall, William M. Tate, James A. Cochran, and B. M. Smith. Five of these—McFarland, Brown, Stephenson, Love, and Smith were Presbyterian ministers; Waddell, a physician; Luck and Hall, merchants; Baylor and Tate, planters; the others were prominent in local affairs, politics, and law. The two McCues and Colonel James Crawford were influential in State politics and judicial administration. Almost all these men belonged to old Covenanter families who had migrated from the North of Ireland—men of sound religion, thorough education, and of public spirit. Dr. Addison Waddell was a son of the famous blind preacher, James Waddell. It is interesting to note that James Waddell was a teacher of Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, the famous exponent of an American system of education for women mentioned above.⁹⁸ Upon the death of Dr. Waddell in 1855, his son, Joseph A. Waddell, took his place on the Board of Trustees, where he was to serve for sixty years and to be a pillar of the Seminary in Miss Baldwin's day. Mr. William M. Tate was the grandfather of Miss Nannie Tate, the first full graduate of the Seminary under Miss Baldwin's administration and the beloved primary teacher for many years.

The President of the Board, the Reverend Francis McFarland, was a man of remarkably wide experience and education and of sound practical judgment. An immigrant from Ireland, educated in Washington College, Pennsylvania, and at Princeton, he had served for many years as pastor and home missionary throughout the South. For a number of years he was a director of the Union Theological Seminary and a trustee of Washington College (Washington and Lee University). For many years Dr. McFarland kept a diary, which ran to a number

of volumes, now in the possession of his grandson, Mr. W. B. McFarland. These documents contain much material for social, political, and religious, as well as personal history. On July 23, 1855, he recorded: "I went to Staunton on horseback to see about our female school"; and there are other references to his work as a trustee. The most interesting of all these documents, however, is the account of a missionary journey he made as a young preacher through Illinois, Indiana (and tradition says he gave the name to the capital of this state), Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In the first president of the Board of Trustees, as well as in the first Principal, the Augusta Female Seminary had found a man of rich and varied experience. Since his death both his son, J. N. McFarland, and his grandson, W. B. McFarland, have served as members of the Board of Trustees, the latter a member today. Another member of this first Board of Trustees, the Reverend P. E. Stevenson, a native of New York and graduate of Princeton, was the pastor of the First Church at the time the Seminary was established. According to the history of the church compiled by Arista Hoge, much progress had been made under him, and incidentally the church had bought and improved the lot on which Main Building stands.⁹⁹

A word further might be added about the Reverend Benjamin Smith. As a member of the Board for many years and as pastor of the Presbyterian Church for ten years, from 1845-1854, he had no doubt a greater influence educationally on the Seminary than any other member of the Board. He was a native of Virginia, educated at Hampden-Sydney, with two years' study abroad in the Semitic languages, mainly in Prussia.¹⁰⁰ In a day when the art of oratory was at its height, he was famous as an effective speaker. His zeal in the promotion of education was noteworthy. He had organized one of the first educational associations of the South, while teaching in North Carolina. In 1839, he submitted to the Virginia legislature a report on the Prussian school system, which he had studied first hand, as a step in arousing interest in a public school system in Virginia. According to his biographer in the *Dictionary of American Biography*: "This report is recognized as one of the most significant educational documents of the period." He organized an Education Society in Augusta County

to promote the cause of public education. At the time the Augusta Female Seminary opened, the Reverend Smith was pastor of the Tinkling Springs Church and the Presbyterian Church in Waynesboro, where he had also a classical academy. As mentioned above, he was pastor in Staunton from 1845 to 1854, always an enthusiastic promotor of the Seminary. During his pastorate the two wings were added to the Main Building. The Reverend Smith taught for many years in Hampden-Sydney, becoming a sort of second founder of the college through his reorganization of it after the ravages of the Civil War. He lived to see free public education established in Virginia in 1870 and became one of the first county superintendents. He was truly a notable figure in Virginia education, and it is safe to say that, academically speaking, his influence in the foundation of the Augusta Female Seminary was second only to that of Dr. Bailey.

THE DARKER YEARS—WITH SOME BRIGHT SPOTS

From its foundation in 1842 until the resignation of Dr. Bailey in 1849, the Augusta Female Seminary had enjoyed solid success, although there was nothing extravagant about the prosperity of the school, still a small local seminary. There followed these good years a period of difficulty and uncertainty, until 1863, when it seemed that the Seminary might be forced to close. It is somewhat difficult to account fully for the decline of the school in the 1850's. This was a decade of great prosperity in the country generally and especially in the Cotton Kingdom. It was the heyday of the seminaries throughout the country, although many of them were doomed to perish during the Civil War of the next decade. Strange to say, the Augusta Female Seminary, which almost perished in the early fifties, suffered difficulties in the middle of the decade and then again in the first years of the Civil War, began to revive before the war closed and continued to expand during the dark days of Reconstruction. Her status in these years of the 1850's and 1860's is practically a complete contrast to that of most of the other seminaries of the South.

Undoubtedly one cause of the decline in the 1850's was the frequent change of administration. There were six heads during this fifteen year period. Another may have been the tardiness in

providing boarding facilities in the school, now that there were other seminaries in Staunton with such. The existence of two other seminaries, the Virginia Female Institute (Stuart Hall), and the Wesleyan Female Seminary, no doubt drew some of the local patronage from the Augusta Female Seminary, since all were primarily local in character. It should be said, too, that this decline was not continuous; there were years in the fifties, when the school attained something like the success it had enjoyed under Dr. Bailey. There was some material expansion in the form of additions to the physical plant and to the equipment.

THE PRINCIPALS—DR. JOSEPH R. WILSON, HEAD OF THE SCHOOL
IN 1855-1856

Upon the resignation of Dr. Bailey in January, 1849, the Reverend Samuel Matthews was elected Principal of the Seminary. It was stated above that Mr. Matthews and his wife had been employed in August, 1848, in order to relieve Dr. Bailey, whose health demanded a change from his sedentary duties. As a graduate of Union Theological Seminary and former President of Greenville College, Tennessee, he had come highly recommended. According to Mr. Waddell's statement, he soon became discouraged and resigned in December, 1849, the resignation to take effect in June, 1850.¹⁰¹

Mr. John L. Campbell, who had married Dr. Bailey's daughter, Harriet, and who had taught in the Seminary for a short time, was elected Principal, but declined the appointment. In June, 1850, the Reverend William J. Campbell, pastor of the Shemariah Church, was elected, and he took charge of the Seminary in September, 1850. Mr. Campbell resigned in January, 1851. Whether the school closed for the remainder of the year, or continued under the remaining teachers the author has not been able to determine. Mr. Waddell said: "As far as appears there was 'no school' during the remainder of the scholastic year."¹⁰² According to the practice at a later period, it would seem more likely that it continued under the supervision of the pastor of the Presbyterian Church, at this time the Reverend Benjamin Smith. Or it may be that Miss Rensell or Reinnelles (two spellings occur), mentioned by Mrs. Holmes in her history published in *The*

Record of 1896, was the head at this time. Mrs. Holmes stated, however, that she followed Mr. Browne in 1853. This statement is incorrect as to the date, since Mr. Browne did not resign until June, 1855. It appears to the writer that Mrs. Holmes is probably correct, however, as to the sequence of persons. Miss Rensell perhaps was in immediate control of the Seminary in 1855-56, when Dr. Wilson had the general supervision of it.

In May, 1851, the Reverend William B. Browne of Hillsboro, North Carolina, was elected and assumed charge in September, 1851. Mr. Browne was assisted in Music and French by his wife, who according to the *Spectator* was educated and had taught in one of the best female seminaries of the North.¹⁰³ He continued as principal until June, 1855—a period of four years during which the school regained something of the success it had had under Dr. Bailey. He left to take a place in Centre College, Kentucky.

No one was secured as Principal during the summer of 1855, and on September 8, 1855, the following notice appeared in the *Republican Vindicator*: "The next session of this institution will open on Wednesday the 12th day of September next. At the request of the Board of Trustees the undersigned will assume the general superintendence of the school, and he can assure parents and guardians that their children and wards shall receive the best instruction from competent and experienced assistants. . . ." This notice was signed by Dr. Joseph R. Wilson, then pastor of the Presbyterian Church. Thus for one year the father of the late President Woodrow Wilson was the head of the Augusta Female Seminary.

This provision was intended to be temporary. In September, 1856, Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marquess took charge of the school. He remained only a year, apparently dissatisfied at losses he had suffered and at the delay in the completion of the additions to the buildings. And according to Mr. Waddell, he was displeased with the lack of privacy becoming a female boarding school. "He objected to members of the congregation entering the gate on New Street and passing immediately in front of the Seminary while going to and returning from church, the way around being unpaved, rugged, and often muddy."¹⁰⁴ This suggests perhaps something of friction and bad feeling between Mr. Marquess and

the Church and Board. However, Dr. Wilson commended highly the fine conduct of the school under Mr. Marquess. He left to open a school at Warm Springs.

Incidentally Mr. Marquess was the brother-in-law of the noted Virginia preacher, Moses Drury Hoge.¹⁰⁵ The following interesting facts about his life have recently reached the writer through a letter of his daughter, Anne Marquess Wallace, dated July 3, 1942, to Miss Mary Lakenan, Professor of Biblical Literature in Mary Baldwin. Mr. Marquess was a native of Fredericksburg, Virginia (the first Principal from Virginia). He was a graduate of Ohio University, and spent a year each at the Union Theological Seminary and Princeton. Before coming to Mary Baldwin he had been teaching in boys' private schools, and according to Mrs. Wallace's letter, "felt more at home with them." He only agreed to take the headship of the Seminary for a year until a successor could be found. It is interesting to note that the son of Mr. Marquess, Dr. William Hoge Marquess, was the teacher of Miss Lakenan in the Biblical Seminary in New York, of which he was dean.

Miss Nannie Tate, another notable teacher trained in the Seminary, entered under Mr. Marquess. She completed her work under Miss Baldwin, becoming the first full graduate under her administration and for many years a teacher in the school.

In September, 1857, Mr. John B. Tinsley of Statesville, North Carolina, became Principal. To quote Mr. Waddell, he "was assisted in the school by his two daughters and other competent teachers. His success for three or four years was apparently satisfactory to him, he having a number of boarders and many day scholars."¹⁰⁶ From facts considered below, it appears that his administration was fairly successful until the outbreak of the war. He continued to keep the school open until 1863, when Miss Baldwin became Principal.

There had been, in the meantime, a number of changes in the Board of Trustees, through death, resignation, or removals. David Fultz, John Hendren, Davis A. Kayser, John Trimble, and John D. Imboden, had been elected to fill the vacancies. The Reverend William Brown had taken the place of Dr. McFarland as President. Mr. Joseph A. Waddell had been elected in 1855 to take his

father's place and was named secretary, a position he held for more than fifty years. Dr. Joseph R. Wilson was a member of the Board in 1856, the year of the birth of his son, Woodrow.

THE AUGUSTA FEMALE SEMINARY BECOMES A BOARDING SCHOOL

For fifteen years the Augusta Female Seminary was only a day school. To be sure, there were students who boarded in Staunton under the supervision of the school; but the school itself had no residence or dormitories for students. In 1852, the Board of Trustees decided to build a residence for the Principal. The original plan was to secure a separate lot for this purpose, but it was decided finally to add to Main Building. Thus were constructed the two wings, or annexes, which exist today. This addition, completed by 1857, accommodated fifteen or twenty boarding students in addition to the Principal and his family.

Money for this addition had been sought by public subscription, but the building was begun apparently before sufficient funds were subscribed, and there were delays in collection. Thus some financial complications arose. Six members of the Board, the Reverend William Brown, William M. Tate, John Trimble, John D. Imboden, Davis A. Kayser, and Joseph A. Waddell, agreed to borrow money from one of the Staunton banks, as it was needed in the construction, on their personal credit.¹⁰⁷ Thus the building was completed. Collections from subscriptions failed to cover the cost, and these men had to pay. A small aid to apply to the indebtedness was found, it is true, in the Shayres fund. The Seminary was granted one-fourth of this fund left by a Mrs. Shayres for the education of indigent children. In return for this the Seminary assumed the obligation to furnish free tuition to three indigent girls.¹⁰⁸ Bonds of \$500 were issued by the Seminary to each of the six members of the Board who had borrowed money for the construction. To remunerate the six it was agreed that the Principal pay a rent of \$250 a year and that this be applied toward the redemption of the bonds. But the amount assessed in rent always had to be spent in repairs and improvements, and hence no rents were ever really paid. During the Civil War, the matter was dropped. In Miss Baldwin's day an adjustment was made with respect to the money due Mr. Brown and Mr. Imboden.

The other four—Mr. William M. Tate, Mr. Davis A. Kayser, Mr. Joseph A. Waddell, and Mr. John Trimble, agreed to a cancellation of the indebtedness.

It will be observed that, unlike many schools which enjoy large initial endowments, Mary Baldwin was begun from gifts from friends, usually in small amounts. Later expansion, aside from the gift of the Chapel by the Presbyterian Church, has been almost entirely from within. Her financial stability and success have been remarkable, and her financial history perhaps unique among the more prominent women's colleges.

UPS AND DOWNS OF THE SEMINARY IN THE 1850's AND EARLY 1860's

The Seminary declined in the early fifties under frequent shifts in administration. There was little news of the school in the local papers. In the fall of 1851, when Mr. Browne took over the school, a recovery began. At the close of his second year, the *Staunton Spectator* had the following account of the closing exercises of the school:

The examinations at the Augusta Female Seminary closed during the past week. We regret that we were unable to attend, but those who were present were greatly pleased at the evidence of progress and improvement manifested by the pupils. The Reverend William B. Browne, the Principal, is peculiarly qualified by an accurate and thorough Literary and Scientific education no less than by personal character and deportment for the peculiar position of teacher and superintendent of a Female School, and he has been judicious and fortunate in the selection of his assistants.

This school was taken by Mr. Browne some two years since with only about a dozen pupils. Since then without the usual tactics of puff and parade, it has silently but steadily advanced as its intrinsic merits have become known, until at the close of this session it numbered nearly 70 pupils and now commands entire public confidence.¹⁰⁹

The following year the *Republican Vindicator* quoted an interesting comment on the close of the school, which indicates the possession of the prestige it had enjoyed under the founder: "We join with the *Spectator* in saying 'The Augusta Female Seminary under its present management is in a flourishing condition. . . . Mr. Browne has restored it to its former reputation for order and efficiency enjoyed under the control of the Reverend R. W.

Bailey, and we trust its success will equal its deserts.' "¹¹⁰ Under Mr. Browne the primary department was discontinued, but it was introduced again in September, 1855, the year following his resignation.¹¹¹ Among the pupils of 1854-55 was Lucy Bailey, daughter of Dr. Bailey, who had been born about the time the Seminary was established.

During the next two years there was delay and uncertainty concerning the additions to Main Building that may have hurt the patronage of the school. In July, 1856, an announcement was made that the provisions for boarding students would be completed for use in the coming session; but in September, a notice was given out that "pupils from a distance will be accommodated for the present in respectable and pleasant families."¹¹² There was again a rapid shift of principals, Dr. Wilson acting as head in 1855-1856; Mr. Marquess as Principal in 1856-1857. Two new teachers came with Mr. Marquess, Mr. G. De Ringie, modern languages, and Mr. Martin Sauer, music.¹¹³ It is interesting to note the increase of men, and also the appearance of a special instructor in modern languages. The slight information that one has might suggest that Mr. Marquess was a conscientious administrator but disappointed and discouraged by the situation at a time when a person of sanguine disposition was especially needed. Mr. J. Brown Tinsley, who became Principal in September, 1857, was apparently just such a person. Moreover, the annexes were now ready for occupation.¹¹⁴

The announcement of the school in the summer of 1859 indicated that it was in good condition, which apparently continued until the Civil War began. "The several departments are filled by competent and experienced assistants. The public rooms have been recently supplied with maps and charts of the latest construction and the philosophical and chemical apparatus enlarged at a heavy expense," the notice stated, indicating thus some material expansion.¹¹⁵ In the session of 1860-1861, "the boarders numbered some score, one or two from so remote a distance as Richmond."¹¹⁶ The Seminary was reaching out a little further from its county limits.

The cost of education at the Seminary had advanced considerably by 1860. The following items might be compared with those

cited above for the year, 1843-1844: board, with washing, fuel, and light, \$150; tuition in the English branches, \$25 to \$40; music with use of instruments, \$54; ancient and modern languages, each \$20; drawing and painting in water colors, \$20 each; painting in oil, \$35. Oil painting was a new addition to the curriculum.¹¹⁷

The following unpublished letter of a boarding student affords a glimpse at least of the life in the Seminary under Mr. Tinsley, and is valued because of the fewness of such documents. The author of this letter, Naomi Elizabeth Layman, the grandmother of Sarah Dudley and Blessing Whitmore, recent graduates, lived in Waynesboro and was a student, perhaps in 1860-61. The letter is undated and was never mailed. The author, her family say, was a dreamy romantic, who lived in the clouds.

Augusta Female Seminary

My dear Maisie:

Your favor of the 24 of September I received on the 25 and would have answered it sooner, but have been so busy that I have not had the time so I hope you will excuse me, for it was not negligence, only want of time. You wrote for me to come to Harrisonburg to school, but when I received your letter I had decided to go to Staunton and had also written to Mr. Tinsley that I would enter his school as a pupil for the present session and therefore did not like to change. But I have no doubt but what you all have quite a pleasant school, for I have heard Mr. and Mrs. Wilson very highly spoken of. I have only been here two weeks, and so far I like it very well. Tell Mary Smith Mr. Tinsley is very strict with us indeed. I declare they have so many rules that I am almost afraid to turn around for fear I will break some of them. Is Mr. Wilson very strict? From what I have heard of him I don't expect he is. Some one told me you went walking without a teacher. I would just like to see some of the girls here go outside of the yard without Miss Miller with her. . . . We have an examination every month and a concert every other Friday evening. Are you coming home Christmas? I don't expect to go before that time. The very idea almost makes me cry. Tell Mary Smith some days we have right good fare and some days we don't. . . . Give my love to the Waynesboro girls and tell them I am glad they are so well pleased with their school. I guess I will have to close as the study hall bell will ring presently. There is the bell. Let me go.

Your friend Naomi.

She added as a postscript the next day:

Maisie, I forgot to post my letter in the letter box before four o'clock. I could not get to the post-office, and as I did not, I will tell you about our

concert last night. We had a very nice time indeed. There were eighteen ladies and three gentlemen. And there was an accident happened which will make us remember that concert for a long time. I would write you about it but it would consume too much time to do so. I will tell you about it when I see you. After the concert was over all the girls (went home?) excepting Bell Tate and Bettie Keiser. They went up to our room with us, and we handed around candy. They stayed until . . .

Here the letter ended; and the accident remains a mystery.

AN EDITOR'S COMMENT ON FEMALE EDUCATION IN THE FIFTIES

The whole question of woman's education remained a matter of considerable discussion and debate throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. The scope and character of this education continued to be discussed; but as boarding schools increased there was much concern also over the effect of life in such groups on the health of women. Aside from their comments on the activities in the local schools, the Staunton press from time to time entered into the general discussion. The following editorial appeared in the *Republican Vindicator*. One might wonder whether the editor had any or all of the local seminaries in mind. He wrote:

The Female institutions of the present day might with propriety be denominated Prison Houses where the mind has to undergo a routine of punishment and the body a system of restriction incompatible with the ease, comfort, and proper development of either. The mind is overtaxed by a constant application to books, from early dawn to closing eve, Sundays not excepted. . . . If it (one) is permitted to walk out, it is under the most criminal restraint and with a measured tread that would do honor to the strictest military tactician.

But at best the education now deemed necessary to *make a lady* is superficial and impracticable. If a woman had been made to supersede doll babies, to live an ideal life, and to be carried about in a band box with a pair of silver tongs, to prevent the fresh breezes of Heaven from soiling her face . . . then would the present system of female education be almost admirably adopted to her mission. . . . She has a more exalted mission to accomplish than to bedeck herself in costly paraphernalia and spout bad French that she might be called a *rara avis*. . . . Girls coming out of our fashionable Seminaries as now conducted are no more capable of assuming their true position in life than the hot house rose is of withstanding the withering blasts of winter. And until the studies of our schools become more practical, until physical health and strength go side by side with mental advancement, our female society must ever remain superficial in intellectual attainments and deficient in physical capabilities.¹¹⁸

Most likely the editor did not class the local seminaries with the "fashionable schools." Certainly much of what one learns about the Augusta Female Seminary from other sources would make this appear inapplicable to its regime. As to the rigid system of study and lack of attention to physical development there might seem to be some point of application. This same paper observed, however, in the following year:

The different Seminaries of learning in this place have commenced their exercises and are being rapidly filled with pupils. There are no schools which present greater advantages for the education of young ladies than those of Staunton. Every requisite for a thorough education, both in letters and manners, are here found. These facts are becoming generally and widely known and hence the extensive encouragement given to them. . . .

Our streets will now resume their wonted life and gaiety and be graced with the many blithe and charming young ladies who hie to our mountains for mental and physical improvement.¹¹⁹

AND THEN CAME WAR

Just as the Seminary under Mr. Tinsley was apparently at its highest point of prosperity, the Civil War came. To quote an earlier writer:

The boys in gray marched through Staunton; the Seminary girls, standing on the terraces to wave their champions adieu, showered them with clover blossoms in default of handsomer flowers. But they were soon to discover that war is not all bands and blossoms; even to non-combatants it brings its question, that of bread and meat. The boarding department shrank one year to six girls.¹²⁰

As Mr. Waddell recorded: "Mr. Tinsley kept the School open in the years 1860-1861, 1861-1862, and 1862-1863; the number of pupils being reduced and the places of boarders being filled by refugees from places in the vicinity of the contending armies."¹²¹

On June 23, 1863, the following interesting notice appeared in the *Spectator*: "The pupils of Augusta Female Seminary assisted by the teachers and several amateur performers will give a concert of vocal and instrumental music on Tuesday next—the 20th instant; the proceeds to be applied to the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers. Tickets, one dollar each."

Thus closed another chapter of the history of the Augusta Female Seminary. And in the summer of 1863, it appeared that this might be the end of the Seminary, for Mr. Tinsley had decided that he could not continue the operation of the school another year. At this period of greatest crisis in the history of the school, Mary Julia Baldwin agreed to assume the responsibility, and a new era began.

Chapter Two

mARY JULIA BALDWIN
AND THE
GOLDEN AGE OF THE SEMINARY
1863-1897



CHAPTER II

MARY JULIA BALDWIN AND THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE SEMINARY, 1863-1897



THE restoration of the Augusta Female Seminary under Mary Julia Baldwin constituted a sort of second foundation, and thus she might be considered the *second* founder. Her birthday, October 4, is observed as Founders' Day; a fact, not in harmony with strict historical truth, but sanctioned, nevertheless, by the sentiments of thousands of her daughters. The Seminary had seemed doomed to pass out of existence by 1863. Even in Staunton this earlier history up to 1863 came in time to be ignored or forgotten. In 1890, an editor of a local paper spoke of the annual commencement as the twenty-eighth commencement.¹ Miss Baldwin not only revived the Seminary and made it prosper, but she reorganized and expanded the curriculum; she restored immediately the local prestige the school had had in its early days under Dr. Bailey and in time enshrined it in the hearts of her townsmen; and she gave it a South-wide and finally a nation-wide reputation. "Miss Baldwin's School" was, it can safely be said, without a peer among post-war seminaries.

It is not surprising that Mary Julia Baldwin's achievement was declared "astonishing" and that her school was considered a "marvel of success" by the local press.² In its material and financial aspects her record reads like a romance of the popular "success story" type. She had lived a relatively retired and sheltered life during her first thirty-four years with no large responsibilities or experience. The school she took had only one building with room for about twenty boarding students. It was practically unfurnished, and over it there rested a debt of three

thousand dollars. Miss Baldwin had an inheritance of four thousand dollars, which went into the school. With no endowment and no further aid except the donation, by the Presbyterian Church, of the Chapel, which she had to remodel to seminary purposes, she made a remarkable business success of the school. From the profits from it she purchased land, added and equipped three residences for women, provided academic and musical equipment, maintained the plant, gave generously to the church, to public and private benevolences, to students unable to finance their education, and to countless friends and relatives, and left considerable investments in addition to the Seminary property. This success of the Seminary was achieved quietly with little advertising other than it received from its patrons. One might be reminded, it is true, that except for the first few difficult years, Miss Baldwin's administration coincided with the rising tide of prosperity and material expansion in the United States in the later nineteenth century; also, that, as a seminary, the school did not incur some of the expense in equipment and faculty which would have attended, and did attend ultimately, its transformation into a college.

The achievement of Mary Julia Baldwin, material and educational, was the product of a strong, clear, practical intelligence, of unusual courage, and of religious faith, completely devoted to the realization of an ideal of woman's education. Although not a highly trained scholar, her education was up to the level of that day; moreover, she recognized the worth of scholarship and was wise in the choice of assistants. In personnel administration and in the discipline and direction of young women, her abilities were unusual. Just, firm, possessing a sympathetic understanding that was sparing of words, but always recognized, she had won a local reputation as an excellent teacher of girls. In the boldness of her plans and in her success as an executive, she revealed qualities often, but perhaps incorrectly, considered masculine. She was, in fact, pronounced "the best business man in Staunton."³ Her willingness to assume risks in the academic and material expansion of the school reminds one of the speculative business of that day and often alarmed her more cautious masculine friends and advisers; but she, like the "captains of industry," no doubt

recognized that she was expanding her enterprise on a constantly rising market.⁴

A physical misfortune resulting from an illness in childhood might easily have made Miss Baldwin a recluse or even a misanthrope. Her good mind, her strong religious faith, and her sense of social obligation conquered any such tendency, if it existed. Although she avoided so-called "polite society" and the attentions of men, she never allowed her misfortune to make her bitter or to cause her to indulge in self-pity. It seemed rather to have had the opposite effect of turning her thought entirely to the service of others. By what process of stern self-discipline she may have won this victory over herself perhaps no one ever knew. She possessed a very sensitive nature, and her close friends knew her to be subject to spells of doubt and discouragement, which the public never guessed.⁵

For thirty-four years Mary Julia Baldwin devoted herself with singleness of heart and mind to her school. The Seminary was her life. Through it she helped the Old South go forward to meet the economic and social needs of a new day without doing sudden violence to its traditions. Moreover, by assembling girls from the North and West also, her school helped in the breaking down of sectional prejudices. Gradually it raised its standards for the higher education of women in the South and became an example of the possibility and success of such education. The influence of the school was not wide, measured by the several thousands who attended it during her administration, but it was profound, partly because it was small in size. Thus those who attended multiplied its influence in their own communities. For her achievement through her school, Miss Baldwin deserves recognition as one of the great women educators of the country. With complete justice, the school was later renamed the *Mary Baldwin Seminary* in her honor and stands today as Mary Baldwin College, a monument to her memory.

THE LIFE OF MARY JULIA BALDWIN TO 1863

Neither of the two outstanding principals of the Augusta Female Seminary was of the Scotch-Irish element, which predominated in the Valley. In both the English strain was domi-

nant, combined in Mary Baldwin with the German.⁶ Like Dr. Bailey, she, too, had New England roots, through her father's family. The Baldwins of Buckinghamshire, England, from which the new-world family sprang, were the decendants, it appears, of the famous noble family of William the Conqueror's day, connected with the royal families of both France and England; but the family historian seemed satisfied with tracing the line back to the Baldwins of Buckinghamshire, a family of worth and substance. The founder of the American branch of the family, John Baldwin, settled in Connecticut in 1639. His son, John, moved to New Jersey. Cornelius, his grandson and the great-grandson of the Connecticut founder, established the Virginia branch of the family. He had studied at Princeton and was graduated later in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania. After the American Revolution, in which he had served as a surgeon, he settled in Winchester, where as a practicing physician he became known as the "poor man's friend" for his deeds of charity and as a citizen distinguished by "his polished address and cultured mind." His son, William Daniel Baldwin, also a graduate in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania, was the father of Mary Julia Baldwin. Her mother, Margaret Sowers Baldwin, was the daughter of Captain J. C. and Mary Heiskell Sowers of Staunton. The Sowers were a prominent Virginia and North Carolina family; Captain Sowers' mother belonged to the Hampton family of Virginia. The maternal grandmother of Mary Julia Baldwin, Mary Heiskell, was the daughter of Peter Heiskell and Susan Wetzell, the latter a native of Germany and always a devoted student of the Bible in the German text.

Mary Julia Baldwin was born in Staunton on October 4, 1829.⁷ This is the statement, at least, of her pupil, Mrs. Nellie Hotchkiss Holmes, who has written the longest biographical sketch of Miss Baldwin, and the assumption of many Stauntonians; however, other Stauntonians of long memory insist that the tradition is that Miss Baldwin was brought to Staunton as an infant, but not born here. The family residence was in Winchester, where her father was a physician until his death in 1830. In the Alumnæ Office is a letter, dated September 13, 1935, from a gentleman of Winchester, in which he inquired "upon

what grounds the folks in your city claim that Miss Mary Julia Baldwin *was born in Staunton?*" He referred to her father's will of January 17, 1830, made and recorded in Winchester, and to the family residence still standing there; and continued:

We think Miss Mary Julia Baldwin was the ablest and most outstanding woman the Valley of Virginia has produced to the present time. We realize that she was reared in Staunton by her grandparents, the Sowers. Her grandfather Sowers and his father-in-law, Heiskell, were both from Winchester or Frederick County

This bit of municipal controversy over the birthplace is interesting.

As mentioned above, Dr. Baldwin died in 1830, and the mother and young daughter came to live with the maternal grandparents in Staunton. Some years later Mrs. Baldwin married her cousin, Dr. Henry Lee Heiskell, a surgeon in the United States army. With them Mary Julia made a memorable trip to Louisiana and Florida. In 1837, her mother died, and the seven year old daughter was left to the care of Captain and Mrs. Sowers.

Mary Julia spent a quiet childhood with her grandparents. Captain Sowers took her to Philadelphia to consult specialists about the paralysis which had left one side of her face drawn, but nothing could be done to correct this. With her grandparents she made a trip down the Valley to visit relatives and the city of Washington. Otherwise her childhood and youth were passed in Staunton, according to the pattern of "the set ways of old family servants, the soberness of aged people, and the more rigid rule in manners and diversions (then) required of children."⁸ She always said it was the best training she could have had, as she learned self-reliance, and was thus prepared for her future work.⁹ She attended the Kalorama Seminary of Mrs. Sheffey until the Augusta Female Seminary was opened in 1842. Dr. Bailey, whom she recalled later as "a good man, a *great* man, a fine teacher," by his understanding and sympathy aroused her enthusiasm for study and teaching. The small pupils of those years recalled "Miss Mary Julia" as a fragile-looking girl, whom they waylaid at the gate for help with their lessons, her ability to explain being remarkable. Emma Stephens Carmack remembered her coming

to the school in the later forties, after she had graduated, for special study in French under Mrs. Bailey. A class-mate of hers in 1843-1844, Mary Catherine (Baylor) McChesney observed years later that Mary Julia was the last person she would have selected in those years for the career she later followed, she was so timid and retiring. The winter of 1853-1854, following her twenty-fourth birthday, she spent in Philadelphia, studying, reading, attending lectures and concerts. She had no further formal education than that she received in the Seminary, but her intellectual and educational interests made her an earnest student always.

Aside from the influence of Dr. Bailey and the Seminary, the traditions of her family would encourage advanced education and intellectual pursuits. Both her grandfather and her father were graduates of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, the best of its day. Her uncle, Judge Briscoe G. Baldwin, and her cousin, John B. Baldwin, educated at William and Mary and the University of Virginia, were among the leaders in law and politics in Virginia, and both were noted for literary pursuits as well. Another cousin, Joseph G. Baldwin, author of *Flush Times in Alabama and Mississippi*, attained fame as a writer of the antebellum South. Miss Baldwin possessed a strong sense of family attachment, of its joys and obligations; and the examples of these distinguished ancestors and kinsmen must have kindled in her a deep sense of filial piety and a zeal for intellectual attainment and social service.

With the exception of the drawn appearance of one side of her face, Miss Baldwin is said to have been a handsome woman. In her interesting and valuable brief biography written in 1898, Mrs. Holmes gave the following description of her:

In October, 1865, almost on Miss Baldwin's thirty-seventh birthday, I, a child of ten, entered the Seminary parlor with my father in great trepidation. There came in, swiftly yet gracefully, a woman at least five and a half feet in height, weighing about 140 pounds. Her figure was firmly rounded, her full suit of dusky brown hair was carefully arranged and brushed over her ears as she always wore it; her eyes were intellectual gray ones, her forehead high, her nose straight, her mouth small and rosy; a complexion of unusual fineness and softness, white hands that were models of beauty and slender feet completed her physique. I can even

recall her dress: a black and magenta striped mohair, with black facings and snowy collar and cuffs, and at her throat a brooch of red carnelian set in a knot of gold, which she wore until she lost it in recent years.¹⁰

No portrait or photograph of Miss Baldwin exists; she would permit none to be made. Hence one is limited to the word pictures that have been drawn by her friends.

Miss Baldwin loved pretty clothes. According to her girlhood friends, she preferred simple styles made of fine materials. At one period of her life she was inclined to neglect her dress, it is said, in order to spend the money saved in good works, but she was ready to listen to a friend's remonstrance that her position in her school and her example required less economy on such a point. As principal of the Seminary she was notable for her well-groomed appearance. Conservative as to styles, she was the last, it has been recalled, to give up hoops. She was apparently very attached to her "best things." In her will she specified selected friends or relatives to whom her "best silk dress," her seal skin coat, her laces, her "velvet cloak made by Worth," her "black velvet mantle trimmed with fur" should fall.

It is interesting to note that Miss Baldwin acted as bridesmaid when her friend, Margaret Garber, married Lieutenant William H. Harman in 1849. Although she apparently avoided "society," she was not morbid on the matter of her affliction, and in church circles and gatherings of friends seemed to forget it. However, she had a habit of holding her fan to shield that side of her face.¹¹ According to Mr. Waddell, she confessed a sensitiveness to the curious glances of strangers and usually wore a veil when she travelled.¹²

Living quietly with her grandmother after the death of her grandfather in 1843, Miss Baldwin was already moving toward her later work as a teacher. For many years she taught a class of girls in Sunday School with such success that she became a source of envy and of inspiration to Mr. Waddell, who struggled with a class of boys on the other side of the room.¹³ Her unusual ability as a teacher of girls caused him to turn to her in 1863 to take charge of the Seminary. On Sunday afternoons she taught a class of Negroes, composed in part of her grandmother's servants. One might believe that the influence of Dr. Bailey, who

was greatly interested in the religious education of the Negro, encouraged her in this work.

In the later fifties, Miss Baldwin rented rooms and opened a charity school in Staunton, supplying thus the lack of free public schools. When the Civil War came, she devoted herself to war aid and relief work. Upon the death of her grandmother in 1862, she established a private school for girls, the "Bee Hive Seminary," it came to be called. In the summer of 1863, August 4, the following notice appeared in the *Staunton Spectator* signed by Miss Baldwin:

I will reopen my Female School on the first of September on a larger scale. Miss Lydia Garber will take charge of the French and Latin classes, and I will have all the assistance in the English branches that may be deemed necessary.

But the fates determined otherwise. One week later there appeared another notice of great significance in the history of the Augusta Female Seminary:

The Trustees of this institution announce that the next session will begin the first of October. Miss Mary Julia Baldwin, aided by competent teachers, will have charge of the school and Miss Agnes McClung of the boarding department.¹⁴

Mr. Waddell, Secretary of the Board of Trustees, had been chiefly instrumental in persuading Miss Baldwin and Miss McClung to this undertaking. Miss McClung, his sister-in-law, had considered opening a boarding house as a means of support for herself and her mother. To Mr. Waddell it appeared that the teaching ability of Miss Baldwin and the home-making qualities of Miss McClung would form just the combination needed for the success of the Seminary.

The following extracts from the diary of Mr. Waddell relate the preliminaries and preparations for the opening on October 1:

Monday night, Sept. 23, 1863.

Miss Agnes and Mary J. Baldwin are at the Seminary tonight for the first time.

Saturday night, September 28, 1863.

Miss Agnes, her mother, etc., are fully installed at the Seminary and have

a constant run of visitors. There seems to be a universal interest in their enterprise. They have the prospect of a good school and a full house of boarders; but no man would have undertaken the business at this time, nor could succeed at it. Women receive assistance which men cannot get. They have borrowed one article from one person and one from another, and bought some things, thus furnishing the house. Miss A. bought a sofa at auction for \$155 in currency, but paid for it \$15 in gold and \$5 in Confederate notes. I sold the same article last winter at the sale of the Dowers property for about \$50 currency.

Monday night, Sept. 30, 1863.

The session at the Seminary opens tomorrow. Twenty boarders engaged.¹⁵

As mentioned above, Miss McClung brought her mother to the Seminary. Mrs. McClung was the sister of the well-known Presbyterian minister, teacher, and writer of Princeton, Dr. Archibald Alexander. Her wide acquaintance among Presbyterian ministers increased the patronage of the school in its first years under Miss Baldwin.¹⁶ Mrs. McClung became a sort of grandmother to the institution and during the uncertain days of the War and Reconstruction gave a needed sense of security.

THE SEMINARY IN WAR TIMES

This might be called the "heroic" period in the life of the Seminary. The problems of physical and financial administration required all the ability and ingenuity of these two capable women. Their resources, aside from the small patrimony of Miss Baldwin, consisted entirely of the income from the school, which had to operate in the face of a rapidly depreciating Confederate currency. Tuition and board had to be adjusted at frequent intervals to meet this depreciation. In the announcement of the opening of the school it was stated:

Price of board the first three months will be \$60 per month, exclusive of washing. During the following months, the price will depend upon the state of the markets. Tuition for three months, \$6; higher English branches, \$25; languages, each \$10; music, \$10. Advance payments for three months will be expected.¹⁷

In the following summer these terms were quoted in a printed circular:

For the half session, beginning September 15 and closing February 1st, 1865: Board \$1400.00 or \$67.50 if paid in produce at the market prices of 1860; viz, extra flour, \$6; corn, 75 cents; butter, 20 cents; bacon, 12½ cents; lard, 12½ cents; potatoes, 75 cents; molasses, 75 cents; wood, \$2.50 per cord.

Currency will not be received from those who can pay in produce.

Tuition in English branches	\$100
Latin, Greek, French, and German	\$ 50
Primary department	\$ 75
Music and use of instruments	\$200

Boarders furnish lights, candlesticks, towels, washing, one pair of sheets, one pair of pillowcases, half enough heavy covering for the bed and one cup.¹⁸

At the opening of the session of 1863, the Seminary had twenty-two boarding students in addition to the fifty-eight day students, perhaps the largest enrollment up to that date in its history. Seventy is the largest earlier enrollment of which definite records exist. The material problem of furnishing the dormitories and equipping the school presented great difficulties. Although Miss Baldwin secured much furniture, piece by piece, from friends who lent it, several members of the Board of Trustees gave aid and counsel that was invaluable. Mr. William Frazier lent beds and bedding from the Rockbridge Alum Springs.¹⁹ Mr. Waddell, through a Staunton bank cashier, was able to effect a transaction that brought her not only a much desired second-hand piano, but enhanced her small inheritance. Two of her thousand-dollar coupon bonds, much sought by blockade runners, were exchanged for thirty-two hundred dollars worth of registered bonds and enough "change" in Confederate notes—eight hundred dollars—to buy the piano.²⁰ She looked very much to Mr. Waddell, her lawyer friend, and Mr. John Wayt, the President of the Board of Trustees and a Staunton banker, for counsel in all legal and financial matters. The following letter to Mr. Wayt, written by Miss Baldwin a few years after the war closed, suggests the extent to which she and Miss McClung felt indebted to him:

Staunton, Dec. 8, 1868

Dear Mr. Wayt:

Miss Agnes and I wish to anticipate Christmas by a few weeks in asking your acceptance of the accompanying gift. We do hope that you will put this chair in your own room and seat yourself in it daily after

your many benevolent deeds for the good of others. We feel that words or acts on our part can never express our gratitude to you for all your kindness to us. We feel it and speak of it every day and would most gladly give expression to it in other ways than by mere words. But for your untiring kindness we could not possibly carry on the school as we now do. There is not a day in which you do not give us fresh proof of your thoughtful and unselfish interest, and we feel that the school is as much indebted to you for its success as to us.

Most truly and gratefully your friends.

A. McCLUNG

M. J. BALDWIN.²¹

The furniture borrowed during the war was in large part reclaimed by the owners later to supply their own homes; but, the war over, Miss Baldwin was able to establish credit in and secure furniture from Baltimore. Further monetary complexities came, however; this time from the inflation of the United States currency by the greenbacks. Prices in greenbacks had to be adjusted to gold. The catalogue stated costs of board and tuition in currency.²²

The following account of life in the Seminary during the War, written by a student for *The Augusta Female Seminary Annual* of 1893, has become a sort of classic on this "heroic" period:

It was in the fall of '62 (1863) . . . that our courageous principal started her bold undertaking. . . . We in these later days can scarcely appreciate the difficulties attending such an enterprise. To provide food and fuel for so great a number at a time when flour sold at twenty-five dollars a barrel and bacon at a dollar a pound was a problem not easily solved. All the long summer days were spent in laying in supplies, and by dint of unceasing perseverance, together with the aid of kindly friends, when autumn returned a sufficient store had been collected to keep the wolf from the door for a time at least. Her trouble, though, did not end here. The provisions were now in possession, but how to keep them so?

Staunton in those days was a great depot for army supplies and was consequently alive with soldiers wearing both the blue and the gray. The former's proclivities for appropriating all the goods and chattels of their Southern friends, especially the contents of the larder, was a fact thoroughly within the grasp of the school girl's mind. Accordingly when that dread cry "the Yankees" went forth, down dropped every book, and out rushed every girl. The woodpile then just outside the present parlor window, there being no other back yard, claimed attention first, a soldier's weakness in that line being proverbial. Two girls would seize upon a log of wood, put an end on each shoulder, and off they'd go to deposit

it in the dark and hidden precincts of the cellar. Many hands make quick work, and soon there was no trace of that woodpile save a few scattered chips.

By stratagems which would have rendered a general famous forty barrels of flour had been procured, and deep and anxious were the debates as to the safest hiding place for the precious possession. At the suggestion of a bright-eyed little maiden, each girl draped a barrel in one of her white skirts—crinolines were then in favor—making thus a dainty dressing-table for every room. But alas! there were more barrels than rooms. Accordingly the contents of the remaining ones were sewed up in a tick and did duty as a bed. When the tramp of the blue coats was heard, the thinnest girl in school—and it is said she was the only thin one—chalked her cheeks to a ghastly white and got into her bed of flour. As Miss Baldwin ushered a Federal officer into the room to make the usual search, the ghostly figure suddenly rose up in bed as if wakened from sleep. The startled officer backed out of the room with a murmured apology for disturbing a girl so ill. The pretty dressers aroused no suspicions, hence the flour was saved to furnish food, not only for hungry school-girls but for many a wounded soldier, lying sick and suffering in the hospital. On another occasion when the Federal soldiers were in town, the girls hid hams in every desk of the big school-room. . . . Even the stove had been duly filled, and there was just time for each girl to grab a book when the searching party entered. A studious company they appeared, notwithstanding the fact that many of their books were upside down. . . .

Yet not always were their little schemes so successful, as when some of the girls attempted to roll a barrel of sorghum up the dining-room stairs and the head came out. They had this consolation, however; if *they* could not eat that sorghum, neither could "the Yankees."

A favorite plan, when there was something valuable to be saved, was for the Principal to show the search officers about; ushering them graciously into rooms and halls, upstairs and down, in and out, she took them through that endless maze of crooks and turns, until the poor men were completely bewildered and went off not a whit wiser for their pains, and at one time leaving a dozen barrels of flour in the hall where they had not been taken. [The new student or visitor of today can thoroughly appreciate their bewilderment.]

But let us not pass over the cow, that treasure of treasures, upon which hung the hopes of thirty hungry girls for butter once a day. Each of those thirty girls resolved in her inmost heart that no "Yank" should have that cow. Therefore, when danger threatened, they formed themselves into detachments of two, with a relief every two hours, to watch over the precious quadruped. And if by chance that cow did happen to stray, such shrieks as rent the air, "The Cow! The Cow!" and out turned the whole school to search until the missing animal was found.

Among other things there was a scarcity (and I believe there has never been an abundance) of men in the Seminary—in fact not a single being of

the male persuasion dwelt within these walls. As a consequence, numerous apparitions, always clothed in male attire, were seen, and many were the midnight processions of white-robed figures that marched down the back gallery armed with pokers, tongs, shovels, and other offensive and defensive weapons in search of the dreadful man, who was never found but once. That once marks an epoch in the annals of the Seminary. The usual cry of "a man! a man!" had been given, and the usual procession of trembling girls, with Miss Baldwin at their head, was advancing down the gallery, when there, crouching against the fence, oh horror of horrors! there was a man. The crisis had come, but our principal, ever equal to an emergency, drew herself up, brandished her poker, and in thrilling tones exclaimed, "If you don't go away, I'll shoot you." The terrified man made a wild leap and was lost to view over the fence. It is needless to say that very little sleep was in store for the frightened girls that night, and the kind old "Grandmother," Mrs. McClung, had her hands full to soothe their fears, for, as if there were protection in her gentle presence, they had all gathered into her room, spreading their cots upon the floor. This was their haven of refuge in times of trouble. Whenever the Yankees were in town here they fled and here stayed, sometimes as many as thirty in the room, until perchance Jackson would come marching down the Valley; then the blue-coats went fast enough. And what good times followed! such a singing and playing, practicing up for the *soirée* that was always given to our soldiers. . . .

Friends were very kind and sent contributions of every sort. The dinner-table presented a queer appearance, set as it was with odds and ends gathered from everywhere, no two cups and saucers alike, here a kitchen knife and there a silver one, while a stately cutglass goblet was arranged longside of a heavy China mug; but young appetites are not fastidious, and our girls grew strong and hearty, no matter if butter and gravy never appeared at the same meal, or if their coffee was made from rye and sweetened with sorghum. . . .

The furniture of the rooms, like that of the dinner-table was collected here and there, no two pieces being alike. As a general rule, these little makeshifts gave the girls no concern, but in one case there was cause of discontent. Human nature, and especially school girl nature, does not change much. A mirror had by great exertions been produced for every room but one, and the unfortunate inmates of that room were doomed to make their toilets without that very necessary aid. Patience at last ceased to be a virtue, and with almost tearful entreaty they begged Miss B. to try yet once again; they had looked at themselves in the water-bowl until they were tired, and they did want a looking glass. Miss Baldwin set out and returned triumphant, bringing the panel of an old-fashioned clock in which was set a mirror. A friend to whom she had told her troubles had unearthed it from the dust and cobwebs of her garret. No plate-glass mirror was ever received with such joyful acclamations. Yet with all their interruptions and inconveniences these young girls steadily trod the

path of learning. What cared they if every girl in the arithmetic class did have a different text-book, so long as they had teachers capable of surmounting the difficulty? And what mattered it, if their new pieces, the present glory of the music pupil, were leaves torn from an old school song book, so long as they were sung into the admiring ears of our handsome soldier-boys?²³

It may seem a matter for some surprise today that the school continued in operation under difficulties such as these (or perhaps the technique of war today makes this seem like a pink tea by comparison). All other schools in Staunton were closed.²⁴ Although nothing worse than financial difficulties, material losses, and unpleasant interruptions occurred, the following brief account of the war period by Mrs. Margaret (Stuart) Robertson, a student of that day, indicates that there was some fear of danger, even though she was sent to her Cousin Mary's school for safe-keeping:

I was entered at the Seminary in the days of the war, I suppose for safe keeping. How well I remember the arsenal, just opposite the school, where ammunition and several cannons were kept guarded by soldiers. Sometimes the cry was raised, "The Yankees are coming," and we used to wonder if they blew up the arsenal, as was anticipated, would the Seminary blow up, too! Then we little girls would be told to get along home as fast as we could, which we immediately proceeded to do.²⁵

In the midst of this dramatic interlude in the life of the Seminary, which was to furnish the stuff for many legends of a later day, Miss Baldwin was engaged in the most vital concern of the school, the formation and institution of a plan of education.

WOMAN'S EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES AFTER 1865

Further changes in woman's education were on the way in the forties and fifties and proceeded rapidly after the close of the Civil War. Briefly put, the tendency was toward a much higher level of scholastic training for women to the point of making it equal to that in men's colleges; to the administrative organization or reorganization of schools away from the principal-proprietor type, which some had retained as an inheritance from the private schools, to that of the corporate control of permanent boards of trustees, with co-equal professors and departments as in the col-

leges and universities for men; to the establishment of endowments to provide for adequate buildings, libraries, laboratories, and faculties; to far greater emphasis on health and physical training; and, as time went on, to an increasing attention to professional and vocational guidance and training, although many educators did not consider the latter the business of the college. The religious emphasis continued. Many seminaries and colleges had religious affiliations, but there was a gradual decline of emphasis on religion, or rather the social aspects of religion came to be stressed in the place of the theological or evangelical. These changes in woman's education were a part, both as result and as cause, of the economic, political, and social changes of the later nineteenth century, especially of the phenomenal progress of industrialization and urbanization.

The rise and spread of the female seminary in the first half of the nineteenth century in response to the growing demand for the higher education of women has been pointed out in Chapter I; also the fact that there was great variation in academic status among the seminaries, some approaching the college level, others hardly attaining that of the high school. There were some men and women, however, who were not satisfied with the education even in the best of the seminaries and sought to provide for woman an education fully equal to, in fact, identical with that of men. "A college like a man's" was their goal. Even in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Catherine Beecher, one of the outstanding protagonists of woman's education, had advocated the idea, although some equally devoted to the idea of woman's education, Emma Willard, for example, had insisted that woman's education should not seek to imitate man's.²⁶ She did not advocate the establishment of colleges.

Public opinion was opposed to the idea of colleges for women to an extent that it is difficult for one to believe today. The reasons given for this opposition had been raised in an earlier day against the seminary; namely, the intellectual incapacity of women to profit by such education; the social maladjustment which it would produce; and the injury to health which would result from overstudy. When Vassar College was founded in 1865, a woman of considerable culture declared: "The fact that

it is called a college for women is enough to condemn it. Of one thing we may be sure—no refined Christian mother will ever send her daughter to Vassar College!"²⁷ This statement expressed a judgment by no means exceptional.

In spite of the criticism, however, colleges began to appear before the Civil War. It is generally conceded that the first of these was Georgia Female College, later Wesleyan, chartered in 1836 as a college authorized to "confer all such honors, degrees, and licenses as are usually conferred in colleges and universities."²⁸ This college did not early attain, however, the level of the men's colleges. Mary Sharp College, Tennessee, established in 1851 and Elmira College, New York, chartered in 1855, did succeed in reaching a level fairly comparable to the men's colleges.²⁹ There were several other institutions that approached the men's college level before the Civil War, and many of the better seminaries, like the Augusta Female Seminary, which was sometimes referred to as "collegiate," were attempting to raise their course of study. It is notable that in the pre-war movement toward the college the South was the leader.³⁰

After the Civil War several factors contributed to the growth of women's colleges: (1) the increase of wealth, making possible endowments and increase of patronage; (2) the more general acceptance of the idea that women should have an education equal to that of men; (3) the development of adequate secondary schools for preparing women for college.³¹ The operation of the second and third of these factors became effective only gradually; and in the South, the absence of the first contributed a further handicap. The trend was, however, toward the college for the higher education of women. Vassar, established in 1865, attained from the beginning standards fairly comparable to those of the men's colleges and was the first college for women to be adequately endowed. The foundation of Smith College (1875) was the "culmination of the effort to found a college like a man's to teach women all that men are taught."³² In the meantime Mills College had appeared in 1870; and others followed: Wellesley, 1875; Radcliff, 1879; Bryn Mawr, 1880; Woman's College of Baltimore (Goucher), 1888; Barnard, 1889; Randolph-Macon, 1893. In 1888, Mount Holyoke Seminary, the leader among the

Northern seminaries and mother of seminaries in various sections, became Mount Holyoke Seminary and College, completing its evolution in 1893 by closing the Seminary.

Although the trend was definitely toward the college, "Miss Baldwin's School" was to retain its seminary character for many years. Only in 1923 was it raised to the status of a four-year college, and not until 1929 was the preparatory department discontinued. The course of study had been raised to two years of college work in Miss Baldwin's day; but the title, *Seminary*, remained, which to many signified high school or preparatory school, although the school was something different from either of these and something more. Not only the title of Seminary but certain aspects of the Seminary organization and administration were retained: the principal-proprietor system of control; the lack of distinctive differentiation in departments and teaching; the existence of preparatory work, all set the school outside the college group.

The excellence of its work as a seminary and the prestige that it attained through its high standards no doubt delayed the change to a college. Perhaps, too, there was some virtue in being called a seminary, as long as there was pronounced opposition to women's colleges. Even the old-fashioned had become accustomed to seminaries for women by this time. Other factors delayed the change to a college, especially the lack of endowment and the deficiency of secondary education in the South. When Goucher College was opened in 1888, twenty-five years after Miss Baldwin became Principal of the Augusta Female Seminary, only ten students registered who were capable of doing freshman college work. The girls' high schools of Baltimore refused to change their course of study to serve as preparatory schools, and the college was forced to establish the Girls' Latin School to "raise up" its freshmen.³³ Apparently the question of transformation into a college was not raised in Miss Baldwin's day.

THE PLACE OF THE AUGUSTA FEMALE SEMINARY IN WOMAN'S EDUCATION AFTER 1865: RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL OBJECTIVES

Before attempting to analyze the new curriculum of the Augusta Female Seminary one might well examine certain more general objectives and contributions of the school, somewhat difficult to define with exactness, yet of fundamental importance. With respect to objectives the catalogue of 1868-1869, apparently the first general catalogue since 1844, stated briefly:

It is the aim of the faculty to promote the highest intellectual development of the pupils, to give them sound religious instruction and surrounding them with the influences of a refined home circle to fit them for the social duties of life.³⁴

This statement was repeated in later catalogues.

The religious objectives of the school presented no variation from its policy and practice of earlier days. The school remained in the shadow of the Presbyterian Church but apart from its jurisdiction. Although Presbyterian influences predominated, no sectarian tests or requirements were applied, other than attendance at the services of the Presbyterian Church, a requirement later modified in the interest of other faiths. The fundamental importance attached to spiritual values and religious life left a tradition that maintains in the present day, when religion is less emphasized in colleges generally, a positive interest in its services. In a later section the religious activities are discussed in detail.

What were the social attractions of this "refined home circle" that drew patronage from the South, West, and North? In the years immediately following the Civil War, one objective seems to have been security. Freedmen and carpetbaggers, disorder and corruption in politics were prevalent in the Lower South. Virginia recovered more rapidly from the period of disorder; this was particularly true of the region around Staunton, where slaves had been few and Negroes were scarce. The catalogue of 1868-1869 stated:

The surrounding population is distinguished for its conservatism, intelligence, and refinement. The husbandry of the Valley of Virginia having never required much slave labor, the negroes constitute but a small and now rapidly diminishing proportion of the community.³⁵

This statement appeared in the catalogue until 1874. Dr. John H. Bocock, a prominent Presbyterian minister of Virginia, writing in 1868, said:

The school is in the Valley of Virginia, where the colored element in the population is as small, perhaps smaller, than anywhere else in the South. Security and tranquility can be safely promised there, if they can anywhere in these troublous times.³⁶

Such assurances as these probably carried considerable weight with parents in the Lower South who had daughters to educate.

Even when actual physical danger ceased, social conditions in the South were very unfavorable for the rearing and education of daughters. An old genteel manner of living had passed away, an old civilization had "gone with the wind." To be sure, this civilization had never had time to take roots in the newer South and the Southwest—life there, even before the War, had been crude, raw, on the make. But always the ideal on which these settlers sought to mold their life was that of Virginia, from which many of their fathers and grandfathers had come. Virginia had represented to them the epitome of the social and cultural aspects of the Old Regime. Parents sent their sons to Jefferson's University of Virginia, to the Virginia Military Institute, enhanced in prestige by Stonewall Jackson's association with it, or to Washington and Lee, at whose head presided the beloved Robert E. Lee until his death a few years later. What better place for the daughters than the Augusta Female Seminary under a Southern gentlewoman of excellent family? Here they were sent to acquire the manners and morals, the social standards, the gracious way of living of the ante-bellum South. Laura (Smith) Krey, Mary Baldwin alumna of 1909 and author of *—and Tell of Time*, has suggested the social appeal of Mary Baldwin in relating the story of her pilgrimage from Texas to Virginia:

My aunt and my father decided I must now desert my pony and my deer and my squirrels and my dogs and my rabbits and all my grandfather's books and go up to Virginia to learn how to play on my grandmother's square piano, and how to become (they hoped) a charming young lady. For did not Virginia run in our blood, and was not there in the mountains a second home for me? . . . ³⁷

Moreover, the controversy over slavery ended, the North and Middle West could recognize and appreciate better the Southern manner of life. This recognition was a sort of belated justification for Southern culture—a case of Greece leading Rome captive. The writings of Thomas Nelson Page, which cast a romantic glamor over southern plantation life, became very popular in the North; perhaps in part as an antidote against the rawness of the new industrialism. With many of these girls who came from other sections it was perhaps not so much the high intellectual advantages of the school that counted as the “influences of the refined home circle.” Miss Baldwin laid much stress on making the girls fine Christian gentlewomen in the best meaning of the word. Alexander H. H. Stuart, citizen of Staunton and noted Virginia jurist and statesman said of the school: “The moral and domestic influences brought to bear on the pupils are of the purest and most elevating character. The school is a Christian household in which love and duty are the controlling powers.”³⁸

The relatively small size of the Seminary, its architecture, its physical arrangement and interior decoration, and its social regime have given and give it the appearance and character of a home rather than of an “institution.” Miss Baldwin’s objective is well stated in the catalogue of 1870-1871:

No effort is spared to make the school as homelike as possible. One feature peculiar to the school is the influence exerted by the resident female teachers on the mind, the heart, and the manners of the pupils. Out of school-hours they associate with them as friends and companions, and, while inspiring them by their gentle dignity with profoundest respect, win their warmest love by their kindness and sympathy. Ladies themselves of cultivated tastes, refined manners, and Christian principles, they illustrate by example lessons often taught only by precept. Consequently young ladies who have been pupils of this institution for any length of time are noted for their simplicity of manners, modest deportment, and freedom from affectation.³⁹

Miss Baldwin herself gave constant attention to the social conduct of the students. Alumnae who knew her still recall a frequent and characteristic remonstrance of hers with respect to any impropriety on the part of a girl: “I am grieved, shocked, and mortified that any young lady of mine would cross her knees in public,” (or whatever the impropriety might be). Although parents were

encouraged to see that their daughters were provided only with simple wardrobes, much attention was given to modesty and propriety in dress as well as in conduct. The fact that many students were sent to Mary Baldwin for the social culture, the fine manners of a gentlewoman, has given rise perhaps to the impression often encountered that Mary Baldwin is a "society" school; the social traditions have often overshadowed the intellectual in popular opinion. That this was not true in fact Mrs. Krey indicates in the story of her pilgrimage and one can discover in the study of the academic life of the Seminary.

EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES: THE NEW CURRICULUM;
INFLUENCE OF DR. MCGUFFEY

In their discourses on educational aims and objectives, Dr. Bailey and the Reverend Benjamin Smith left no doubt as to the purposes underlying the original foundation of the Seminary and the objectives sought through its curriculum in the ante-bellum period. Unfortunately for the historian, Miss Baldwin did not elaborate her views on educational theory or set forth a philosophy of education. She might have broadened her influence and raised her reputation nationally outside the circle of her patronage if she had. But her genius ran to the molding of lives rather than to the exposition of theories. An intimate friend said of her: "She *lived* her exalted life, but she gave less expression to her inmost thoughts and feelings than any one I have ever known. *You felt her*, but you cannot quote her words."⁴⁰ From the brief statements in the catalogues of the Seminary, from the course of study itself, from the judgments of other educators, from the lives and recollections of students, and from the opinions of outstanding patrons one can deduce much information as to the ideals and objectives of the school and its contribution to the education of women; but the historian regrets that there is not more comprehensive documentation in Miss Baldwin's own words and in those of the teachers who worked with her and whose genius like hers was directed to teaching rather than to writing.

The Seminary under Miss Baldwin defies classification according to any standard type of school; it was *sui generis*. It was not a preparatory school, although, as the four-year college came to

prevail, it was no doubt widely regarded as a very superior type of preparatory school. In its emphasis on higher literary education, it could not properly be termed a "finishing school," although some considered it such. And it was not a college, although it did in some departments the equivalent of four years of college work. In certain respects, however, both in its administrative features and in its academic organization, it did not fit the college pattern. The term *Seminary*, since it had come to be applied to varying types of schools neither preparatory nor college, best fits the institution.

The retention of the preparatory department was no doubt regarded as a necessity. Women's colleges established at a much later date even found it necessary to maintain such for a time. The case of Goucher has been mentioned above. Wellesley, established in 1875, found only thirty of her three hundred fourteen students of college grade and had to maintain a preparatory department for some years.⁴¹ Schools with large endowments could maintain separate preparatory schools. Some colleges maintained both under the same teachers and in the same building, a practice that accrediting agencies today refuse to countenance. The Augusta Female Seminary did not claim college status. It was reorganized under Miss Baldwin not to fit an academic mold nor secure a certain label, but to meet existing conditions and demands. Due to the lack of adequate facilities for secondary education, particularly in the South, there was a special demand for the work below the college grade. Even after public schools were established in Virginia and other parts of the South, many parents objected to sending their girls to these because of the character of the teaching, the social influences in the school, or because they disapproved of co-education. Girls who attended private schools or were instructed under tutors were frequently far more advanced in one field than in others, and were not prepared to submit to any rigid classification. One might take the case of Elizabeth Wilson Timberlake, a student in the 1870's, as an example of a condition that was common. She was educated by a tutor, a German, who was graduated from the University of Heidelberg and was a master of seven languages. Both loved languages, and she was reading Cæsar at the age of ten. But

he disliked mathematics as heartily as she did. As a result, when she came to the Augusta Female Seminary at fourteen, she entered "Senior Latin, Senior French, and Senior German, and 'Baby' Arithmetic."⁴² Cases such as this were the rule rather than the exception.

The course of study as contained in the catalogue of 1869-70 was divided into preparatory and collegiate departments. In the preparatory department spelling, reading, writing, dictation, mental and written arithmetic, English grammar, familiar science, history, Latin, and French were taught. The preparatory department never comprised a large part of the school, although many of the students classified in the special "schools" of music, art, etc., were probably below college grade in literary studies. Most of the primary students were day pupils. The smaller girls, if boarding students, were under a special discipline and in charge of a woman who took care of them out of school hours.⁴³ The curriculum of the collegiate department consisted of three years of work in each field beyond the preparatory level.

In 1891, the course of study was reorganized into the preparatory, academic, and university departments.⁴⁴ The lower work in the collegiate department was placed in the academic, which comprised two years' work beyond the preparatory and was roughly the equivalent of the present-day high school course. Upon the completion of this work the student received a certificate. The "University Course" outlined at this time consisted of the two upper years of the former collegiate course, which had been gradually expanded in content beyond the curriculum established in 1863. Hence, this reorganization instituted no radical departure in level of work, although it was raised considerably in some "schools." It is hardly necessary to state that the terms employed—preparatory, academic, and university—had a special meaning not in keeping with present-day usage. The "University Course" required two years' advanced work in each of the seven schools for a diploma as a full graduate. More than two years were generally necessary for its completion, as the level of the work in several of these schools was the equivalent of analogous departments in the four-year college.

The curriculum of 1863 in the collegiate department followed

that of the University of Virginia and was the work in large part of Dr. W. H. McGuffey, whose aid Miss Baldwin solicited. Dr. McGuffey, author of the famous *Readers* and *Geographies*, was at the time professor of moral philosophy in the University and had shown much interest in her undertaking. A sister-in-law of his, Miss Eliza Howard, was in Miss Baldwin's first faculty and another, Miss Anna Howard, soon joined it. In 1866, Dr. McGuffey delivered the commencement address at the Seminary.⁴⁵ Later, in 1868, he wrote in commendation of its work: "I consider this school as among the best, if not the very best, in the South."⁴⁶ Dr. McGuffey warned Miss Baldwin, however, that she was making the course of study too high for the school ever to become a popular institution.⁴⁷

Miss Baldwin welcomed the assistance of Dr. McGuffey. In the weeks before the opening of the school in October, 1863, he came over to Staunton to help her outline the course of study and select textbooks.⁴⁸ Incidentally, the securing of textbooks was quite a problem in itself, since most of them were published in the North. A circular issued in August, 1864, included the following notice:

The difficulty of procuring textbooks renders it necessary to furnish a list of such as are preferred: Webster's or Walker's Dictionary; Mitchell's and Cornell's Geographies; Bullion's or Smith's English Grammar; Davies' Legendre, Analytical Geometry; Latin Books—Arnold's First and Second Year Books and Prose Composition, with some Grammar and Dictionary; Cæsar, Virgil, Cicero, and Horace; French—Fasquelle's Course, Le Porte, Télémaque, or Charles XII; Corinne; Picciola; Callot, Dramatic Reader; Racine, Molière, and some Dictionary; German—Woodbury's Grammar; Adler's or Rohler's Reader, and a Dictionary; Greek—Kuhner's Elementary Grammar and Xenophon's Anabasis, with some dictionary; in mental and moral Philosophy, Abercrombie's two books; Haven; Alexander's Moral Science; Butler's Analogy and Sermons.⁴⁹

All of these books except Cornell's Geography, Kuhner's Greek Grammar, and the French Grammar of Le Porte are found on the lists of textbooks used in the colleges of the United States as tabulated by Woody in his *History of Women's Education in the United States*.⁵⁰

As to the course of study worked out by Dr. McGuffey, the catalogue stated:

The plan of instruction is that of the University of Virginia modified only so far as to adapt it to the peculiar requisites of female education. The course of study is distributed into "Schools," each constituting a complete course on the subjects taught.⁵¹

These "schools" were: ancient languages, modern languages, mathematics, moral science, natural sciences, English literature, and history. Apparently the principal departures from the University of Virginia were the absence of professional schools and the presence of schools in the fine arts, music, art, and elocution. With respect to its correlation with the University of Virginia, Dr. H. Howard, a former professor in the University, declared in 1869:

Having had much opportunity of knowing the character of the instruction in the Augusta Female Seminary, of which Miss Mary Julia Baldwin is Principal, I am persuaded that for thoroughness, elevation, and utility, it is for young ladies what the University of Virginia is for young gentlemen; for it is little less than the plan of the latter most faithfully and ably executed.⁵²

To secure a diploma as a full graduate, one had to take all the courses in all the schools with the single exception that there was a choice of one modern language and one ancient language.

There was some variation in the academic level of the "schools" and, as time went on, much more advancement in some than in others. These variations were the result in part, no doubt, of current trends in education, but also of the traditions of the school, of local demands, of the possession or lack of facilities for teaching, and of the character of the instruction. In the beginning special attention was devoted to mathematics and to mental and moral philosophy. Dr. McGuffey was the professor of the latter in the University, and Dr. Bailey had emphasized both. Moreover, mathematics along with the ancient languages had been the backbone of the old classical tradition, which had prevailed before the war and was to continue for some time afterwards. The Augusta Female Seminary was more conservative than many schools for women in the maintenance of this tradition. The "Latin School" came to hold first place and held it for many years. Its excellence gave the Seminary something of the stamp of the famous old classical schools of England or the

academies for boys in the United States, such as those of Moses Waddel in South Carolina, and of the two Colemans and Gordon McCabe in Virginia.⁵³

In describing Vassar's classical course of 1867-68, which included Livy, Cicero, Horace, and Tacitus, Professor Woody declared: "This was in its day the strongest classical course offered by a woman's college leading to the A.B. degree."⁵⁴ While the Vassar course included Greek as well as Latin, one finds that the Augusta Female Seminary even at that time offered all that Vassar did in Latin, and Ovid in addition. As time went on, there were extensive additions to the Latin course. In 1877-78, Juvenal was added, in 1888-89, Terence; for many years Gildersleeve's famous Grammar, a terror to all but the best students, was used; and the writing of Latin compositions was stressed. Further additions to reading requirements were added, and one finds in 1896-97, the last year of Miss Baldwin's administration, the following requirements: In the Academic Department, three and a half books of Cæsar's *Gallic War* or *Civil War*; or Sallust, *Jugurthine War* and *Cataline Conspiracy*, and two books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; and in the University Course, Virgil's *Bucolics* and three books of *Georgics*, or four to six books of the *Æneid*; six *Orations* of Cicero or *De Amicitia* or *De Senectute*, one play of Plautus, two books of Livy, two books of the *Odes* of Horace, one of the *Satires*, and *Ars Poetica*, two plays of Terence, and Pliny's *Letters*, and six to eight *Satires* of Juvenal. In addition, a post-graduate course was offered.⁵⁵ Dr. William E. Peters, Professor of Latin in the University of Virginia and successor to Gildersleeve, declared that he wished he could get the young men there to read as much Latin as the young ladies did in the Augusta Female Seminary.

The enrollment in Latin indicates that in spite of the heavy reading and high standards of attainment the course was a popular one. Latin was not a required subject except for full graduates; many took it who never attained that rank. The enrollment was a remarkably steady one, too. From 1876, when the catalogue first listed students by schools, until the end of Miss Baldwin's administration, the figure ranged from around fifty-five to seventy in collegiate Latin out of a total enrollment of between two and

three hundred. Twice only the figure dropped below fifty and once it reached seventy-eight; but it was usually in the sixties.

As to the Greek, the tradition apparently never took root in the Seminary. The study of Greek was added to the curriculum by Dr. Bailey and continued to be advertised as a part of the curriculum under his successors. It was included in the reorganization under Miss Baldwin. The circular of 1864 with reference to textbook needs listed Greek texts and the list of the faculty designated Professor Jed Hotchkiss as teacher of Greek among other languages. But this catalogue showed no graduates in Greek, and it did not list enrollments in classes. Occasionally, afterwards, the faculty list included a professor of Greek, but no students were listed. Apparently the future belonged to the Romans. (During the 1930's, there were a few students in Greek.)

One of the most popular "schools" measured by the number of students enrolled was the modern language school, French being the language usually selected. Perhaps its popularity was due in part to the earlier tradition that French was a necessary part of the education of a young lady—the finishing school idea. Without doubt that conception of education still prevailed with some patrons. Later the study of French and German was encouraged for its use in foreign travel, and a post-graduate course given for those who wished it for this purpose and for teaching. Throughout most of this period, 1863-1897, the language teachers were foreign, either French or German. The catalogue stated that no English was permitted in the classroom.⁵⁶

As to texts, the grammars and readers—Fasquelle, Picciola, Callot, and others were ones in the Woody list of college texts. Readings in 1868-69 included Molière, Racine, Voltaire, Madame de Staël, and others. Later, many additions were made—Segur, Fénelon, Sévigné, Corneille, and in 1875, a study of the history of France. In 1890-91, at which date there was considerable expansion of the curriculum in the introduction of the university course, the survey of French literature was added along with much reading in modern French prose and poetry and work in composition.⁵⁷ The *Seminary Annual*, begun in 1891 as the work of the classes in English literature, was expanded in 1893 to

include the essays of the classes in French and German. These included discussions and criticisms of Beaumarchais, Chateaubriand, Corneille, Racine, George Sand, La Fontaine, and others—all written in French, of course. Contemporary France was studied through French newspapers. The post-graduate course added old French, history of the French language, more readings in French literature, including the contemporary period, and further work in composition and conversation.⁵⁸

The French "school" apparently did not attain the prestige of the Latin. For one thing, there was no such continuity of instruction. However, the work in French was thorough; a student of the nineties declared afterwards that she had read French with a Doctor of Philosophy in French of Johns Hopkins University without being ashamed of her knowledge or accent.⁵⁹ Public presentations in French in the form of dialogues and short plays constituted another feature of the training in the French language and literature, and for many years they formed a part of the soirée programs. The French Table was already a popular institution. The enrollment in French ranged from fifty to one hundred fifteen in the collegiate work. The figures given here of enrollment in "schools" do not include the preparatory work.

German was included in the modern language school, and there were always classes in it. The organization and content of the course was similar to the French. The German course never had a high enrollment, however; it ranged from twelve to twenty-two, with only eight at one time. The *Annual* in 1893 and the following years included essays in German on German literature.

The "school" of the English language and literature probably underwent more change than any department during Miss Baldwin's administration. Up to and for some time after the Civil War, the stress on English in schools generally was put on the study of grammar and rhetoric, the latter often combined with logic in the department of moral philosophy.⁶⁰ The emphasis on the writing of compositions in the early years of the Augusta Female Seminary has been pointed out above. For some years, the Seminary followed this tradition. The early catalogues of Miss Baldwin listed Blair's *Rhetoric*, Kame's *Elements of Criticism*, Shaw's *English Literature*, and Trench's *Study of Words* as

the texts. The first two of these were used in the University of Virginia and were favorite texts in the South, and all except the last, a standard work in philology, are found on Woody's list. For years the catalogue carried in a prominent place this special paragraph entitled "Original Compositions":

Each pupil is required to prepare at frequent intervals, original compositions to acquire the art of expressing her thoughts correctly in writing.

There are also daily exercises in Dictation, the teacher reading to her class a passage which the students are required to write out, and all errors in spelling, punctuation, etc., are noted. This exercise is highly valued as one of the best means of training young persons to write correctly.

While the paragraph was omitted from later catalogues, the practice continued. Every teacher had to take one of these classes in composition. The work of the students was read and criticized in class. After 1876, the student was required to pass a special examination in English before graduation.⁶¹

Although the stress on the formal studies of grammar, composition, and rhetoric continued, there was later much emphasis on English literature. It might be noted here that in the university course no attention was given to American literature, although the second year of the academic course contained considerable reading in that field. Both American history and American literature were in the making; they were only beginning to become subjects of critical thought and to be introduced into the curricula of schools and colleges as such. The university course consisted of a two years' survey of English literature in classes meeting five hours a week; hence, it was almost the equivalent of four years' class work of present day three-hour courses. This survey began with Anglo-Saxon, the study of which, along with historical English grammar, was introduced in 1888, probably through the example of the University of Virginia.⁶² Under the encouragement of Jefferson, whose studies in English law gave him an enthusiasm for the subject, that university had been the first to include Anglo-Saxon in its curriculum.⁶³ These studies, along with historical French grammar and Old French, are

Beginning in 1891, under the direction of Miss Sarah Wright, the literature classes published *The Augusta Female Seminary Annual*. The title, *Annual*, is somewhat misleading: it was primarily a literary magazine, both in form and content, giving only secondary attention to school life. From its pages one can learn much of the work in the English course. In the first issue appeared an outline, or description, by students of the work done in each class.⁶⁴ In the first year, using the stories from Tennyson's *Idyls of the King* as an introduction, they studied Celtic legends and stories; then Anglo-Saxon, with *Harold and Hereward* as outside reading in Anglo-Saxon life; Sweet's *Primer*, Morris' *Historical English Grammar*, Oliphant's *Old and Middle English*, and Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary* for study of the language, and Afric's *Lives of the Saints*, the *Gospels*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and other selections as literature. The course of English literature to the Restoration was followed with Brooke's *History of English Literature* as a text, supplemented by class and outside reading in the literature; but further class work was devoted primarily to a detailed study of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton. Much essay writing was required on the works studied and the history of the period. The description of the work done in class, the subjects and contents of these essays published in the *Annual*, along with some students' notebooks that have been preserved, indicate an effort at a critical appreciation of literature as art and life.

The second year's work began with a critical study of three works: Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, Burke's *Speech to the Electors of Bristol*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*. As the students' analysis declared: "Thus we have first studied the greatest philosopher, the greatest master of prose, and the greatest dramatist, a noble trio whose works in themselves furnish an education."⁶⁵ The remainder of the year was devoted to a study of English literature from Dryden to their own day. The students' description of the nature and method of this course is probably worth quoting:

It would require more space than I am allowed in this article to mention all the writers we studied carefully and the essays we read; the work was varied by studying the lives, reviews, and works themselves; and an

occasional essay showed how we had been working. We loved Scott dearly and grew vexed with Carlyle, in true school girl fashion, because he said Scott was not a great man. But we forgave Carlyle a great deal when we read his sympathetic essay on Burns.

But this is not our course, it is a mere suggestion of what we have done. The Victorian Age we have studied in McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*, enlarging on the writers of special note. The course of collateral reading we have been pursuing is very full, comprising some of the writing of all the authors we have studied; our favorite books of reference have been Carlyle, Lowell, Macaulay, Mrs. Oliphant, Shaw, Welsh, Ward, and Taine; while the others we have used would swell the list to a formidable array.

Each student at the end of the session has a file of neat notebooks numbered and indexed, awaiting the review of Miss Wright's critical eye. While studying Shakespeare, we read a play a week, out of class—and then each one wrote impromptu compositions on a subject given from the play read. While studying the English Drama we read Addison's *Cato*, Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* and *Edward II*; also the plays of Sheridan and Goldsmith.

A unique feature in our course is the memorizing daily of a few lines of poetry; we have this year learned about nineteen hundred lines. The favorite poets are Milton, Dryden, Gray, Burns, Wordsworth, and Shelley; Wordsworth perhaps should head the list. Those who receive the certificates of the English Literature Department at the end of the two years' work feel that they have earned the honor. . . .⁶⁶

A few years later the order of these courses was reversed, the early English period coming in the second year. Correlation of studies began to appear in the insistence that students of English should know English history.

Under Miss Wright this English "school" attained a prestige second only to, if not the equal of that of Miss Strickler's Latin. Although the less able might easily be frightened away from it, the enrollment increased; from 1888 to 1897, the average was one hundred students.

The "school" of history held a status along with those of Latin and English: although this position was due even more to the teacher, Miss Martha Riddle, than was true of those "schools." The curriculum was narrow. This weakness, it is true, was not peculiar to this institution. The classical tradition did not emphasize the social studies, which have become one of the main departments in modern institutions of higher learning. Colleges had begun to include economics, political science, and constitutional

history, however, and before the end of the century sociology appeared. None of these subjects appeared in the curriculum of the Augusta Female Seminary. The history courses, too, were restricted in scope, the main emphasis being Greek and Roman, English and French. The catalogue of 1868-69 mentioned universal, ancient, and modern history, and the histories of England and France.⁶⁷ In 1877, the history of the United States made its first appearance, and separate courses in Greek and Roman history; and in 1888-89, Biblical history was first mentioned as a part of the course, and English history was broadened to include the British Empire.⁶⁸ In 1890-91, the study of current history was begun through a weekly lesson in the second year of the university course in current affairs.⁶⁹ In 1893-94, this was broadened into a course, with material drawn largely from periodicals.⁷⁰ Among the collateral readings, which began to be listed in the the catalogue in later years, were the classic historians, Guizot, Greene, Macaulay, and Froude. The history courses, as well as all others requiring much reading, were restricted by the limits of the library. The library perhaps was about as well supplied, however, as that of the usual small college of that day, and it was carefully selected. Shortly after the death of Miss Baldwin it contained 3,300 volumes.⁷¹ Although narrow in scope, the history school was characterized by intensive study and thorough teaching. This is evidenced by the testimony of students of Miss Riddle and is suggested by some history notebooks that have been preserved. From 1884 to 1897 there was an average enrollment of one hundred ten in the school of history.

In the "schools" of mathematics, mental and moral philosophy, and natural science there was relatively little change under Miss Baldwin. According to college standards the mathematics course, like the Latin, was strong from the beginning. It included advanced algebra, geometry, conic sections, trigonometry, and analytics—all the subjects generally included in a college course with the exception of calculus. The average enrollment in higher mathematics—trigonometry and analytics—decreased in later years, although the enrollment in algebra and geometry remained large. A student was allowed to secure a diploma as a partial graduate without taking the higher work in mathematics and

Latin, although mathematics through geometry and Latin through Cæsar were required. These concessions represent, nevertheless, a gradual weakening of the old classical traditions. Incidentally, the geometry and trigonometry texts of Dr. Charles Venable, professor of mathematics in the University of Virginia, were used, and three of his daughters attended the Seminary. A student declared later that she and Cantey Venable could not learn the geometry and so discouraged Miss Kemper that she left.⁷²

Mental and moral science, or psychology and philosophy according to present usage, was no doubt one of the more advanced schools, according to the students of the day, when it was set up. As Professor Woody suggests, many would have considered the texts used as beyond the powers of woman's intelligence.⁷³ Among these texts and references were: Abercrombie's *Intellectual and Moral Philosophy*, Alexander's *Moral Science*; McIlwaine's *Evidences of Christianity*, Thornwell's *On Truth*, Haven's *Mental Science*, Jouffray's *Ethics*, Butler's *Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion* and his *Sermons*, Stewart's *Active and Moral Powers of Man*, and later Wayland's *Moral Philosophy*. Most of these were classic texts in the field. There was also a study of Young's *Christ of History*. It might be mentioned here that there was not yet a systematic study of the Bible and Biblical literature. The school of history in later years included a study of Biblical history mentioned above. There was yet no department of Bible. To judge by the number of graduates, the school of mental and moral science was at first one of the more popular schools under the new regime, but it soon declined.⁷⁴ The average enrollment for the last ten years or more was no more than a dozen. There was little change in the course. In the 1890's several new texts were mentioned, among them: McCosh's *Cognitive Powers* and Noah K. Davis' *Psychology*. This new book by Professor Davis of the University of Virginia long remained a popular college textbook in the South.

In the field of the natural sciences there was a wide range of subjects, but the instruction in this field was handicapped by the inadequacy of equipment for experimentation. Dr. Bailey had made an effort to equip a laboratory, and some additions were made to this from time to time. In 1874, a new science lecture

room containing a laboratory was provided.⁷⁵ This equipment was not adequate, however, for individual experimentation; the professor performed the experiments before the class. The teaching of sciences was primarily by lectures. The range of subjects was a broad one: natural philosophy, chemistry, botany, astronomy, and anatomy, physiology, and hygiene. The latter was a new field just appearing in college curricula, and will be discussed further in connection with health. In 1889, the term *physics* took the place of natural philosophy. In the nineties the university course included only chemistry and physics. There were frequent changes of text, indicating an effort to keep up with the changes in these fields; and most of these texts occur in Woody's list. Enrollment in the natural sciences declined in later years, when one should expect an increase. The comparative ineffectiveness of the instruction without adequate provision for experimentation was no doubt in large part responsible.

When one takes account of the very few students who took advantage of the full course offered in these seven schools, it may seem that Miss Baldwin's reach quite exceeded her grasp; that she was too far ahead of the demand for the higher education of women. She herself must have been discouraged at its smallness. But she helped create the demand. Even the girls who did not take the university course were influenced and impressed by its high standards and looked with something of awe upon the "Full Graduates." Through this leaven the Seminary was to evolve ultimately into Mary Baldwin College.

CERTIFICATES OF PROFICIENCY, DIPLOMAS, DEGREES

As has been stated before, the Augusta Female Seminary defies classification according to present day standards, including, as it did, primary, secondary, college, and even graduate school features; and strong conservatories of music, art, and elocution, discussed later in this study. Since there was a primary department, no admission requirements were set as to age or qualification; it was understood, however, that the student should be able to read. A few were entered without this knowledge even. The student was required to complete the work of the academic department before taking the higher courses in the same field, or

if entering as a new student, to give evidence of preparation for the advanced work. (These requirements were not rigidly applied, according to the recollections of *alumnæ*.) Otherwise, there was great freedom of choice of subjects *unless one expected to become a graduate*. In that case there was no choice except as to the ancient and modern language studied. All the work was required. The statements of the catalogue with reference to graduation are interesting.

The course of study being extensive and thorough scholarship being required comparatively few pupils apply themselves with sufficient diligence to become Full Graduates.

When a student has completed the course in any one of the schools and obtained four-fifths of the standard number at every examination she receives a *Certificate of Proficiency* in that school. When she has completed the course and received Certificates of Proficiency in all the schools, she is entitled to a *Diploma as a Full Graduate*.⁷⁶

These certificates of proficiency granted at the annual commencements made it possible to give recognition to many, gratifying both the young ladies and perhaps even more their parents.

It is interesting to note that something like the modern point system of a *C* average was established in the eighty per cent required for passing; in fact, it was a little more strict than the modern system in that nothing below eighty per cent was recognized.

In 1876, provision was made for a diploma as a graduate in a partial course. This was a much higher attainment than a mere certificate of proficiency. To quote the requirements:

When a young lady has received certificates of proficiency in the following studies; 1st, English Literature; 2nd, History; 3rd, Mental and Moral Science; 4th, Natural Sciences; 5th, French; 6th, German; and has successfully passed the examination in Elementary Algebra and Geometry and the Junior course in Latin, embracing the grammar and Cæsar's *Commentaries*, she shall be entitled to a Diploma as a graduate in the Partial Course embraced in these studies. This diploma is offered as an incentive to those who do not care to complete the course in Higher Mathematics and in Latin, which they must do in order to secure a full Diploma, the highest honour of the Institution.⁷⁷

The graduate in the partial course, it is to be noted, had to take both French and German. With the reorganization of the curriculum in 1890 another recognition was offered: a certificate to those who completed the academic course.

The work of Dr. McGuffey on the curriculum of the Seminary in 1863 did not end the educational contact of the school with the University of Virginia. Note has been made of textbooks of University of Virginia professors adopted and of comments of various professors on the work done in the Seminary. And there were teachers in the Seminary educated at the University or in its shadow. But another interesting association was the examination by University of Virginia professors which a graduate of the Seminary might take if she chose. The passing of this examination might be considered a test of the college or university character of the work done in the Seminary. It had no connection with the so-called university course in that the practice was adopted before the new classification was introduced.

During the thirty-four years of Miss Baldwin's administration diplomas were granted to eighty-eight students as full graduates, to six who completed the partial course, and to one post-graduate in Latin.⁷⁸ Beginning in 1897, the Seminary granted degrees for several years. The level of work had long been superior to that of some colleges which had granted degrees, but there had apparently been no movement toward the adoption of the practice. No doubt the competition with degree-granting colleges, some in Virginia itself, was already being felt, and the graduates were placed at some disadvantage professionally. In a short time, the administration was to begin to consider definitely its standardization as a college. The practice of conferring degrees was then recognized as having been premature. In 1897, the degrees conferred were: Bachelor of Arts, upon those who had completed the academic course and the partial course; Bachelor of Music, upon graduates of music; and Master of Arts, upon those who completed the university course.⁷⁹ In the following year the degree of Master of Arts was discontinued, the Bachelor of Arts being conferred upon those who completed the university course. No degree was granted for the completion of the partial course.

THE FINE ARTS—MUSIC, ELOCUTION, DRAWING, AND PAINTING

Some colleges discouraged the fine arts because this field of instruction made the woman's college different from the man's, and prevented the realization of their goal to have a college like a man's. Also the fine arts brought a lot of special students difficult of rigid classification.⁸⁰ It seems unlikely that these objections would have held great weight with Miss Baldwin. Although she modeled the literary branches of the Seminary on the plan of the man's college, she did not subject her curriculum to rigid adherence to that organization in other respects. And her system of classification was very flexible.

The emphasis placed upon the fine arts, especially music, and the provision made for their pursuit in the Seminary might seem to put this school in the class of the finishing school, with its "ornamental" subjects, if one did not recognize the serious attention given at the same time to the literary branches. Even so, the emphasis may seem undue. Out of eighteen to twenty teachers, six or seven were usually devoted to music, two to painting, and one to elocution. Much expenditure was made for the music department. In the midst of the Civil War, Miss Baldwin was trying with her small means to purchase another "second-hand" piano. The war over, she began to purchase new ones from Weber, Stieff, Hamlin, and Steinway. The number increased until there were in 1890 two organs and forty pianos.⁸¹ Nevertheless, she was responding to a demand, and the returns financially must have fully justified the expenditure. The enrollments in music were large. Even though the idea of higher literary education was making progress, some parents preferred or were satisfied for their daughters to have a little music, china-painting, French, and perhaps elocution. Even training in fancy work, wax work, hair weaving, the banjo, and the mandolin were given for a time. They were never set down in the course of study, but prices for tuition were quoted and a teacher of fancy work was included in the faculty list. Those parents who desired a higher literary education for their daughters usually wanted them also to learn to play the piano. Every young lady was expected still to have that accomplishment. This feature of the old tradition of woman's education had great survival value.

It is obvious, however, that Miss Baldwin's ideal or objective in the organization of the fine arts department was not to provide for the acquisition of mere genteel parlor accomplishments. In 1871, a Conservatory of Music was established.⁸² The standards of instruction and the requirements for graduation from this Conservatory were high and no doubt justified the statement that the advantages offered were equal to those of the conservatories of Boston and Cincinnati.⁸³ To secure a diploma in music, extensive training in piano, theory, harmony, and the history of music were required and instruction in either voice or organ. Few completed this course, just as few became full graduates in the literary department. But Miss Baldwin succeeded in establishing a standard of excellence that helped to elevate the standards generally in the South.

Most of the professors of music were German, and they followed the traditions and methods of the European conservatories. There were frequent references to the European standards.⁸⁴

The objectives listed for choral or glee club work mention these and are interesting as a departure from the "ornamental" tradition:

We call the attention of parents to the advantages of choral singing; 1st, as one of the best means of recreation; 2nd, as one of the best exercises for physical culture and the promotion of good health; 3rd, as one of the best means of intellectual improvement; 4th, as the starting point for learning instrumental music. In all the conservatories of Europe, pupils even in instrumental music are required to practice a certain amount of vocal music.⁸⁵

Apparently the Reverend Benjamin Smith's fears of the foreign influence were forgotten. As wealth increased in the United States, as the frontier receded, and as life became easier, people began to think more of "culture," to secure which they sought European travel, the art galleries, and the music centers of Europe. Hence, European teachers and methods had prestige value as well as solid merit.

The first suggestion made in the catalogue of professional or vocational training in the Augusta Female Seminary was in the field of music. The catalogue of 1868-69 stated:

The object of the teachers is not so much to train the pupils to execute brilliantly a few difficult pieces as to instruct them in the science and *qualify them to teach music if desired.*⁸⁶

The only reference at any time to a special course for teachers was in this field. The teaching of music furnished a respectable career for the young lady in the South at a time when business and other professions might be regarded with social disfavor. It might even be regarded more highly than other forms of teaching, because it was often done in the home.

The enrollments in both instrumental music and voice were large. The average for the years 1876 to 1897 was one hundred twenty in instrumental music and fifty in voice. This does not include glee club, harmony, or the history of music. In 1895-96, for example, there were sixteen in harmony and thirty-five in glee club. As mentioned above, few students completed the full course in music. There were only sixty-four graduates in music during Miss Baldwin's administration and one post-graduate. In 1897, the degree of Bachelor of Music, which the Trustees had authorized that year, was conferred on four graduates.

Some students no doubt sought to avoid literary studies for the study of the fine arts, and Miss Baldwin took steps to discourage such concentration by requiring a certain amount of literary work. Concern for health was given as the reason for this: "It has been found exceedingly injurious for the pupils to practice the entire day or to spend it in the studio."⁸⁷ A better balanced education was no doubt an equally important reason in Miss Baldwin's mind.

More attention was given to music than to speech or to drawing and painting. Speech or "elocution" was not mentioned in the catalogue until 1871-72, when it was stated that: "Good reading being the most desirable of female accomplishments, no pains are spared in this department."⁸⁸ Until 1874, Dr. Brown, the teacher of voice, taught elocution. In that year an instructor in elocution and calisthenics was employed. This combination continued until the end of Miss Baldwin's administration. Apparently the primary objective of the training in speech was good reading and not stage or public performance. From the time it was introduced, all students were required to take it, and there was no

extra charge. Beginning in 1881-82, a course in special elocution was added with a fee required.⁸⁹ In 1889-90, a School of Elocution was established, which provided three years' work in voice development, expression, including dramatic productions, and the philosophy of speech. To secure a diploma the student was required to be "thoroughly conversant with English literature."⁹⁰ The average enrollment in special lessons in speech from the time they were first offered in 1881 to 1897 was twenty-eight. Fifteen graduates received the diploma as graduates of the School of Elocution up to 1897.

No mention was made of art in the catalogue of 1868-69, but the list of the faculty included a professor of drawing and painting. In the following year the catalogue contained a brief statement under "Drawing and Painting": "Particular attention is given to these accomplishments." The following notice attached may seem a bit quaint: "In addition to the regular instruction in classes, all students are required to draw maps under the direction of the teacher." Interest in geography through the conditions of World War II, however, may make map-drawing an important feature of college instruction. In 1879-80, a School of Art was established, with three years' work, upon the completion of which a diploma was granted.⁹¹ This course included work in crayon, charcoal, pen and ink, pastels, water color and oil, drawings from nature and life models, clay modelling, tapestry painting, and the history of art. China-painting was taught, but not required for graduation. Free hand drawing and penmanship were taught to all. The average enrollment in art from 1876 to 1897 was forty-three; the period of largest enrollment was from 1886 to 1893, when china-painting was very popular. There were fourteen who took the diploma from the Conservatory of Art during Miss Baldwin's administration. It might be noted that in both elocution and art, added to the training in technique, the graduate was given an intellectual background in the philosophy of expression and the history of art.

THE BEGINNINGS OF TRAINING FOR BUSINESS AND THE PROFESSIONS

After the Civil War, the old concept of woman's education for life in the home as wife and mother began to be enlarged to include training for professions and vocations. This new concept only slowly gained ground in the South, but it was incorporated by degrees into the curriculum of the Augusta Female Seminary. Seminary students were going out as teachers, but there was no special normal training given, other than a course for teachers of music mentioned above. Post-graduate work in French was offered for those who wished to travel or to teach, but it was mere advanced work and not special training for teachers. The various catalogues after 1868 stated: "The Principal has frequent applications for teachers from other schools, and the graduates of this institution have found no difficulty in finding eligible situations."⁹²

In 1870, bookkeeping was added to the curriculum of the Seminary. In 1883, a School of Business Training and Bookkeeping was established, requiring two years' work in theory and practice for a certificate. In justification for this course, more or less in the form of an apology, it was stated:

It seems important that ladies should have some knowledge of business and the science of bookkeeping, so that they may know how to protect their own interests when necessary, or if thrown upon their own resources, secure a competence by teaching the science or by practically keeping books, both of which occupations are now pursued by ladies in many sections at good salaries.⁹³

In 1886, typewriting was offered "to such pupils as desire to perfect themselves in this valuable art." The following year shorthand was included, a School of Stenography and Typewriting established, and a special teacher employed. In explanation of this introduction, it was declared:

Young ladies preparing themselves for government positions and general business education cannot afford to neglect this important and valuable means of earning a livelihood.⁹⁴

In 1893-94 the two schools were combined into one—the School of Business Training. There seems to have been little demand for this business education. The total enrollment for the twenty-one years, 1876 to 1897, was one hundred ten.

Another interesting adventure into the practical field was the Cooking School, designed for domestic uses, however, not professional. The catalogue of 1879-80 carried the following statement:

The Cooking School is a new feature in the Institution and one which the Principal feels sure will meet with general favor, inasmuch as it is now acknowledged by all that training in the domestic arts is a very important part of a girl's education. A large and pleasant room furnished with all the appliances and conveniences of the most approved modern "kitchen" is now nearly completed, and here, under the supervision of a refined and accomplished teacher, a regular system of instruction in the theory and practice of cooking will be inaugurated.⁹⁵

The following year the "kitchen" was announced as completed and a teacher employed. *The Valley Virginian*, in summarizing the Principal's annual report given at commencement, stated that a "number of young ladies were trained most successfully in this important (culinary) art."⁹⁶ After 1882 there was no further mention of the cooking school. Not until after Miss Baldwin's death was domestic science again introduced into the curriculum.

HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION

One objection raised to higher education for women was that it would impair their health and unfit them for their duties and responsibilities as wives and mothers. Attacks on boarding schools in the 1850's had been pronounced. For example, the *New York Ledger*, in an article entitled "Murdering Girls at School," had declared: "The manner in which many schools, and especially some female seminaries, are conducted is nothing more nor less than an organized system of slow but sure murder."⁹⁷ Such attacks continued later in the century. Hence, it rested upon those who sponsored the movement for woman's higher education to prove that such fears were unfounded. The school had not only to contend with problems of health, arising naturally from large groups living together and engaged in more or less

sedentary pursuits; it faced perhaps a more difficult problem in the prevailing preference for the rather fragile, delicate girl who shunned the sun and wind to keep her skin white and smooth and the Victorian styles in dress far less conducive to physical health than those of today. It also worked with less knowledge of foods and sanitation and fewer devices for the proper maintenance of sanitary surroundings.

The Augusta Female Seminary had the advantage of the "genial and proverbially healthful climate of Staunton" and of *freedom from malaria* advertised in the catalogue. The latter advantage was expected no doubt to appeal to parents living in the Lower South, from which the school came to draw a large patronage. Apparently students coming from that region were expected to be troubled with chills. An alumna of the school from Alabama, Mrs. Janie Robins Wood, '89, related in recollections of her life at the Seminary, how Mrs. Sellers, the matron, with whom she was placed for the time, questioned her repeatedly when she arrived about Alabama chills and the treatment she was accustomed to undergoing for their cure. To quote her account of the episode:

I resented this and told her each time I'd never had a chill and they were not as common in Alabama as she thought. She evidently doubted me, for in the night I was awakened by her calling, "Janie, Janie, wake up! You've an Alabama chill now! Tell me what I must do for you!" I could feel a perceptible rocking, but said emphatically, "I have no chill—you must have a nightmare, Mrs. Sellers," (the girls had teased me telling me that she had nightmares, and of this I was as much afraid as she seemed to be of Alabama chills). We were both sure the trouble was the other. I said all that I dared to say to her, while she said all she wanted to say to me. At breakfast she came to me, laughing, and said, "Janie, our chill and nightmare was the tremor of an earthquake at Charleston, S. C."⁹⁸

Reliance was not placed entirely in "the proverbially healthful climate" to keep the girls well. Special care was taken to avoid illnesses and epidemics. In 1883, according to the *Staunton Spectator*, the school was closed one week early because a single case of scarlet fever "of a mild type" had developed at the Seminary.⁹⁹ The paper stated: "This course was adopted out of abundant caution, although little or no fear was felt that the disease would be communicated to other pupils were they to remain in the

Seminary." In 1870-71, it had been announced that "arrangements have been made with two of the ablest physicians of the place to secure their daily attendance at the school. . . ." In 1875-76, an infirmary was established "under the supervision of a lady of superior culture and refinement" to which all students too ill to attend classes were required to go.¹⁰⁰ It is interesting to note the stress on social and moral qualifications.

In spite of all precautions, epidemics did occasionally occur; and others were threatened. The following episodes of 1894 represent phases of the health regime and of life in the Infirmary:

The daily round of toil has been broken by two important events: mumps and vaccination. Not soon will we forget that dark night when there was so solemnly taken over to the Infirmary our little Brazilian maiden, carefully wrapped in shawls, veil, and gloves, and guarded by Miss Baldwin, Dr. Wayt, Mrs. Maslin, and Mattie, and the oft-appearing bottle of carbolic acid. Five days followed. Never before had the vinegar cruet been so eagerly sought, as each girl attempted to find out if she were afflicted with the dread disease. Nineteen sad and lonely days did the victims of the mumps pass in the back room of the Infirmary, and many were the mournful glances cast out of that window on the streams of busy girls hurrying up and down the Covered Way.

Let us turn to the scene of even more terror. Wild had been the exclamations for the last few days when the news reached our ears of the small-pox beginning in Roanoke and slowly creeping onward, like some fierce monster to the happy bounds of Staunton. Like a thunder bolt out of a clear sky came the news, "Miss Baldwin is going to have the *whole school* vaccinated!" Like the victims of the French Revolution ready for the guillotine, we were summoned one by one. Never before had the "Old Calisthenics Hall" presented such a scene of woe; girls ready to weep and ready to faint; girls lying down, sitting, standing, walking, talking, watching, and trembling. Patiently sat Miss Williamson at the end of the long table, roll-book beside her and pencil in hand, marking the name of each girl as she came forward to be examined and vaccinated, while Dr. Wayt, with firm but gentle mien, was calming the frightened maidens with his soothing words. . . . ¹⁰¹

Various rules and regulations were set up to prevent illness: rules that perhaps will recall to present-day students the admonitions of fond grandmothers. Among them were the following: "Each pupil must be provided with overshoes, umbrella, and gossamer;" and

The following violations of the laws of health are prohibited: Eating imprudently at night; wearing thin low shoes in cold weather; going out without wraps and overshoes; sitting on the ground and promenading out of doors with head uncovered; and also the too early removal of flannel, or any neglect to put it on at the approach of cold weather.

Long experience of the injurious effects on the health of pupils, caused by the reception of boxes of rich food and confectionery from their homes, constrains the Principal to request in the strongest terms that these boxes may only be sent at Christmas. Fruit is beneficial at all times; but sardines and potted meats will not be allowed.¹⁰²

One will recall the mention earlier in this story of the concern for the safety of the Seminary cow during the Civil War days. The Seminary continued the practice of keeping its own cows. These were pastured near the college in a field where the King's Daughters' Hospital now stands and the hill back of it, and kept at night in a barn on the hill back of Sky High. Miss Baldwin also purchased a farm and had fresh vegetables for the tables from this source. From all accounts, it appears that the food was good. There were, no doubt, the usual school-girl complaints about it, but also high praise for the hot rolls and other favorite dishes. The editor of the *Annual* published in 1892 some statistics gathered "for our own amusement," among which appear the following:

Number of rolls baked each day	900
Number of barrels of flour used in a year	150
Number of bushels of apples	700
Number of barrels of sugar	30
Number of pounds of chicken used in a year	4500
Number of pounds of turkey used in a year	3700
Number of lemons used in a year	unknown ¹⁰³

Year after year the health continued excellent, and Miss Baldwin derived great gratification from the fact that there were phenomenally few cases of serious illness. In her annual reports she took pride in calling attention to the good health of the school. The report of 1886 is typical:

Notwithstanding the fact that many delicate pupils were sent from twenty-three different states, attracted by the great healthfulness of the climate and the great care known to be bestowed on its sanitary arrange-

ments, by the blessings of God all have been preserved, and the general health has been such that the pupils have been able to pursue their studies with even fewer interruptions than usual. . . .¹⁰⁴

The reputation of the school for good health apparently caused parents to send delicate girls here as to a sanitarium, and Miss Baldwin had to protest against this practice. In 1885, she announced:

Parents are advised not to send extremely delicate girls, or those afflicted with chronic diseases away from their own care. Pupils will not be received or retained whose condition of health is such that they cannot pursue their studies to advantage.¹⁰⁵

A course in anatomy, physiology, and hygiene was introduced into the school of natural science. There was no special mention of this class until Madame Russell Garnier, the French teacher from the University of Paris, took it in 1891-92. Unfortunately, in returning the following September from Europe, she was quarantined on a ship on which there was cholera and did not return for fear of bringing the disease. Her lectures were remembered as "interesting and instructive."¹⁰⁶

Along with care of health went a program of exercise and physical education. One will recall the Reverend B. M. Smith's discourse against calisthenics, "no running by rule or laughing by squares"; but in 1871, calisthenics became a prominent feature of the school program. The teacher of elocution was also director of calisthenics, later termed gymnastics and physical culture. In 1874, a special building was erected for calisthenics and bowling.¹⁰⁷ The Staunton *Spectator* heartily commended this action in a special article, "Bowling Alley for Female Pupils."

As a means of amusement, recreation, and healthful exercise, the Principal of the Augusta Female Seminary of this city has had a fine bowling alley built upon the grounds of that institution for the use of its pupils. We are pleased to know that our schools are wisely providing for the physical as well as the mental development of their pupils, for health is an even greater blessing than the most finished education.¹⁰⁸

Very soon, however, the new Bowling Alley was turned into a classroom, and calisthenics was relegated to Calisthenics Hall, the present Business Office.

The introduction of gymnastic exercise in American schools and colleges for women in the generation following the Civil War was the direct influence of Dio Lewis of Lexington, Massachusetts, who had spread the system from his famous school there and through his book, *New Gymnastics*.¹⁰⁹ Calisthenic drills became a prominent feature of the public programs given at the Seminary for many years.

The Mid-Victorian costume for calisthenics will appear strange in comparison with the abbreviated "gym" suits of today. According to the rule:

It must be made of some black material, as alpaca, the skirt finished at the bottom with a kilt plaiting eighteen inches deep and hanging six inches from the floor. . . . The waist, a belted blouse with three box plaits . . . in front and behind . . . , must extend seven inches below the belt and be finished at the neck with a sailor collar.¹¹⁰

Later the skirt was replaced with Turkish trousers fastened below the knees. Further additions to the equipment for physical education were made in later years. A new gymnasium was constructed in 1891, containing a swimming pool. A tennis court was provided and croquet grounds laid out. In addition to these exercises, the students were required to walk each day. For many years, physical education had been a mere adjunct to the elocution department and was mentioned in the catalogue in a short paragraph following the description of the work in elocution. But with the construction of the new gymnasium and swimming pool in 1890, "Calisthenics" became "Physical Culture" and received a separate division in the catalogue. Nevertheless, the one teacher continued to serve both departments for many years.

To those of today, gratified by the possession of an excellent new gymnasium, the following description by two students of "Our New Gymnasium," published in the *Annual* of 1892 may be interesting:

On the high ceilinged walls hangs much of the apparatus and near the door stand the piano and the movable bars. Our suit is of black flannel, consisting of a blouse and loose Turkish trousers fastened just below the knee by a rubber band—a costume anything but becoming to the tall, slender girl.

When the class meets at four, we are first drawn up in line according

to height, the smaller girls being at the head. After a little practice in fancy steps, circling and flank movements, we take Indian clubs and march into position for swinging them. All the exercises, as marching, and the movements with clubs or dumb bells, are done to lively music, popular marches or waltzes.

Club swinging usually lasts about twenty minutes, and by that time the blood of the girl who has worked begins to tingle.

On cold, rainy afternoons the line is reversed and we have a good run, and the efforts of the smaller girls to keep up with the long steps of the tall leaders are so amusing that in a few minutes every one has to stop from laughter.

Now the programme varies; sometimes we fence, use the dumb bells, or have the Swedish drill, the free work especially recommended for expanding the chest.

And then to the discomfiture of all lazily inclined, the bars are brought out; on these some of us swing, jump, "skin the cat," or turn somersaults. The rest are supposed to be exercising in other ways, but there will be some who are not so fat that they will work to become thin, or so thin that they will work to become fat, and they loiter on the benches, or hide behind the piano or the teacher's chair, for "out of sight is out of mind," and some difficult exercise may be avoided.

Perhaps the most useful apparatus is the chest weights, and if some of us are not able to travel up and down on these when we first enter the gymnasium, most of us persevere, hoping to achieve greatness.

Probably a seminary gymnast's highest aspiration is to be able to climb the rope, an inspiration, however, which few girls realize, for it requires more muscle than many of us possess to make one's way up hand over hand to the top of the rope—and to come down without slipping is harder still.

We all like the jumping, which we have about once a week; the jump stand is brought out, and we take running or standing jumps. Often girls go as high as three and a half feet, and the highest jumper is looked on as the class champion for that day:

Twice during the year we have had a day for visitors, and the best girls were selected from each class to practice for the one important event. And though the town people all enjoy the musicals, and the soirees of the elocutionists, still all the praise is not given to these, but some, and by no means a small share, is given to the entertainments in our gymnasium.

After gymnastics there is nothing better than a bath or a swim, and this is provided for by the new pool built last summer. The pool is about twelve feet in length by eight in width and contains four feet of water pleasantly heated. . . . Only four or five are allowed in at once and during the fifteen minutes we may stay in everyone is laughing, splashing, and screaming, and when ordered out there can be heard on all sides—"Just one more plunge!"¹¹¹

It is interesting to note that in addition to the calisthenics drill given on the stage as a part of the soiree program, there were public demonstrations in the gymnasium itself. The Swedish drill referred to in the account above was beginning to supersede the earlier gymnastics of Dio Lewis. The Swedish system was a more strenuous one; Swedish teachers who came to this country to introduce it found American girls too "soft" and had to modify the exercise.¹¹²

As the above account indicates, there was some difficulty in getting the girls to take full advantage of the program of physical education. The sports girl was not yet the fashion. It is said that Durant, the founder of Wellesley, sent to England to get tennis sets for his school, since he could not procure them in the United States, "but had some difficulty in persuading many of the students to take such very violent exercise."¹¹³ The girls in the Seminary especially disliked the daily walk with a chaperon, and the excuse of "having stuck a pin in one's foot" was abused. Requirements were sufficiently well-enforced, however, that healthy girls were the result. "Walking on the terrace," and climbing the Covered Way and the stairs supplied some of the exercise missed elsewhere.

VARIOUS OPINIONS ON THE SEMINARY AS AN INSTITUTION FOR THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Disinterested observers of the Seminary under Miss Baldwin, as well as its patrons and friends, were impressed with its achievements. The following statement from the editor of a Northern review, the *Journal of Education*, of Boston, has the merit of outside judgment:

During our recent tour of the South, we perpetually heard of the Augusta Female Seminary at Staunton, Virginia, as one of the most deservedly celebrated schools for girls in that region, taking honorable rank with the collegiate institutions for young women that are now coming to be so important a factor in the national education. The catalogue of the session for 1880-81 bears witness to the prosperity of this Seminary, and the thorough and practical character of its course of study. Its curriculum is arranged on the plan of the University of Virginia, including a dozen "schools" with their appropriate teachers. . . . The Seminary now has several hundred students and twenty-five teachers and is situated in one of

the most beautiful and healthful towns in the Valley of Virginia; and is evidently making a vigorous effort to maintain the past and present reputation of the Old Dominion as the leading Southern State in the higher education, and a nursery of superior teachers, especially for the Southwest.¹¹⁴

Comments from friends and patrons one might expect to be somewhat less disinterested, but at least they have the virtue of being based on more intimate information. The high character of the authors of the following observations bespeaks their general trustworthiness, even where friendships may have lent an extra glow of enthusiasm. Dr. Joseph R. Wilson had remained in close touch with the school after his association as head and trustee in the 1850's. To it he sent two daughters; several nieces also attended it, the Woodrows of South Carolina and Ohio. Dr. Wilson returned to deliver the commencement address in 1879. In 1868, he said of the school:

Institutions for the instruction of young ladies abound throughout the country, and there may be others as deserving of public confidence as this; but I *have never known such a school*. It is as near perfection in my judgment, as it is possible for human wisdom to make it. This sounds like the language of extravagance; but I employ it deliberately, and with a full sense of all that it implies. A long acquaintance with Miss Baldwin and Miss McClung warrants me in declaring to all whom my word may influence that there are no two ladies in the land who are better qualified by nature, by cultivation, by grace, and now by experience for conducting a Seminary like that over which they preside. My own daughter is under their care, and no sacrifice would I refuse to make to keep her there until her education is completed. . . . I regard the Seminary as a great public blessing.¹¹⁵

Another enthusiastic friend who had known the Seminary in its earlier days, the Reverend B. M. Smith, said in 1868, "You may be entirely satisfied that I am not using the language of empty compliment when I say that I consider it the best Female School I ever knew."¹¹⁶ Alexander H. H. Stuart, fellow townsman of Miss Baldwin, prominent Virginia statesman, who had been Secretary of the Interior under Fillmore, wrote with equal fervor in its praise.¹¹⁷ And there are a host of others.

At a later period, 1884, a patron from a distance, a prominent citizen of Little Rock, Arkansas, Samuel W. Williams, pronounced the school the equal of any college in the land and Miss Baldwin the peer of Mrs. Willard. He wrote:

About twelve or fifteen years ago, in seeking a Seminary in which to educate my eldest daughter, after a careful examination, in many instances by personal visitation, I selected the "Augusta Female Seminary" at Staunton, Virginia, as being one of the best schools in the United States. There I have educated three of my daughters.

The principal, Miss Mary J. Baldwin, though less known, I regard as the equal intellectually and in executive talent of the late Mrs. Willard. The standard of scholarship required for final graduation is as high as any college for males or females in the United States. It is super-excellent in its musical departments, both in vocal and instrumental music. The physical wants and safety of the pupils are well provided for. . . . In short it is one of the best schools, with the best teachers, amid the best surroundings, and is worthy of the patronage of the best people.¹¹⁸

The critical might indeed question such extravagant praise; but if the judgment itself is overgenerous in some particulars, statements similar to the above, which could be multiplied, indicate the extent to which the school had justified itself and endeared itself to its friends.

At the risk of prolixity one would like to mention one other friend, who wrote in commendation of the Seminary, General John Echols, Vice-President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. General Echols, native of Virginia, Confederate officer, lawyer, and business man, moved to Staunton after the Civil War. He and Miss Baldwin's cousin, Colonel John B. Baldwin, were the chief instruments in the reorganization of the Chesapeake and Ohio, which Dr. Bailey had eagerly anticipated and which has been the foremost physical link between Mary Baldwin and her Western patronage. Moreover, "the ties between the railroad and the college have always been broader and more general than those of a purely business connection. The welfare of the Mary Baldwin girls has been given special attention by the officials of the railroad."¹¹⁹ General Echols was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Seminary for a number of years and one of its most fervent protagonists.¹²⁰

The local press of Staunton praised it to the skies on every occasion. The city was proud of its Seminary and of its citizen, Mary Julia Baldwin. Even by 1866, Miss Baldwin had established thoroughly the reputation of her school. *The Spectator* declared:

That this Seminary, which for so many years merely existed, has now under all the troubles of these times *established* itself by such remarkable success is a deserved tribute to the zeal and devotion of the Principal in the cause of female education.¹²¹

And in June of the same year, the editor declared: "Miss Mary Julia Baldwin has exhibited, in the discipline and successful management of the school, a degree of executive ability rarely shown by persons of either sex."¹²²

As to the value of the Seminary to Staunton another local paper, the *Valley Virginian*, wrote in 1884:

No human calculation can say how much the Institution has done for the education of the daughters of our land. How much Staunton is indebted to it for her prosperity is sufficiently known to arouse her citizens to enlarge its usefulness and extend its fame. . . .¹²³

"Fortunate it would be," he declared, "if every town in our land possessed a Miss Baldwin, capable of administering the affairs of such an empire—ruling her "woman's kingdom with such wise liberality."¹²⁴

Mary Julia Baldwin was already the first citizen of Staunton and without doubt the foremost woman of the Valley, if not in all Virginia.

TEACHERS AND TEACHING

With the principles that leaders in the movement for the higher education of women had sought or were seeking to establish with respect to faculty organization and control and departmental differentiation and load of teaching, Miss Baldwin's practice did not conform; nor would the academic qualifications of her faculty meet college standards. In the first place the teachers were employed by her and responsible to her rather than to the Board of Trustees, just as in the old proprietor type of school. The Board of Trustees was in a state of suspended action with respect to the school throughout her administration. It appears, however, that she left her teachers more or less freedom with respect to the work in their own fields, a practice in conformity with the modern system of equal and coordinate departments. One reads of Miss Wright reorganizing the work in the English

studies, for example; and Miss Fairchild, the School of Art. Apparently there was no faculty or departmental organization, however; the individual teacher was responsible to Miss Baldwin. Perhaps in the School of Music there was some coordination established within the department, since there were several teachers in this school and their work was more strictly differentiated than that of the various literary fields. According to Sue Stribling Snodgrass there were "faculty councils" in her day, 1887-91, and in them Miss Strickler and Miss Wright were often opposing forces; nevertheless, there was apparently no formal faculty organization, and if any records of faculty meetings or faculty action were kept, they have been lost.¹²⁵ Teachers in the literary field frequently taught in two or three "schools." This practice likewise was at variance with the standards of the college. The schools of natural science and mental and moral philosophy were under the same professor. This professor frequently taught some mathematics, too. Mathematics and Latin; English and Latin; book-keeping and Latin; harp and fancy-work; art and modern languages; French and hygiene are combinations that are found. Most of the teachers had to take a section of English composition. Although no records exist as to hours of teaching in the literary department, they must have been heavy. Some of the students of the day say that the teachers taught straight through the teaching hours when they were not keeping study hall. All classes in collegiate work met five hours a week. The same teachers had both "collegiate" or "university" courses and the lower or academic classes. The primary work was under separate teachers but in the same buildings. The faculty averaged about twenty teachers exclusive of the administrative force.

As to the academic qualifications of the members of the faculty there were few who held degrees. For a number of years Professor Murray, who had the Master's degree from the University of Virginia, was the only one. In the 1890's several others were added. The fine arts faculty ranked higher as to professional training than the literary faculty. These teachers were generally graduates of conservatories in London, Munich, Leipzig, and Berlin. The later teachers of art and elocution had extensive professional training.

The Augusta Female Seminary, although a woman's school, had never been inclined toward a faculty of women only, as some of the schools for women. Miss Baldwin always had one man, sometimes two or more on the literary faculty, and three or four on the fine arts faculty. For many years Professor Dunsmore, who established the Dunsmore Business College in Staunton, was head of the School of Business Training. There were no unmarried men on the faculty.

In the beginning of her administration of the school, Miss Baldwin chose most of her faculty from Virginia, a number of them from Staunton. The limitations imposed by the Civil War made this more or less inevitable. In later years, however, she looked abroad, drawing teachers from other states and sections and from Europe. Several were from New York, among them the revered Miss Sarah Wright. It might be noted that there was still sufficient sectional feeling that some girls from the South objected to instruction by a Yankee and chose English courses under another teacher in preference to Miss Wright.¹²⁶ There were teachers from other sections of the South: Miss Mattoon from North Carolina, Miss Firor from Kentucky. Professor Koerber, a native of Germany, had lived and taught in the South for many years. Professor Walter, a German Catholic from Hesse Cassel, had come to the United States at sixteen to escape military service, only to be plunged immediately into the Civil War on the Confederate side. He had continued to reside in the South and came to the Seminary from Baltimore. Practically all the music and modern language teachers were from France or Germany; several of them, Professors Meyer and Hintz among others, had taught in New York for some time. Some of these teachers from abroad, Professor Hamer, his nephew, Professor Eisenberg, and Professor Walter remained on the faculty for many years and became devoted citizens of Staunton, where their families still reside. Miss Baldwin continued to choose many of her teachers from Virginia; and she had a number who were graduates of the Seminary, among them, Misses Mattie and Nannie Tate, Mrs. Mary (Crawford) Darrow, Misses Flora Firor, Nannie Link, Mary Lou Bledsoe, Emma Wills, and Kate St. Clair May. Most of them taught in the Primary Department

and for a short time only. Miss Ella C. Weimar, Miss Baldwin's successor as Principal, had been a student and later a teacher in the Seminary; and Miss Helen Williamson, long a member of the faculty, was an alumna.

Miss Baldwin used various members of her family as teachers or members of the administrative staff. There could be no criticism of this on grounds of favoritism or nepotism, since in an economic sense the school was hers. Her beloved "little aunt," Mrs. Caroline Sowers Crawford, only seven years her senior and much like a sister to Miss Baldwin, taught piano for many years. After she retired from this work, she was added to the staff, primarily as supervisor of the girls' shopping. She was remembered for the Saratoga chips and other things she bought for the Saturday night "spreads," for her motherliness, which helped to maintain the "home" atmosphere of the Seminary, and for her love of pretty clothes. After Miss Baldwin's death she went to Illinois to live with a son. Here in a state election in 1914 at the age of ninety-one she cast her first ballot, "the oldest woman, save one, in the United States to do so, and said on her way through a lane of applause, 'I always wanted to vote!'"¹²⁷ Mrs. Crawford's daughter, Mary Crawford, became a full graduate of the Seminary in the literary and music departments, studied voice in New York, and returned to the Seminary to teach in 1874. In 1883, she was married to Mr. Darrow and gave up teaching for seven years, but her husband's death brought her back to the Seminary as a teacher in 1890, where she remained until her death in 1893, as teacher of voice. It is said that Miss Baldwin had had her in mind for her successor.¹²⁸ Miss Baldwin had two cousins, Julia and Emma Heiskell, as teachers in the later 1860's. Mr. and Mrs. Wade Heiskell, her uncle and aunt, spent the last twelve years of their life in the Seminary, both dying in the fall of 1892. Mrs. Heiskell served as matron for a time. Miss Baldwin not only took relatives to live in her household, but in 1892, when Mr. Edward Lane, a Presbyterian missionary to Brazil died, she invited Mrs. Lane and her two daughters to make the Seminary their home.¹²⁹ Mrs. Lane returned to Brazil, however, in the following year. There pervaded the Seminary, the big

family, more or less patriarchal (or, in this case, matriarchal) spirit or tradition.

Although there were few teachers on the Seminary faculty who had academic degrees, many of them had had superior instruction and left a reputation for fine teaching that still survives. According to all accounts, Miss Baldwin showed rare ability in the selection of teachers; fortunately, no doubt, because she found it very hard to dismiss a worthy person if she happened to prove inefficient.¹³⁰ It is not possible to discuss the faculty of thirty-four years in detail; many teachers that are not mentioned, or barely mentioned, here would perhaps deserve a chapter. The fine arts faculty (music, then later, art and elocution) became well-known in Staunton through their leadership in community artistic life as well as through the performances of their pupils in soirees, recitals, and other public appearances. From the local press one can see the high reputation they had in the city. In Miss Baldwin's first faculty, Professor Ettinger, teacher of piano and organ, and Dr. Brown and his daughter, Miss Anna Brown, (a little later, Mrs. A. H. Fultz) teachers of voice, composed the music department. In the gloomy days of Reconstruction when many in the South turned to the Ku Klux Klan and other such organizations as a sort of outlet, the citizens of Staunton, which already had a reputation as a community of superior ability and cultivation in musical matters, apparently sought compensation in music for the limitations and drabness of daily life. Under Dr. Brown's direction the Staunton Musical Association was organized in 1867, Professor Ettinger serving as organist.¹³¹ In May the Association gave its first concert, consisting of Bradbury's "Oration of Esther" and choruses of Mozart and Rossini, at the Virginia Institute for the Deaf and Blind, to an audience of six hundred, many having to leave for lack of accommodation. The *Spectator* commented:

A great deal of credit . . . is due Dr. Brown, the musical director, for his fine taste and untiring energy in support of the Association and to Professor Ettinger, the accomplished organist of the Society.

We are pleased to see such a general disposition exhibited on the part of our citizens to encourage entertainments of this character. This was the first appearance of our musical association before the public and their

magnificent success on this occasion will, we trust, induce them to give entertainments of this kind frequently in the future.

By the spring of 1868, this organization had grown to more than forty talented amateurs with numerous contributing members, and Mr. Brown had begun a special class for Stauntonians who wished to learn music.¹³² This early leadership in community music was continued by later members of the music faculty. Professor Eisenberg became the director of the Staunton Operatic and Dramatic Organization and Professor Meyer of the Staunton Choral Society.¹³³ The work of the fine arts faculty as teachers is mentioned in a later section on soirees and other public entertainments. In these performances the fine teaching of Professor Hamer, teacher of piano for thirty-five years, stood out; also, the work of Miss Frances Douglass, of New York, teacher of voice for a number of years in the 1880's and early 1890's. Public entertainments also brought the French teachers before the Staunton audience. French dialogues and plays frequently formed a part of the soiree programs. Madame Richard, member of the faculty from 1872 to 1875, was frequently mentioned in the press for short French plays presented in picturesque native costumes. Reminiscent of the old family school or private tutorial system, the French teacher was listed for some years in the catalogue as the "resident French governess." Miss Haughwout stood out as a teacher of elocution, a study which had not been outstanding before her coming in 1888. When she left in 1892, the editors of the *Annual* declared that she had "raised Elocution into the front rank" and that a diploma in her department was "second to none."¹³⁴ After a year's absence she returned, but for a year only. Miss Mattoon, an earlier teacher of elocution, 1877-87, had been likewise a valuable instructor. Born in Siam of missionary parents, only ill-health kept her out of missionary work herself, and she devoted much time to work in the home field.¹³⁵ Because of ill-health she retired from her teaching, but returned later to become professor of mental and moral science and Biblical history.

In the art department, Miss Helen Fairchild first attracted the notice of Staunton, through making the Art Exhibition a part of the annual commencement in 1881.¹³⁶ She was a member of

the faculty from 1880 to 1891 and head of the school of art after 1881. She reorganized the work of the school and expanded the course and the enrollment, so that in 1890 the studio was doubled in size and improved in character to meet the new demands. Upon her resignation in 1891, the *Annual* declared that she had "raised our somewhat desultory art into a thorough academic course."¹³⁷

Of the earlier members of the literary faculty whose work did not bring them to the notice of the Staunton press as did that of the fine arts teachers, there remain only slight records. Several of these had been reared in the shadow of the University of Virginia and had had excellent training by University of Virginia professors: the two Misses Howard, Eliza and Anna, daughters of Dr. Howard, professor of medicine, and sisters-in-law of Dr. McGuffey, and Miss Kate Courtenay, daughter of the famous professor of mathematics, E. H. Courtenay.¹³⁸ An interesting member of the first faculty was Major Jed Hotchkiss, engineer and map maker in the Valley campaigns of the Civil War and author of a volume on Confederate Military History, who, before the war, had had a well-known school for boys, the Lochwillow School, near Staunton. He was teacher of languages and of chemistry in the Seminary. A student of the late sixties gave glimpses of some of these teachers and others at an early alumnæ meeting:

Among the happiest memories of those days are recollections of Miss Eliza Howard, so faithful to duty; Miss Anna Howard, so loving and affectionate; Miss Fannie Johnston, who vainly strove to inculcate into our youthful minds the joys and freedom of single blessedness . . . and Major Hotchkiss, who taught us chemistry and physics, and flattered our vanity by telling us that we outstripped the boys on examination. . . .¹³⁹

And another student, a graduate of 1871, recalled Miss Courtenay:

Do you remember that little inner upper room where an adoring group sat literally and figuratively at the feet of Miss Courtenay—that gracious . . . friend of ours, teaching mathematics with the clearness and understanding of her father, the great university professor?¹⁴⁰

Another member of the faculty in the sixties and early seventies was Miss Lelia Dunwody, whom Mr. Waddell described in the

words of her students as a "born teacher." At the time he wrote his account, she had been his wife for many years.

Miss Nannie Tate, first full graduate of the Seminary under Miss Baldwin, an alumna whose grandfather and father had served as members of the Board of Trustees, became a teacher in 1869, two years after her graduation, and remained a member of the faculty for fifty years. For several years she was an assistant in English and French, but upon the death of her sister, Miss Mattie Tate, who was the head of the Preparatory Department, she was given that position, in which she continued until her retirement in 1920. "Precious Miss Nannie" and her "little school room" were endeared to the older students as well as to the younger.

Charlotte Kemper came to the Seminary in 1871 as teacher of mathematics and Latin, remaining until 1882, when she went as a missionary to Brazil. She was born of a prominent Virginia family of German descent in the year 1837, "the year in which the great and good Queen Victoria came to the throne," she liked to say. Her family was distinguished by ministers and educators; a cousin, J. L. Kemper, was governor of Virginia in the 1870's. In her childhood, her father was proctor of the University of Virginia, and she grew up on the campus. Here her education was begun; she was the pet of Dr. McGuffey and the pupil of Dr. William S. White, who insisted that he "laid the foundation for her wits."¹⁴¹ She later attended a boarding school in Richmond taught by Moses Drury Hoge, for many years a noted pastor of Richmond, whose family is distinguished in the annals of Southern Presbyterianism and Virginia education. Here she studied Latin, French, History, and literature, and later higher mathematics, Spanish, and Hebrew. A student of the Seminary in her day has said of her:

She was small and slight; and she had a dry, droll wit, with a slow smile that added zest and flavor. She wore black, gray, or white, and was a skilled horsemistress, sewed, crocheted, knitted, sang, and played the piano and organ.

The girls of 1871-1875 felt they were very close to Miss Kemper, knowing she trusted, loved, and enjoyed them. Among them was an inner circle of brilliant Mattie Beggs, auburn-haired Mary Baldwin Crawford, merry Genie Gunn, and Nellie Hotchkiss (author of this sketch), but best loved

of all was pretty, clever Betty Webb (now Mrs. John Sharp Williams) . . . This one of the girls has vivid memories of Latin Hymns, Dr. Brown's "Spare Hours" loaned, read and discussed at recess or after school, and letters exchanged during vacation. . . .

The girls used to say Miss Kemper had two faults! The one was that she poured forth charming facts but never said, "Make a note of this," and when examination time came, and she called for one or more of them, even the cleverest girl did not always have the answer. The other fault was that her favorite bedtime was two a. m., and even Miss Baldwin's earnest appeals could not move her until the physician added his stern protest.¹⁴²

Miss Baldwin at one time thought of Miss Kemper as her successor. Miss Ruth See, a Mary Baldwin alumna who worked with Miss Kemper in Brazil, told this story in her sketch of Miss Kemper's life written for the Mary Baldwin Y. W. C. A. Scrapbook: Miss Baldwin was injured by an accident in a ride in her carriage. When Miss Kemper visited her in her room, Miss Baldwin said, "Do you know that if I had been killed today you would have taken my place?" Miss Kemper was a timid, retiring person. As she told the story, there was a look on her face and a catch in her voice that revealed how, after so many years, she still felt the thrill of words that must have filled her with dismay, while they gladdened her with the knowledge that she had been counted worthy.¹⁴³ Miss Baldwin kept Miss Kemper's picture in her office and enjoyed telling the new students of her work.

Miss Kemper's influence on her pupils was deep and kept her memory fresh. They followed eagerly her work in Brazil through her letters to the missionary monthly. In 1936, ten years after her death, Mrs. Isabel McIlhenny Nichols of Philadelphia, one of the most useful women who has been graduated from Mary Baldwin, sat by Miss See at a banquet and, learning that she was from Brazil, eagerly inquired, "Then, you can tell me something of my beloved Miss Kemper. No other teacher influenced my life as she did." In Brazil, Miss Kemper worked for forty-five years, living to the age of ninety. She found all her talents useful; the fine arts of teaching and of managing a household, because she taught in a boarding school; the ability to write, as she was editor of the Sunday School lessons and a magazine for preachers; her genius for friendship, which made her beloved by all who knew her. She was called *Sabia* or *Savante*, the "learned woman";

also "the little old lady who walks so fast," and indeed she must have walked fast. On one of her red letter days, the famous old Emperor, Dom Pedro Segundo, a real philosopher-king with a passion for education, visited her school and praised her work. In 1920, the *Presbyterian of the South* published the following letter about her work in Brazil:

The seat of honor in the missionary circles of Brazil is reserved for Miss Charlotte Kemper, best known as Aunt Lottie, eighty-two years young, as everyone loves to think of her. The neatest handwriting that comes to the desk of Dr. Chester or Dr. Smith is "Aunt Lottie's." She reads Homer and Virgil daily for mental gymnastics, varying this Spartan exercise by tutoring backward boys in geometry or trigonometry. Though teaching from three to four hours daily, she missed not a class during the last session. "Aunt Lottie" is the adviser of everyone, comforter and encourager of the new missionaries, and the most beloved woman in Brazil.¹⁴⁴

Miss Kemper lived to see a new girls' building erected on the campus of her school with funds contributed by the Woman's Auxiliary of her church and this division of the school named in her honor, the Charlotte Kemper School. Mary Baldwin has followed with peculiar interest and pride this work in Brazil, to which it has contributed. It is one of the long arms of the Seminary and College reaching out to the world. And in the steps of Miss Kemper a long line of Mary Baldwin alumnae have gone into service as missionaries in other parts of the world.

In 1871, Dr. W. T. Richardson, graduate of Hampden-Sydney and a favorite classmate of Moses Drury Hoge, who spoke of his scholarship and geniality, came to the Seminary as professor of natural sciences and moral philosophy.¹⁴⁵ He served also as chaplain. Up to this time, Miss Baldwin had conducted her own devotional exercises. Mrs. Richardson also taught in the Seminary, having classes in history and English. Here she died, and Dr. Richardson retired from his position in 1877. He was later editor of the *Central Presbyterian*, the organ of the church in Virginia. A year after he left, his place was taken by Professor John Murray, a graduate of the University of Virginia with the Master's degree. Professor Murray remained on the faculty until his death, which took place a few months after Miss Baldwin's. For many years he and Mrs. Murray lived in Hill Top, until

Dunbar became so big a boy that it was thought best for the family to move from the campus. Professor Murray is remembered as a very learned teacher, but "too much of a gentleman to be severe enough with his students." He was a great moral and spiritual influence in the school. In a memorial to him in the *Annual* of 1898, the editors declared they could never forget the helpfulness of his "life and conversation."¹⁴⁶

A teacher of languages frequently recalled by alumnae was Mademoiselle Agatha Elise Jacot, who taught French in the Seminary from 1880-1891. An interesting recollection of her as teacher and friend is found in a letter of Hattie (Barnes) Bruton:

I think it was the year 1881-1882 that I roomed at Hill Top on Mlle. Jacot's hall. I was in the left-hand front room on second floor and an oil portrait of a gentleman hung over the mantel. We never knew who he was but were quite proud of him. Everybody on the hall loved Mlle., (as we called her). She never bothered us—was always agreeable—always ready to go with us to Mr. Jessups' ice-cream parlor. As intelligent as she was she was always a little hazy about the difference between West Virginia and Western Virginia. She had come from Almyra, (Elmira) N. Y., where she had taught twelve years, coming there from France. She thought she was coming to the land of orange blossoms. Some slight throat trouble made her come South. I sat at her French table, and she so enjoyed any news that we wished to impart that she would help us tell it in French, but never let us speak English.¹⁴⁷

Among many good teachers three stand out in the minds of the students of the 1880's and 1890's as "the giants of those days"—Miss Martha Riddle, Miss Virginia Strickler, and Miss Sarah Wright. Miss Riddle was apparently a perfect example of the ideal Virginia gentlewoman, beautiful in face, manner, and character. In her no fault could be found. She came to the Seminary as a young teacher in 1883, having received her education at Southern Female College in Petersburg, Virginia. Except for one year of rest in the 1890's, she spent the remainder of her life (she died in 1919) as teacher of history in the Seminary. Some who preferred Miss Riddle to Miss Strickler say that she was far more patient with the poorer students. Miss Riddle was reputed, however, never to "skip the hard parts of the lesson"; she, too, was a very strict teacher. Of her it was said:

She gave to the many girls she trained not only the benefit of her vast store of historical knowledge, but she trained them also in accuracy, clear thinking, thoroughness, neatness, and "deportment." And above all Miss Riddle gave to those who knew her the example of a devoted, conscientious, and happy Christian life. Her face was of unusual beauty and charm, and her manner was also gentle and courteous. The longer her students remained in her classes, the more their admiration for her increased and the more they felt the force of her influence. Throughout our vast country, north, south, east, and west and among our missionaries in foreign lands, there are today hundreds of women of trained mind, of high character, of commanding influence, in whose making Miss Riddle's example and teaching were a chief factor.¹⁴⁸

And another wrote:

If we live to be ninety years old, we will never forget the moonlight night, when under the trees, she drank with us our loving cup service. I can see her now standing there in the circle, the moonlight just touching up her beautiful hair, the bit of old lace at her throat, and that wonderful face. Mary Baldwin girls who have missed knowing Miss Riddle have missed one of the rare gems to be acquired here. "To know her was to love her" but far beyond that: to know her was to be a better woman in the future.¹⁴⁹

Such tributes in words are numerous. Another sort of memorial to Miss Riddle exists in the Martha Riddle School for girls in China, founded by two of her pupils and sponsored by Mary Baldwin in her honor. There her spirit "goes marching on" as does that of Charlotte Kemper in Brazil. (The war has forced the closing of this school in China.)

Miss Virginia Strickler was also a native of Virginia, of a distinguished family of Presbyterian ministers. Her beloved brother, Dr. G. B. Strickler, was pastor of the Tinkling Springs Church from 1870 to 1883 and a member of the Board of Trustees of the Augusta Female Seminary. Miss Strickler, like Miss Nannie Tate, served the Seminary for half of its hundred years of existence. On her tombstone in the beautiful Thornrose Cemetery in Staunton there is the single inscription, "Virginia Margaret Strickler, Teacher of Latin at Mary Baldwin for fifty years." Miss Strickler came to the Seminary in 1868. For a year she taught with Miss Mattie Tate in the Preparatory Department. Then she became an assistant in English and Latin. Latin remained her principal field to the end. Some years later she took

the course of Business Training in the Seminary, however, and taught courses in that school for a time.

Miss Strickler was a severe teacher, somewhat impatient with the slow student, it is said; her "pencil rapping" became a legend in the Seminary, as the symbol of this impatience. But she was the joy of the bright student. Her certificate of proficiency, Mr. Waddell declared, was as good as the diploma of any college. To win her Latin medal became a goal eagerly sought. One winner of this medal, Sue Stribling Snodgrass, '91, has written in recollection of her classes:

But the first motion picture I would revive for you is in that little old recitation room on the hill, where on rows of wooden benches the nervous, frightened pupils squirmed and trembled under the eyes of that stern disciplinarian but incomparable teacher, Virginia Margaret Strickler. Looking over her eyeglasses, Miss Strickler must have often seen Roselle as she trampled frantically on my foot, a signal that I was reading farther than she had translated (Roselle never translated the whole lesson!). Then when her turn came and her natural facility in words rescued her from complete failure, and she gave the Latin of Virgil, Cicero, Plautus, or Horace in marvelous English, with what cool amusement Miss Strickler would say, "Stick to the text, Roselle; not so much imagination, please." Wouldn't Miss Strickler have been proud to hear the encomiums of college professors and classicists of her pupil's renditions of Horace! I am sure that all those years she was giving Roselle such close personal instruction in "Composition," she recognized her unusual talent and foresaw her literary success. I have often heard Roselle say that she never wrote a line without the almost conscious feeling of Miss Strickler's presence and influence.¹⁵⁰

And of Miss Strickler, Mrs. Montgomery herself said:

Every day I value more and more what she taught me. I find the exactness which she exacted of us, in translating, for example, of the greatest possible help in writing verse—it helps me to stick to it and not be satisfied with anything but what seems to me the right word. And I have so much use for the mythology we learned, and it helps so to be really familiar with the Latin classics! As you know, I have had no real training in versification, but I find her training in composition invaluable in attempting to write verse. . . . And one thing upon which I have been complimented—the building of climaxes—was a direct gift from her. Really I don't believe a working day goes by without some conscious definite memory of her—and I consider that a great tribute to a teacher after thirty years.¹⁵¹

Miss Strickler and Miss Riddle were to remain in the Seminary for many years after Miss Baldwin passed and will appear in the history of those years.

Miss Sarah Wright was born in Persia of a distinguished Presbyterian family of position and wealth. Her own parents were missionaries in the Middle East. She attended Vassar College. By travel, study, and wide experience she had acquired a cosmopolitan outlook on life; and frequently said the world was her country. In her opinions, especially her views of woman's position in society, and her general philosophy, she was commonly judged as ahead of her day, a representative of the "new woman"; and she constituted a healthy influence in a society with certain inclinations toward provincialism. Miss Wright came to the Seminary in 1881 from New York as teacher of higher mathematics and English. Here she remained until 1893. She, like Miss Strickler, did some teaching in the School of Business Training. English literature was, however, her main field. Miss Wright was very different in appearance from the other two members of this trio. She was distinguished by homeliness.¹⁵² But in intellectual stamina, she had no peer and perhaps no equal among the teachers in the Seminary.

Hope Summerell Chamberlain, a student in the Seminary in 1886-1887 and a woman who has since made a reputation as a writer, said of Miss Wright:

She was a very homely woman, by every standard of regularity of feature, but she was filled full of enthusiasm, and this she could communicate if there was a living spark to bring alive. To her I owe much; certainly my determination not only to become well-read, but to be a clear thinker regarding what I did read. I have never seen Miss Wright again, and had only one letter from her after I left school so long ago, but I have never lost the impact of her keen mind and the desire she left with me for more, and always clearer, understanding.¹⁵³

The Seminary *Annual* paid tribute to her "art akin to magic" as a teacher.¹⁵⁴

Even these few brief glimpses of the members of the faculty suggest the extent to which their relations with the students extended beyond the classroom into the social and religious life of the girls. Miss Kemper's rare gift for friendship is recounted

in many tributes. "Dear old Dr. Brown" whose "magnificent bass . . . was enough for two hundred fifty girls' trebles," was gratefully remembered for his "good sings"; Miss Courtenay for her "dainty little notes" (how we treasure them!) signed that magical "K. C."¹⁵⁵ To the teachers the girls could take their personal problems for advice or comfort. And the teachers discovered these problems without being told of them; Hope (Summerell) Chamberlain related how Miss Mattoon discovered and adjusted an unhappy roommate situation, which had made life miserable for her.¹⁵⁶ The Murrays were endeared to the students by their gentle kindness and their generous hospitality. "What visions Hill Top recalls of Mrs. Murray and her dear little teapot!"¹⁵⁷ Miss Strickler's "coffee and oyster" parties relieved the monotony of the daily routine.¹⁵⁸ And Miss Wright was able to overcome in some the physical lassitude of the Victorian lady by getting them to climb the hills and mountains around Staunton and arousing in them something of her love for the out-of-doors, a sort of advance agent of a new day for women in physical freedom and fitness.¹⁵⁹ Her energy and enthusiasm overflowed into every phase of school life.

One may well wonder how these teachers were able to do so much. In addition to their teaching and the work consequent upon it and the constant access which students had to their aid, chaperonage, study hall, religious duties, etc., crowded upon their hours. One does not wonder that students were impressed by their industry and their devotion. The Seminary was their life, as long as they remained; and some remained a lifetime.

A final word might be devoted to Miss Baldwin as a teacher. As the school grew, administrative duties made it necessary for her, to her regret, to leave most of the teaching to others. A pupil of hers in the 1860's recalled her classes:

She was born to teach and she loved it. What a delight to be in her ancient and modern geography, her history, dictation or reading classes! How she praised our best work, criticized our faults, aroused our ambition, until we felt she knew more than any one in the world on those topics. The only regret was not being in *all* her classes.¹⁶⁰

And the writer closed with the following pretty picture of Miss Baldwin's rare escape to teaching in later days:

Her last teaching was to what she called her "geography class," the youngest children in school to whom she told delightful tales from history and geography intermingled, not omitting the Scripture, often concluding with a treat of candy or fruit.

If a parent wanted to enter a child who did not yet know how to read, she sometimes agreed to give them these first lessons, privately. In these last years, she seemed to prefer the teaching of the very young.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The control and administration of the school under Miss Baldwin did not conform to the prevailing type for the higher education of women, but rather harked back to the Principal-proprietor type of an earlier day. It never became wholly the private property of Miss Baldwin, but much of the property was hers and the control entirely in her hands.

To be sure, the Board of Trustees had never had all the functions that such a body would normally have today. Under Dr. Bailey and his successors they had selected the teachers and maintained control of the curriculum and visitation and inspection of its execution. But the Board voted no salaries. The teachers had to live from the income of the school. Main Building was constructed and became the first property of the Board, but the construction of the annexes left them with a debt. They did not yet have a legal title to the land on which Main Building was constructed. But in spite of its limited resources, the Board had been an effective force in the early history of the school. During the distraction of the Civil War, however, the Board had ceased to meet. Mr. Tinsley kept the school open until 1863; but nothing occurred to require a meeting. In the summer of that year he resigned, and a meeting was held, at the instigation of Mr. Waddell, to consider the choice of a Principal. According to Mr. Waddell's account, Misses Baldwin and McClung were both selected as Principals.¹⁶¹ Miss Baldwin was always referred to as the Principal, however, in the press and elsewhere. At one time the catalogue referred to Miss McClung as Associate Principal, but her customary title was Head of the Boarding Department.¹⁶² What would today be considered as incidental to a

school—the economics of boarding—was then an enterprise in itself. Miss McClung had intended to establish a boarding house, and this gave her a special sort of institution of that character. The two women were left to work out their own system for the division of profits; and the question of rent for the buildings was left to be determined later. In the meantime, a new roof and other repairs were needed for the building and the debts incurred for the construction of the annexes were still unsettled. In 1871, a committee of the Board was named to confer with Miss Baldwin and Miss McClung with regard to selling them all the rights of the Board in the building, grounds, etc.¹⁶³ Thus the Seminary might have become entirely a private school. This plan, however, was not adopted.

The Board was again brought into touch with the school over the matter of the transfer of the Chapel property. In 1870, the Presbyterian Church, which had outgrown the Chapel erected in 1818, began the construction of a new church across the street on a lot donated by Misses Baldwin and McClung. In 1871, the new building was ready for occupancy. It was generally understood that the old building and lot would be turned over to the Seminary. On November 1, 1872, a deed was executed conveying to the Board of Trustees of the Seminary this real estate of the church from New Street to Market Street. Thus at last the Trustees secured title to the land on which Main Building is erected. No money was paid to the Church, but, according to the terms of the agreement, a majority of the Board of Trustees were to be members of the church making the deed.¹⁶⁴

The settlement with the Church was followed by a settlement with Misses Baldwin and McClung. They had already raised the church a story, making a chapel and study hall out of that third story; the second story had been turned into dormitory uses and the first into a dining-room and kitchen—the same general arrangement that exists today. Much money had been spent by the two women on this. Although a deed of trust on all the Seminary property had been contemplated to secure them the amount of their outlay, some objection was raised in the Board to this, and a long lease was substituted. According to this contract of February 26, 1873, the two women were granted a twenty-year lease

on the property for the improvements made by them; but they were to pay William Guthrie \$500 with interest from October 1, 1870, for the loan he had made to John Imboden, one of the six trustees who had put up money at the bank to pay the debt on the annexes.¹⁶⁵ Four of the six men had agreed to cancel those debts against the Seminary, and Miss Baldwin and Miss McClung had paid the fifth note, due to Reverend William Brown. To provide a fund for the payment of any other claims that might be presented, they were to pay \$250 rent for not more than twelve years, and to be credited on this with the money paid to Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Brown. They were to keep the property insured and to provide for the free education of three children, an obligation of the Seminary under the Shayres fund agreement. They had the right to sublet the property, but only to persons approved by the Trustees and only for use as a Presbyterian boarding school.

Aside from this settlement as to the Seminary property, arranged in 1873, the Board had little to do with the school and met as a rule only to fill vacancies in their membership. The organization was simple; there was a President and a Secretary, but no Treasurer, because they had no funds, and no Executive Committee, because there was nothing to do. Some individual members of the Board, however, remained in very close touch with Miss Baldwin. Mr. John Wayt, referred to above, who was President of the Board for a number of years, was her constant adviser on financial matters; Mr. Waddell, the Secretary, on legal questions. These she sought, however, as personal friends, and not because they were members of the Board of Trustees. The Presbyterian pastors, always in close touch with the school, were likewise members of the Board. As a body, however, they did nothing until 1895, when they secured some changes in the charter.

Miss Baldwin and Miss McClung agreed that all profits from the school and all property acquired jointly should be divided—two-thirds to go to Miss Baldwin as the younger and more responsible of the two and one-third to Miss McClung.¹⁶⁶ According to all accounts, the relationship between these two women was beautiful. Miss Baldwin declared she never failed to follow Miss

McClung's advice that she did not regret it.¹⁶⁷ The following letter written by her to Miss McClung is a fine expression of the friendship and understanding that existed between them:

Dear Miss Agnes:

We have been living together now for more than sixteen years, and I can truly say that each year has drawn me more closely to you, by revealing traits of character that call forth my deepest respect and warmest love. You have borne patiently with all my weaknesses and peculiarities and co-operated heartily in any enterprise, often yielding your preference and judgment to mine. Then too you have shown such uniform kindness to all my connections and relatives. Your unselfishness and generosity in ten thousand instances have touched me deeply.

I just want you to know and feel that I love you dearly, and esteem you more highly than any other living friend. I number my association with you among the greatest of my earthly blessings. If I had searched the universe, I feel very sure I would never have found any one else, with whom I could have lived so harmoniously and pleasantly.

You know that I am not at all demonstrative, and that only deep, sincere feeling would have drawn forth this confession of affection, but I have been feeling for several days such a yearning desire to tell you how truly I do love and appreciate you. That God will continue to preserve and bless you, prays

Your friend
M. J. BALDWIN

January 1, 1878 ¹⁶⁸

Two years later Miss McClung died. The nature of her work in the management of the household had not brought her, of course, to the public attention as Miss Baldwin had been brought, but she did much to establish the enduring character of the Seminary as a home and, no doubt, to her skillful management the financial success of the school owed much. McClung Hall stands today as a memorial to her.

Miss McClung left to Miss Baldwin by will her interest in all personal property that they had acquired jointly, consisting of the entire equipment of the Seminary. Her interest in real estate acquired she left to Miss Baldwin for life, to go to the Trustees upon her death.¹⁶⁹ Miss Baldwin now had sole control of the school, which she retained until her death in 1897.

As the school expanded, Miss Baldwin enlarged the administrative organization. Only a housekeeper was listed in the catalogues until 1870. At that time Mr. John Wayt appeared on the

list of the staff as general superintendent and Mr. W. B. Crawford as business agent. Doctors Waddell and Fauntleroy were the first college physicians. These men remained on the staff for some time. In the meantime several women had been employed, one to look after the younger children out of school hours, an attendant for the Infirmary, and a matron and assistant matron to help Miss McClung. In 1875, the administrative staff was listed in two groups: *Domestic Department*, including Miss McClung, Associate Principal and Head of the Boarding Department; Mrs. Dabney C. Harrison, Attendant of the Infirmary; Dr. J. A. Waddell, Physician; and Mrs. Mary Harding, Matron; and *Business Department*, with Mr. J. Wayt, General Superintendent and Mr. W. F. Butler, Clerk. Upon the death of Miss McClung her title was dropped and the term *matron* used. Miss Baldwin's aunt, Mrs. Wade Heiskell, filled this position for many years and was remembered much as Mrs. McClung had been as a sort of "grandmother" to the girls. Upon her death, Mrs. Crawford, Miss Baldwin's "little aunt," became the matron for a short time, then superintendent of shopping for the girls. Mrs. Robert Hamilton was matron for the remainder of Miss Baldwin's administration. In 1881, a collector was added to the Business Department. In 1882, Dr. Newton Wayt, who had married Miss Baldwin's cousin, Julia Heiskell, became the college physician. Miss Baldwin depended very much on him in later years, as she had depended on his father earlier. Dr. Wayt served her as a business adviser as well as a physician. Because of his large business interests as a wholesale druggist, he had given up most of his medical practice with the exception of the work at the Seminary; but to it he devoted unusual time and care. He often accompanied Miss Baldwin on her business trips to New York. A letter of June 7, 1886, from a gentleman in New York, whom Dr. Wayt had asked to recommend hotel accommodations reveals the extreme care exercised in that day both in the selection of rooms and in the admittance of guests. The gentleman stated that a letter of introduction would be necessary for Miss Baldwin to "obtain the entrée" and "presumed that (Dr. Wayt) would not stay at the same house."¹⁷⁰

In 1882, a librarian was added to the administrative staff.

Miss Clara Hawes was librarian until 1887, when Miss Anna Streit succeeded her. In 1886, Miss Baldwin employed a secretary, from which office has evolved the present business manager. Mr. Louis Ravenel held this place until 1890, when he was succeeded by Mr. William Wayt King. After Miss Baldwin's death, the responsibilities of Mr. King were increased by the Board and to him was due the credit for enlarging and improving the plant and giving to Mary Baldwin its present outstanding physical beauty, matters that are discussed in the following chapter.

In 1889, Miss Baldwin employed an assistant with the title assistant principal, selecting for this position Miss Ella C. Weimar, who was to succeed her as principal upon her death eight years later. Thus the two people upon whom were to be placed the responsibility for the school had each seen some years of service under Miss Baldwin. During these last years her health was bad, and she let much of the burden fall upon them. When the Board of Trustees resumed their control of the Seminary upon Miss Baldwin's death, they found an organization which could be easily adjusted to the new regime.

THE SEMINARY DRAWS A NATIONAL PATRONAGE; EXPANSION OF THE GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS

In 1863-64, there were eighty students, twenty-two of whom lived in the Seminary. In 1866-67, the enrollment was ninety-six.¹⁷¹ There are no records of the enrollment in the intervening years, and no statement of the geographical distribution until 1868, but it is probable that the students were all, or practically all, from Virginia until the close of the war. Of the ninety-eight enrolled in 1867-68, ninety-two were from Virginia. In the following year, however, students began to come from all parts of the South and some from the Middle West. Thus the Augusta Female Seminary, which had been indeed an Augusta County Seminary, drawing only a few students from other parts of Virginia and none from the outside, began to take on a cosmopolitan character. A neighboring men's college, Washington and Lee, had the same experience. From a student body of ninety-five in 1859-60 it advanced to an enrollment of four hundred ten in 1867-68, with students drawn from twenty states.¹⁷² Not only the

fame of Lee, but the prestige of Virginia civilization seems to have drawn them, just as women were drawn to Mary Baldwin. Only slowly, it is true, did students come from the North and the Northeast. One student only came from New England during Miss Baldwin's time. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, however, usually furnished several students a year. In the later years, the 1880's and 1890's, there were usually students, one or more, from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Minnesota; sometimes from Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Nebraska. In the Far West, California was usually represented and sometimes Montana and Washington. The great bulk of the student-body, however, was still drawn from the South, including Texas and the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Of the 5,730 enrollments (not students) from 1867-1897, only 50.4% came from Virginia. This includes the day students from Staunton and vicinity from which source came a large part of the Virginia enrollment. In some years Virginia's percentage was much smaller: in 1889-90, only 41.7%; in 1890-91, 41%; in 1891-92, 43%. The following are the percentages by states expressed in round numbers for the same period, 1867-97: Georgia, 8%; Texas, 6%; Kentucky, 4%; West Virginia, 4%; Tennessee, Alabama, and South Carolina, 3% each; Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and North Carolina, 2% each. The large percentage of Georgia is especially interesting. In some years the percentage was much higher; for example, in the years 1872-73 and 1873-74, more than fifteen per cent of the total enrollment was from Georgia; and several other years show almost as high a percentage.¹⁷³ It seems probable that Dr. Joseph R. Wilson, then pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Augusta, Georgia, may have had something to do with the large attendance from that state.

As the Seminary began to draw from other states, the enrollment rapidly increased. The average enrollment from 1870 to 1897 was 207. The best years of the Seminary under Miss Baldwin, measured in terms of enrollment, were the years from 1883 to 1893. Perhaps the panic of 1893 attended and followed by Populism and industrial unrest, which reached a climax in the Pullman Strike and the Free Silver Campaign of 1896, had its effect in curtailing the attendance. It had reached 261 in 1889

and fell to 175 in 1895. In the following year it began to rise again.

The social diversity resulting from this geographical expansion began to be reflected in the life of the Seminary: first in the "spreads" in the dormitory, when the "Southern girls served oranges and the tidewater girls shrimps and sardines."¹⁷⁴ There was the sad story, too, of the pineapples served at one of these parties. It was April, and the Virginia apples were becoming scarce; hence there was much anticipation of this fruit from Florida, not so common as today. Unfortunately the pineapples had been well-packed in pine shavings from the Southern forest and had become literally "pine" apples with a strong flavor of turpentine.¹⁷⁵

The Seminary *Annual* also reflected the sectional variety of the student-body, with stories by Louisiana girls on "Mardi Gras in the Crescent City" and "Cotton Raising in Louisiana"; or by the Mississippian, Sharp Williams, whose sketches of rural life in Mississippi, with its "meetings," funerals, and picnics, reveal in her something of the keen perception of her statesman-father, John Sharp Williams; and others. It might be observed in passing, too, that these stories along with many others growing out of the actual observation and experience of the students indicate a great advance over the "compositions" of an earlier day on such abstract subjects as "Hope," "Friendship," or "Home," done up in the form of sentimental essays.

There was also a clash of custom and tradition in the associations in the Seminary. Hope Summerell Chamberlain was shocked by the very frank conversation of a young lady from a Mississippi river-town, who liked to talk of the "naughty" city of New Orleans.¹⁷⁶ According to her account the young lady discussed subjects that no lady would mention, and she refused to listen. There must have been others in whom the Victorian conventions had not been so deeply instilled as in most, or in whom the old standards were beginning to break up from the impact of urbanization and industrialization. Of more weight and significance, however, than the shocks that might come from the rare cases of girls somewhat bold in speech and manners for their day, was the education that resulted from the intermixture of ideas and atti-

tudes of girls from Montana, Texas, Michigan, Florida, Virginia, New York, and other states. Mrs. Chamberlain spoke in high terms of the "education in human values" which she received from associations in the Seminary.¹⁷⁷

With the expansion in the student body, an expansion in buildings and equipment was essential. This expansion did not keep pace, however, with the requests for admission. Some students were allowed to board in town, and applications for admission were frequently rejected for lack of room. In 1880-81, for example, between sixty and seventy were unable to secure admission for that reason.¹⁷⁸ There was, nevertheless, frequent enlargement of the dormitory space. In 1869, Miss Baldwin and Miss McClung bought the part of the Thompson lot that adjoined the Seminary on the north. On this they erected in the same year a new building, Brick House, consisting of eight rooms. In it, Miss Baldwin occupied a room until her death. This building, partly rebuilt and enlarged in 1910, became the present McClung Hall. Tradition says Room 14 of McClung is the room occupied by Miss Baldwin. On the east end of the lot on Market Street, they built Sky High in 1871.¹⁷⁹ The art studio and some class and dormitory space were provided in it. In the same year they secured the Chapel and raised it one story, securing thus a new and larger assembly and study hall on the top floor, a number of dormitory rooms on Chapel Hall, the second floor, and the dining-room and kitchen on the first. It was extended at the back to give space for thirty practice rooms needed for the greatly expanded music department and was joined by an extension with Main Building. In 1872, the remainder of the Thompson lot was purchased for \$15,000.¹⁸⁰ This gave the summit of the hill and the beautiful old residence, Hill Top, which the girls, and no doubt Miss Baldwin too, had long coveted. Professor and Mrs. Murray lived in this house for many years, but eight or ten rooms for girls were provided in it. In 1890, Sky High was enlarged to twice its former size to provide a larger art studio, more classroom and bedroom space, and a gymnasium and swimming pool.¹⁸¹ These various buildings were connected with each other and with Main Building by a covered way. In the meantime, several buildings had been erected in the present open court. The first of these was

the Calisthenics Building, erected in 1874 for gymnastics and bowling. Later a greenhouse was added and to one side the Infirmary. These buildings, long since removed, must have marred the beauty of the quadrangle and justified the description given by Mrs. Chamberlain of "varied structures—flung pell-mell against the hillside."¹⁸² Miss Baldwin "flung" up structures as she could, no doubt, to take care of the pressing demands. It was left to Mr. King to bring them to the symmetry and beauty they now possess.

The grounds of the Seminary, after the purchase of the Thompson lot, covered four acres. It requires considerable imagination, no doubt, to think of these as "spacious," "extensive," "affording every inducement for out-of-door exercise," as they were described then. But this was before the day of real outdoor life and of expansive college campuses. The Seminary was considered a big home, and grounds of four acres might thus be thought spacious. "The beautiful groves" and "shaded walks" fit the same picture of a Southern manor.

Apparently little had been done toward the improvement of the grounds before Miss Baldwin took charge. The picture of the Seminary as it was in 1860 would indicate this, at least. The walk in front had been laid; Mr. Waddell recalled that the members of the congregation crossed the Seminary grounds to avoid the muddy street outside. The white picket fence was there and some trees. Mrs. Margaret (Stuart) Robertson, an alumna of the 1860's, told later of playing on a great pile of fire wood which was kept between the Main Building and the Chapel. As the Seminary entered upon easier days in the seventies, however, and the problems of securing flour, meat, and molasses became less difficult, more attention could be directed to matters of adornment. By the middle seventies the improvements made brought forth the following somewhat ecstatic descriptions of the Seminary made by visitors at commencement time:

The scene in and around the institution was most attractive. The terraced yard with its lawns and fountains, and the portico filled with flowers and rare birds of brilliant plumage from Java, Syria, Africa, and South America were fit surroundings for the halls of the institution, which were decorated with exceptional good taste.¹⁸³



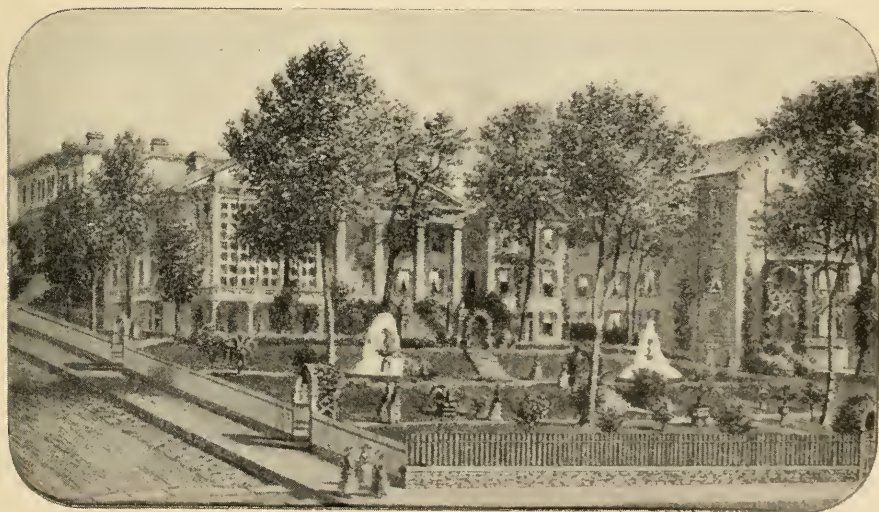
THE SEMINARY IN 1860



THE SEMINARY IN 1870



THE SEMINARY IN 1875



THE SEMINARY IN 1880

Another visitor of the same year gave an even more enthusiastic, and perhaps a somewhat romantic, description :

The management of the Institution is manifestly imbued with the great principle of aesthetic culture ; viz ; that the senses, the perceptive faculties of the young should be confronted at every turn with the material objects embodying and illustrating the highest ideal development of the ever glorious Trinity of Nature—the true, the good, and the beautiful.

I was led into some such train of thought by the exceeding beauty of the scene that met my eye as I strolled into the Seminary grounds at an early hour on Monday evening. The splashing of the fountain, the green sward and flowers of early spring, now rapidly developing into the more perfect beauty of summer, and to crown it all, the fairy-like forms flitting to and fro in the deeping twilight, made so fair a picture that for a time, I was thoroughly bewildered and almost believed that I had by some happy chance been landed on the shores of an enchanted isle. . . . ¹⁸⁴

If the Court was crowded and its beauty marred by a hodge-podge of temporary structures, great care was given to the front lawn and terrace. On the upper terrace was planted the boxwood hedge, that symbol of Virginia gentility, copied from England, and in turn to be copied all over the South and Southwest by immigrants from Virginia. Below were the fountains filled with gold fish and aquatic plants and surrounded by flowers. "Just below the Chapel was the 'Stumpery,' an arbor made of stumps, which was picturesquely pretty. In front of this was another fountain where water cress grew abundantly."¹⁸⁵ Over the gateways and at some points over the walks were rose-covered trellises. Miss Baldwin loved flowers, and the front lawn had then much the appearance of a flower-garden, a Lovely Mary Garden, Mr. King called it later. In addition, "a conservatory" of glass walls, the sun parlor of a later day, was built to the front of the Annex on the left. Many flowers were grown there and in the greenhouse in the Court. On the pillars by the front steps Cæsar and Pompey appeared to watch over the institution. A later generation has turned these dignified sentries into "Ham" and "Jam," no doubt to their great disgust, even though they maintain a dignified silence about the matter.

In the meantime, attention was devoted to the furnishing and decoration of the Seminary within. After the Chapel was occupied in 1872, the former big school room became Miss Baldwin's

office. The entire administration was conducted in it. There stood the safe, and later there sat the secretary and business manager. There Miss Baldwin received all business callers and the patrons of the school with their daughters. The rooms to the left became the well-known Red and Green Parlors of today, where social calls were made, and the young ladies entertained their dates under proper chaperonage. For a time only one picture adorned the walls, that of Dr. Rufus W. Bailey.¹⁸⁶ Others were added in the course of time, among them the famous "Aurora," around which has been waged a battle royal within the ranks of the *alumnæ*. According to tradition Miss Baldwin had this selected for her by a friend who was traveling in Europe, paying the sum of \$500 for it.¹⁸⁷ Congratulated by a special friend in whose judgment she had great confidence on having secured "such a treasure," she took an especial pride in the possession of the picture. Among the *alumnæ* of her day to treasure it has been a sort of symbol of loyalty to Miss Baldwin. Tastes change, and the later *alumnæ*, to whom it has no special symbolic value, would like to have the picture removed entirely. It now hangs in the Red Parlor.

Much fine furniture and silver were purchased by Miss Baldwin for the parlors and dining-room. Massive mahogany sideboards, gilt-framed mirrors, dropped-leaf mahogany and walnut tables, sofas and chairs in the Victorian red plush, secretaries, and whatnots. Some of this would satisfy, no doubt, the taste of any age by its fineness of finish and beauty of line. Some pieces have been put aside as too heavy and oppressive; and some have been redone. To the fashions and tastes of Miss Baldwin's generation it all conformed.

On the other side of Miss Baldwin's office was the library, or the "Young Ladies' Reading Room," which had, it seems, the appearance and atmosphere of a private library. It was described as

fitted up "with comfort and taste." Handsome book-cases filled with carefully selected books, comfortable chairs, pretty tables, pictures, etc., together with the bright southern exposure combined to make the room a favorite place of resort for all who love reading. A cultured lady presides to direct and preserve order. At night, such of the pupils as have the

leisure to do so, spend an hour in reading aloud the books selected for them.

To cultivate a taste for choice literature is the chief aim of the Principal in the arrangement of this Reading Room.¹⁸⁸

It was a work-shop, however, to some, the serious students in languages, literature, and history; and to others, as one girl confessed, not only a delightful reading room, but "an equally delightful loafing place."¹⁸⁹ The main place for study was the Chapel, fitted up not as an auditorium so much as an old-fashioned school room with the conventional school desks. The Art Studio provided by the enlargement of Sky High in 1890 was a great comfort to teacher and pupil.¹⁹⁰

The girls' rooms were plainly furnished to be used for sleeping and dressing, not for study nor for lounging. All study, even at night, was done in the study hall or library. The day was filled with classes, study, and exercise. Hope Summerell Chamberlain thus described her room of the year 1886-87:

I had two roommates. The room had two beds, double and single, a plain table and chairs, bureaus and wash-stand. The floors were bare, oiled pine, and splintery. There was a huge closet. Trunks stood outside in the hall-way.¹⁹¹

Rooms were for three or four girls, and there were "screens or dressing closets to every chamber," then considered a very essential protection of modesty.

The most famous and most coveted room was Long Room, which opened upon the little balcony over the front porch. It has been observed that the number who recall that they lived in Long Room is as great as the hosts whose ancestors arrived in the Mayflower. This room and its accommodations were described by Roselle Mercier Montgomery in "Reminiscences of School Days" written in 1916:

Our room, for instance—the one over the front door was called "Long Room". . . . It had one window, or rather a glass door, opening out on the little front porch; four very sizable girls occupied two wooden beds and overflowed two small bureaus. We had four chairs, two high chairs and two rockers, and one radiator that did not always radiate. This, with one small table, comprised the furnishing of our room, unless one includes the ingrain carpet of more colors than Joseph's coat, which hid the board

floor. The walls were kalsomined or white-washed, as nearly as I can remember, a depressing light grey. We were fortunate in having a closet with a window in it opening on the back gallery, where we performed our ablutions . . . , and for this reason our room was looked upon as one of the most desirable in school, notwithstanding the fact that on frosty mornings we usually found ice in our water pitcher.¹⁹²

The splintery floors had been covered by carpets; certainly not an improvement from the sanitary viewpoint. Such carpets of matting or plush were, however, commonly found in private homes.

The heating and lighting system kept pace with the times. The catalogue of 1868-69, stated that the buildings were heated throughout from a patent furnace and equipped with water and gas pipes reaching all the rooms. (There was not running water in the rooms, however.) Bathrooms were few according to all accounts. In her "Reminiscences" from which the above description was taken, Mrs. Montgomery spoke of the one she frequented as one of the three in the school. In 1887, electric lights were put into the study hall and some years later into the library. Elsewhere gas lighting was still used.

The accommodations, measured by modern notions of comfort or even of health, left much to be desired, but it appears that they were quite up to the standards of that day.

SESSIONS, HOLIDAYS, EXAMINATIONS, HONORS, MEDALS, AND PRIZES; COST OF EDUCATION

The former ten-months' school year was changed by Miss Baldwin to nine months, which ran usually from the middle of September to the middle of June. Holidays were at first very few. The first mention of such occurred in the catalogue of 1872-73: "No holiday will be given during the winter except on Christmas day. A few days will be set apart in the spring when rest is needed for recreation and pleasure."¹⁹³ As students began to come from long distances—Texas, Minnesota, and even California and Montana—so that return home was inconvenient or inadvisable, a long holiday would have created a problem, especially at Christmas time, in the matter of entertainment. It is said, too, that young men from the neighboring men's colleges,

Washington and Lee, the University of Virginia, and others, frequently visited in town to see their Seminary friends, and the girls would have sought permission to stay with friends in town to see them if a Christmas holiday had been granted. This situation would have created too great a difficulty for proper oversight of the young ladies.

There was, however, a gradual modification in the direction of Christmas holidays. In 1886-87, the catalogue stated that there was no holiday in the winter except two days at Christmas; in the following year it became a few days. In the meantime, students had begun to spend the holidays away from the Seminary. In 1895-96, the regulations stated: "When pupils absent themselves at Christmas and the spring holidays longer than the given time, their daily grade is lowered; this must necessarily affect their honors."¹⁹⁴ The spring holiday had before this time been expanded to a week, and many girls spent it away from the Seminary. This situation, which made difficult Seminary discipline and control, was regarded with many misgivings. The following statement in the catalogue would indicate this:

Parents and guardians are requested to confer with the Principal *before allowing their daughters and wards to accept invitations which will take them from her control at Christmas and at the spring holiday.* Such visits are often productive of much harm both to the pupil and to the Institution. All requests for absence must be made in writing addressed to the Principal one week in advance.¹⁹⁵

At times a special holiday of a single day was declared when it was felt that health or morale required it. Some students, it might be mentioned, did not return home even during the summer vacation. The catalogue always quoted prices of summer board held the record—"the class that failing to complete the examinations was not continued by Miss Baldwin. Written examinations replaced the oral. These written examinations in the earlier years were often inordinately long. The algebra class of Miss Kemper held the record—"the class that failing to complete the examination in an entire day, returned the next morning, and so continued until Miss Baldwin was forced to protest."¹⁹⁶ Examinations continued to be long, however, often requiring a day, and delicate girls may have suffered from the strain. There were girls, how-

ever, who did not take their education too seriously and whom fond parents sought to shield from any strain or unpleasantness; hence, they tried to escape this ordeal. For many years the catalogue contained a statement that parents were not to excuse their daughters from examinations without consulting with the Principal.¹⁹⁷

Many prizes, medals, and awards were given for proficiency; perhaps too much stress was laid on this practice. The conferring of these numerous awards was the climax of the commencement, thus affording great gratification to the proud parents. There were prizes for improvement or excellence of work in the various branches of study from the primary through the University Course. Certain of these honors had a special distinction. A First Honor Medal was offered to the young lady "in the graduating class, who shall excel in all 'Schools' embraced in the regular course" and a Second Honor Medal to the next highest. After 1879, this medal was called the Star Medal. Later Star Medals were offered to honor graduates in the university course, in the academic course, in music, and in the departments of languages, English composition, calisthenics, elocution, and painting and drawing. Deportment and punctuality were taken into consideration in making all awards. A most highly prized honor that students in any division of work might earn was the famous Golden Report, first mentioned in the catalogue of 1891-92, which stated: "As an additional incentive to study, the Golden Report will be awarded to the pupil whose general average shall be ninety and more, and whose deportment shall be free of all demerit and censure." Medals and Golden Reports were treasured by recipients and handed down to later generations. A few of ancient vintage have come into the possession of the Alumnæ Office and are preserved in its archives. In her charming book, *This Was Home*, Mrs. Chamberlain related at some length her competition for and winning of the medal in English composition in 1887, down to the awesome details of going from the Circus Benches to receive it and being tripped on her return to her seat by her rival.¹⁹⁸ In a sketch of her life in the Raleigh (N. C.) *News and Observer* of June 19, 1932, the writer declared: "Her later writings were foreshadowed when she won the medal in English composition."

Reference has been made to the difficulty of fixing rates for tuition and board under conditions of inflation during the Civil War and immediately after. In 1868-69, the following prices were set, payable in currency (greenbacks): board, exclusive of lights and washing, \$190; senior department, \$60; languages, each, \$20; instrumental music, \$60; use of instrument, \$10; private vocal lessons, \$50; use of instrument, \$10; vocal lessons in class, \$10; drawing, \$20; painting, \$30; preparatory department, \$50; contingent fee, \$2.¹⁹⁹

Thus, if an advanced student took Latin and French and instrumental music, the annual cost would be \$362, exclusive of lights and washing. It is interesting to note that lights and washing were *extra*. It reminds one of the Mock Turtle's story of his school in *Alice in Wonderland* with "French, music, and washing extra"—a common practice of the American school of the ante-bellum period as well as of the English. Lights had been generally candles and each student could supply her own. The circular issued before the opening of the school in 1865 stated that students were to bring candlesticks. By 1868, however, gas had been put in and in 1869, washing and lights were included with board with an additional fee of \$25. Other items were added from time to time. In 1870-71, a medical fee of \$5, and a seat in church, \$2. This last item was included for many years, since the church secured its fund for incidental expenses from the rent of the seats. In 1871-72, the calisthenics fee of \$20 was added, soon reduced to \$10. Various new courses had appeared with fees attached: guitar lessons, \$50, bookkeeping, \$20. In 1873-74, fancy work, including wax and hair work, \$20; 1874-75, ornamental wax or worsted work, \$10, and harp with use of instrument, \$80.

The price of board and tuition remained the same up to 1878. Then a reduction of ten per cent was announced in the catalogue, due no doubt to the stabilization of the greenbacks and the approaching return to specie payment, although no reference was made to this. In the following year, the prices quoted were reduced. Board and tuition were only \$203. The extra courses carried the same fees, however. In 1879-80, cooking lessons, soon to be discontinued, were included among the extras with a fee

of \$20; in 1880-81, a library fee of \$5 was added; in 1881-82, special elocution lessons were listed at \$10, and later china painting, class singing, harmony, typewriting, and lessons in swimming and gymnastics. For many years a special charge of \$20 each had been listed if students desired a two-girl room.

Not until 1896-97 was there another change in board and general tuition. At that time the fee was raised to \$250, but this included several of the former extras—contingent fee, physician's fee, seat in church, and calisthenics. Languages were still extra, along with all subjects in the Business School and the fine arts. A deduction was made in the regular charges for ministers' daughters; also, if two or more students came from the same family.

These charges were still lower than in women's colleges of that day. Wesleyan College, a Southern school, charged \$311 for board and tuition in 1885.²⁰⁰ In 1894, the rates at Goucher were \$375 for board and tuition with fine arts extra, but languages apparently included.²⁰¹ Mount Holyoke had practically the same rates as the Augusta Female Seminary. In 1888, board and tuition were \$200; in 1892, \$250.²⁰² At Mount Holyoke, however, the system of self-help, by which the girls cared for their rooms and did much other work in the college, in order to keep the rates low, was still practiced. Miss Baldwin was able to keep the rates for the regular literary course low by the large number of "extras," which were well patronized.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

According to all accounts, Miss Baldwin possessed unusual ability in dealing with girls. Her dignity and reserve commanded immediate respect from the new student, perhaps even a certain amount of awe, but her understanding and kindness soon won love. Her policy of discipline was, apparently, to depend on restraint as little as possible; it was stated in the catalogue of 1870-71 and repeated in succeeding catalogues, with some modification:

Rules are of course necessary in every establishment, but those here enforced are as few as possible and only such as are necessary for the happiness and well-being of the pupils. The conscience is cultivated by

being earnestly appealed to—pupils are put upon their honor. Everything underhand is frowned down so completely that boarding school tricks are unknown here. If after sufficient trial, it is found a pupil cannot be trusted, she is returned to her parents, since no system of espionage is practiced. . . .²⁰³

It appears that Miss Baldwin sought to give her discipline the simplicity and directness of a home. The above statement of policy may seem to have promised an ideal state, impossible of realization. There were school girl "tricks" to be sure; at least, "pranks"—the result of youthful exuberance of spirits, rather than of rebellious disrespect for authority; and Miss Baldwin depended upon a state of mutual confidence and affection between teacher and pupil to correct these. As the school became larger and more diversified with respect to geographical and social background, perhaps less dependence could be put upon this informal control; at any rate, the statements in the catalogue would indicate a little more stress on the observance of formal regulations.²⁰⁴

Most of the rules consisted of regulations on routine matters necessary to the orderly life of any large group and not to the establishment of a moral or social code. Social regulations were few as compared to those of the present day, because contacts with young men or with anyone outside the Seminary were discouraged as a distraction from study. In the social regime the school retained, it seems, the attitude of the preparatory school or the old time seminary far more rigidly than in its educational program, which became "collegiate." The girls were considered too young to be concerned with "beaux" or with the social life that constitutes a prominent feature of the modern college. If the young lady was allowed, through special permission from home, to receive young men callers, they were entertained only in the Seminary parlors and under chaperonage. Or if she left the Seminary grounds with other girls to shop or to walk, she was likewise chaperoned. All this might seem to indicate a lack of trust; it was rather a matter of convention. In the East, at least, and perhaps elsewhere in urban centers, in the later nineteenth century there was a tendency to adopt the European custom of strict chaperonage of the young lady, in contrast to the greater freedom that had prevailed in the United States generally

in an earlier day. This convention was perhaps one of the American imitations of the "culture" of Europe in the Victorian era. There was, it appears, little tendency to question the rule; perhaps girls from the West thought the restraints strange. Apparently, however, regulations were accepted as a part of boarding school life, to be ignored if opportunity offered, but not to be condemned. Miss Baldwin's authority was never questioned, just as that of their parents was not. The "revolt of youth" had not yet occurred. Apparently in the nineties there developed some restlessness and a tendency towards cautious criticism of the social regulations, a matter treated below.

The following list of rules published in the catalogue of 1870-71 contains regulations similar to those of the colleges for women of that day, whose early rules had followed the trend of seminary regulations:

1. Pupils are required to be punctual at every meal.
2. No one will be excused at breakfast except in case of sickness. Perfect neatness is requested at this as at other meals.
3. No meals taken in the rooms except in case of sickness.
4. No servant allowed to go on errands except by express permission in each case from the Head of the Boarding Department.
5. Pupils are required to take exercise by walking every afternoon, and must be ready when the bell rings. In case of sickness the excuse must be handed in to the teacher. Any unladylike deportment in the streets will be reported to the Principal.
6. The young ladies are not permitted to make bills at the stores.
7. No young lady is allowed to visit the stores alone.
8. Pupils are not allowed to receive calls on the Sabbath.
9. Boarders are not allowed to spend the night out of the Seminary.
10. Music scholars are required to close the pianos after practicing.
11. Visiting the music rooms without permission is not allowed.
12. At the ringing of the bell after supper, every pupil must be in the study hall promptly, and observe while there the same rules as in the school hours.
13. At 10 o'clock at night the young ladies must prepare for bed, and at half-past ten the house must be quiet.
14. No young lady is allowed to leave the grounds without express permission.
15. Visitors will not be received here during school and study hours, nor the visits of young gentlemen at any time except at the discretion of the Principal. Young gentlemen coming from the homes of pupils and

proposing to call on the latter are not received unless they bring letters of introduction to the Principal from parents or guardians.²⁰⁵

Some additions to or changes in these rules were made from year to year and announced in the catalogue. In 1871-72, the hours were changed for the evening; girls had to be in their rooms by 9:30 and lights out at 10:00. The rules on shopping became more explicit.²⁰⁶ Girls were not allowed to visit stores alone, and for a time the shopping was all done by Mrs. Crawford. Other rules that appear, some of them to correct universal school girl practices, forbade girls to borrow money, jewelry, or books, to wear the clothes of others, or to trade clothes. One has evidence of the current styles in the rules that no Mother Hubbard wrappers could be worn out of one's room during the winter months and that wrappers could not be worn to meals and later not off one's own hall. A rather significant change of attitude is reflected in the rules on the reading of novels. All novel reading was prohibited at first, a far more stringent rule than Dr. Bailey attempted to lay down for his daughters a generation earlier. In 1887-88, indiscriminate novel reading was prohibited. In 1889-90, it was announced that the Seminary library was supplied with the standard novels, and no others were permitted. The hours for using the standard ones were strictly regulated. They were kept in a special locked case in the Library, and their use forbidden during school hours.²⁰⁷ These included Scott, Dickens, Hawthorne, George Eliot, and Thackeray; or if this diet seemed a little elevated for the younger girls there were books like *The Wide, Wide World*, *Queechy*, and the *Lamplighter*, which one could take from the Library to one's room.²⁰⁸ Certainly the latter suggest the heights (or *depths*) of Victorian sentimentality and innocuousness.

The rules of proper dress and eating for the maintenance of health have been discussed in connection with health. A further point with respect to dress was the requirement of a uniform, initiated in the fall of 1869 for "purposes of convenience and economy." According to the recollection of one alumna the practice originated on account of one pupil "whose inordinate dressing incurred Miss Baldwin's disapproval. The Principal not only suspended the greater part of her wardrobe from use, but in

order to guard against this danger in the future made provision for greater restriction of dress."²⁰⁹ The uniform was worn on all public occasions. The winter suit for 1869-70 was "of grey empress cloth with basque, hat, veil, and gloves to correspond." "All except those who are in mourning are required to wear this uniform," the catalogue stated in the following and succeeding years until the black costume was adopted. The spring suit was white piqué with white trimmings on the hat. In 1871-72, a black hat with black and white plumes was used with the grey suit; and in 1874-75, a black alpaca dress with hat and trimmings to correspond was adopted. Later it was stressed that *hat and dress must be black*, although colored trimmings might be used. Apparently the Victorian black was becoming monotonous to the girls. The "Gay Nineties" brought further modification. The "dress *must be black*," but the coat and hat could be selected according to the taste and convenience of the wearer. The spring and fall costume of white piqué (or duck) was still the mode, and the straw hat in that year (1894) the fashion. A few years later the sailor hat was specified, a feature of "Merry Widow" days.

In the meantime the catalogues since 1873 had carried a more emphatic statement on dress in addition to the institution of a uniform. That of 1894-95 is typical:

Extravagance in dress is neither encouraged nor desired, and whenever pupils do appear extravagantly dressed it is contrary to the expressed wish of the Principal. A simple white dress with white trimmings is all that is necessary for commencements, soirees, and recitals. The dress worn at the winter soirees must be made high in the neck and with long sleeves—the material preferred for this is white Henrietta. A simple white dress with white trimmings and white hat is the costume prescribed for commencement Sunday. Expensive silks are out of place on school girls, and parents are requested, therefore, not to indulge their daughters in extravagant clothing or jewelry. To discourage extravagance, and to teach pupils the value of money and habits of self-denial, every parent and guardian is most earnestly requested to limit them to a fixed amount of pocket money, not exceeding one dollar per week.²¹⁰

The length and tone of this appeal would indicate that the maintenance of economy and simplicity in dress had not been entirely successful. From other reports one hears that many of the girls

had beautiful dresses and jewels, especially for soirees, recitals, etc.

In the last decade of Miss Baldwin's administration there were some significant changes in the rules, which suggest that the times were changing; that social conventions restricting young ladies were tending to give way; and that girls were insistent upon more outside contacts. The rules on purely routine matters in the Seminary became much briefer, but under "Rules" and under another section, "Remarks," probably less forbidding in appearance, there were much longer statements on social regulations, on correspondence, and visiting, which suggest the difficulties arising over these questions.²¹¹ Since 1873 there had been a regulation that parents must approve the list of correspondents of their daughters. The following letter of Miss Baldwin to a patron indicates the problem of controlling absolutely the correspondence of the girls and her recognition of that difficulty. It is significant also in suggesting Miss Baldwin's freedom from dogmatism, her sane attitude towards the whole problem of the association of young men and women, her ability to question or criticize her own rules, her lack of suspiciousness, and her disinclination to attribute bad motives or meaning to the violation of these rules. This letter written in August, 1882, was submitted by a grandson of the recipient to the *Atlantic Monthly* and published in that magazine, July, 1934. It seems worth quoting in full for what it reveals of Miss Baldwin's philosophy and practice:

Dear Sir:

I fear I have most unintentionally alarmed you unnecessarily, in reference to Fannie. I did learn this summer, to my surprise, that Fannie had exchanged notes with some of the boys during the session. The boys are of good families, and well behaved, and I do not imagine that there was anything improper in the notes, save that they tended to divert her mind from her studies, and the correspondence was in direct violation of my rules. The information came to me in a way that prevented me from mentioning names. Except to let Fannie know that *I* had become aware that notes had passed, so as to guard her from a repetition of the act in the future, I do not see that further investigation is necessary.

How far it is best to restrict girls and boys from *all* intercourse is a problem hard to solve, as you yourself have doubtless found. Some parents *insist* on the necessity of occasional association to prevent prudery, stiffness, and too great a desire for a debarred pleasure. To meet this

requirement, I *very* occasionally admitted to my soirees such young men and boys as would have been received in my parlor. In the presence of myself and teachers, they were allowed one half hour's conversation—no more. Of course on commencement nights the time was prolonged to an hour, but still under *strict* regulations.

If Fannie would only consent to give up all thought of boys until her education is completed, and apply herself to her studies, she would make one of the loveliest, most attractive women I know. Nature has done so much for her.

I expect to be more stringent than ever, with reference to notes and letters, but if young people are bent on correspondence, there is no limit to their ingenuity.

Yours respectfully,
MARY J. BALDWIN, Principal²¹²

Perhaps most of the problems of unauthorized correspondence arose from the carrying of notes from the Staunton young men or the cadets of the Military Academy to the Seminary girls by day students. Day students were known to recall years afterwards that they were afraid of being suspected of carrying notes if they were too friendly with the boarding students.²¹³ For this and other reasons perhaps day students were not allowed to go to the rooms of the boarding students. In a list of rules, printed perhaps around 1900, which contains additions to those appearing in the catalogue, one finds the following provisions on the conduct of day students:

Day students are required to leave the Seminary at the close of school and are positively forbidden to visit the rooms of the boarders; when visiting boarders they must see them in the Library.

Day students are not allowed to go into any part of the buildings except those rooms set apart for their use and are positively forbidden to go upon the upper galleries and halls.

Day students are not allowed to make purchases for the boarders, or to carry notes or messages of any kind for the boarders to any one not residing in the Seminary. The violation of this rule subjects a day student to punishment.²¹⁴

Along with the emphasis on the problem of correspondence, the statements on "visiting" became longer and more detailed and were first given a special section in the catalogue in 1890-91.²¹⁵ Through friendships with day students or as daughters of women who had friends in town, the students in the Seminary had fre-

quent invitations to dinner in the homes of these friends, which they could accept on two Saturdays a month. These engagements created a problem in that sometimes the girls were able thus to see boys without permission. Reference has been made above to the problem created by the longer holiday, both with respect to the students who remained in Staunton and those who visited friends away from Staunton through the permission of their parents. It would probably be difficult to find a school that took more seriously the responsibility for the proper oversight of the young lady from the time she left home until the time she returned.

Young men could call upon the young ladies only if they brought letters of permission from their parents and guardians and "*then their visits are subject at all times to the discretion of the Principal,*" the catalogue stated. The classic story of the futility of attempting to get around this rule is that of Woodrow Wilson's experiences related by an alumna at a meeting in 1917:

Mrs. Brown Ayres (*née* Kate Anderson of Lexington, Va.), wife of the President of the University of Tennessee, told an amusing incident of her school days at M. B. S. . . . Mr. Ayres had come to call and as he had the proper credentials they were having a pleasant visit in the back parlor. The door bell called "Uncle Chess," whom all the old girls will remember, and he ushered two young men into the front parlor, wanting to see the Misses Woodrow, pupils there at that time. When "Uncle Chess" asked for their letters, one stated he was Mr. Thomas Woodrow Wilson, a cousin of the young ladies and a son of a former pastor of Miss Baldwin; his friend was also the son of a minister. After what seemed a long, long time, during which Mr. Wilson suggested their having a "word of prayer" for the success of their mission, "Uncle Chess" entered the door and said, "Miss Mary Julia says if ye ain't got de papers dar ain't no use your waitin' 'case ye can't see de young ladies" . . . ²¹⁶

It might be said in passing that Miss Baldwin approved marriage for her students and was pleased to have them tell her of their engagements, their plans for marriage, and afterwards of their homes and children, whom she called her "grandchildren." She believed, however, that the students were yet too young to turn their minds to young men and that all their attention should be directed to their education.

There was, it seems, no serious complaint against the rules

or the social regime until the nineties; then, apparently, it was not directed against Miss Baldwin, but against Miss Weimar, who had been made Assistant Principal in 1889. Miss Baldwin's health was failing; it seems likely that the enforcement of rules may have been relaxed somewhat in the years just preceding Miss Weimar's coming. At any rate, it is in 1889 and afterwards that one finds the more detailed statements in the catalogues discussed above, making the social regulations more explicit. About the same time it appears there was a more rigid enforcement of regulations with respect to life in the dormitories. Miss Baldwin had not insisted on the literal application of all rules to the older and more responsible students. Some were allowed to get their exercise at their own convenience instead of walking in line. She sometimes let the older girls take a group of younger ones down town for a treat, although the rules stated that no student could "appear on the streets or visit the stores" without a teacher. Miss Weimar's policy was less flexible; she believed in the strict enforcement of rules, regardless of person, and this caused resentment on the part of some students, especially those who had enjoyed extra privileges. Her coming to the Seminary coincided too with a liberalization of social regulations in women's colleges generally. The following statement from the *Annual* of 1891 reflects something of the student criticism of stricter regulations with respect to the internal regime:

There are changes and changes to say nothing of "change"—even in the hum-drum, monotonous boarding-school life nothing lasts forever. Our Principal, always anxious to please, remembers the trite old adage, "Variety is the spice of life," and so in her rules changes are made to prevent our suffering from "ennui." And be it said, we are rarely saddened by the loss of old restrictions—oftener gladdened by new ones.

It may be clearly seen that during the four years of the writer's experience at the Seminary, there have been additions and modifications in the rules, else why should there be a new edition of the slips on the doors?—Can there be any connection between these and the absence of the habitual promenade on the back gallery, from two o'clock on?—and the lack of interesting groups, here and there, on porches and in music-rooms? Can it be that girls now love only to walk in procession? That they have not that curiosity, that proneness to garrulity which characterized them once? Is the song or the nocturne less appreciated than in those years gone by? Have "Little Annie Rooney" and "McGinty" been far

behind "Little Tycoon" and "My Queen" as to their universal popularity? Does human nature and girl nature change? Another interesting phenomenon is the evident growth of interest the girls of these past two years have shown in the library—enter whatever Saturday you may and you will see, bending over dictionaries and the poems of Milton, Chaucer, or Browning, girls with careworn expressions and trembling hands. . . . This pleasant morning pastime in the library goes hand in hand with a moment of rest after the sound of the breakfast bell or a social chat in the music rooms or church. . . .

This strict discipline has had its good influences. Our Principal has realized the true significance of "Order is Heaven's first law." Consequently there is no more "confusion worse confounded" in coming out of Church. By sections the girls leave their pews, and with "measured tread and slow" wend their homeward way, through the narrow pass left them by the crowd on the church steps. . . .

Every one to her own tastes, of course. People will not agree. And our Principal acts in direct opposition to the poet when he says:

"A sweet disorder in the dress,

Kindles in clothes a wantonness,"

and prohibits Mother-Hubbards. Now the dress is "Faultily faultless, icily regular."²¹⁷

The author of this pronouncement on the rules referred to the Saturday mornings in the library. This was the long continued system of punishment for misdemeanor. The students who had been guilty of infractions of the rules during the week were assembled at nine o'clock to copy sections from the dictionary or to memorize poetry. This institution was called "Office" because the group was at one time gathered in Miss Baldwin's office. A student wrote of this system and of Miss Baldwin's principles of discipline:

Her discipline was that of a really great executive. Girls wept as they came from her office, not from hurt feelings but from penitence. Her favorite punishments were in accordance with her common sense; you memorized poetry or Scripture, something of a benefit in itself; or you were dosed with castor oil, for sin argued sickness. ²¹⁸

Students were also given demerits, and were graded on deportment. Too many demerits deprived one of a chance to secure honors. A student of 1889 wrote, "They have gotten awfully strict. If you get more than 50 demerits you forfeit all honors."²¹⁹

The movement toward student government was only just be-

ginning in American colleges for women in the later nineteenth century. It was most completely developed at Bryn Mawr, where it began in 1891.²²⁰ No steps were taken toward such a system in the Seminary during Miss Baldwin's day. There was a system of "self-reporting," however, which was later referred to as the "honor system." A similar system was long used at Mount Holyoke Seminary, where it was considered as unique, peculiar to that school at least in its details and mode of administration.²²¹ There it became very unpopular in the later nineteenth century and was finally discarded. It also ceased to be followed at Mary Baldwin Seminary. In 1921, when certain alumnae were suggesting changes in Mary Baldwin, some one proposed the "restoration" of the "honor system." Miss Edith Latané, a member of the faculty, said in reply:

So far as I can learn the only thing of this kind that has been dropped was a custom of calling the roll each day and having each girl report what rule or rules she had broken. I have repeatedly heard alumnae refer to this, but always as a joke. They said that naughty girls did not report and so formed a habit of untruth, while poor little overconscientious souls suffered agony for fear they had failed to report some infringement of a rule. I cannot think that anyone seriously wishes to re-instate this system.²²²

This system of self-reporting was apparently instituted very early; it may have been used before Miss Baldwin took charge. Mrs. Margaret Stuart Robertson, who entered the school in 1863, referred to it later:

The only thing I never approved of in the Seminary management was making us tell how often we had spoken, or broken a rule, during the day. Not many of us lied outright, but we resorted to many subterfuges; the most popular for a while was getting permission *to speak* from all the teachers we could find, then assembling in some protected place and speaking all our *speaks* at once. . . .²²³

Apparently Miss Baldwin made use of this practice in order to dispense with any resort to espionage on the part of the faculty. It is easy to see the abuse that might be made of it; at the same time it is evidence of Miss Baldwin's respect for and her faith in the individual. Perhaps at times, even many times, her trust was abused. Mrs. Robertson said of Miss Baldwin, her cousin:

I shall never forget those interviews with dear Cousin Mary: I had them right often; how grieved and hurt she looked and how she stung me to the quick by saying, "I know you did not mean it; you have been so well raised; Cousin Fanny's daughter could not behave so." That was punishment enough, but after it I had to memorize some moral essay, or a parable, or a Psalm. I have never forgotten the foolish virgins to this day! Dear Cousin Mary, so many of her geese were swans in her eyes! I often think that disposition to see and believe the best of all of us educated us up to a higher standard of right and honor; it is so sweet yet so humiliating to be believed better than we are.²²⁴

Through habits of self-discipline, which such a system was intended to develop, it is only a step to self-government. In a day when systems of regimentation have become so prevalent in the world, one may well be proud of and seek to preserve all the traditions of respect for the individual personality, on which the preservation of democratic institutions must rely.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION AND LIFE; OTHER GROUP ACTIVITIES IN THE SEMINARY

One great difference between the schools of higher education in the nineteenth century and those of today is the present multiplicity of student organizations as compared to the fewness of such groups and activities in the past century. Before the end of the century they were beginning to appear, it is true; in some colleges to a marked degree.²²⁵ The day of the student organization had hardly arrived in the Mary Baldwin Seminary, however, before Miss Baldwin's death. In the last decade of her administration a few such organizations and group activities appeared, primarily of a religious or philanthropic character.

Religion occupied a prominent place in the life of the student, both in the program instituted by the administration and in the interests later sponsored primarily by the students, more or less independently of the administration. Miss Baldwin followed the traditions of the school and her personal convictions in placing great stress on the religious life and spiritual welfare of the student. The Seminary was distinctively evangelical in spirit; religion was not a ceremony nor a social convention. The early catalogues all carried the following statement with regard to religious observances:

Boarders in the Seminary are required to attend the Presbyterian Church with their teachers, as it would be obviously inexpedient to allow them to go alone to the various Churches of the City. While the Principal and her Assistants are solicitous to bring their pupils under the influence of evangelical religion, no attempt is made to imbue their minds with sectarian prejudice. The boarders are divided into Bible Classes and taught in the Sabbath School by teachers connected with the Seminary. In the afternoon of every Sabbath they are supplied with religious reading from the Seminary Library. The younger pupils, and as many older ones as volunteer to do so, meet with the Principal for an hour in the afternoon for religious conversation and instruction.²²⁶

The Sunday School classes were for a time held in the Church; later, perhaps from the time the Chapel was secured by the Seminary, they were held in the Seminary. The girls then marched in line to church. There was strict observance of the entire Sabbath. No callers could be received on Sunday. Quiet had to be maintained throughout the day, and girls were encouraged to engage in meditation and religious reading. Miss Baldwin's Sunday afternoon talks, to which many of the older girls came voluntarily, were long remembered. Around the Sunday School lesson for the following Sunday as a topic, she gave some of her most effective religious teaching. On Sunday evenings, religious services were held in the Chapel, often conducted by a minister. In addition to these Sunday services, there was a devotional exercise every morning at nine o'clock in the Chapel and each evening after dinner. From a Psalm or other selection from the Bible announced for the week students learned a verse for each day to be repeated at breakfast. In this way much Scripture was memorized.

For many years all students attended the Presbyterian Church twice each Sunday. In 1883, however, a modification was made in this rule and an arrangement effected "by which pupils who are communing members of different churches may attend their respective churches on communion occasions."²²⁷ Then, in 1888-89, it was announced that students of other churches might attend their own churches on the first and third Sundays of each month. In 1894 this privilege was fixed at "once a month." The only records available with respect to the church affiliations of the students are some statistics compiled by a curious and industrious

student in 1892, which are as follows: Presbyterians, 76; Methodists, 20; Baptists, 18; Episcopalians, 10; Christians, 4; German Reformed, 2; Jewish, 2; unclassified, 24.²²⁸

Complaint was probably made at times against the heavy Sunday schedule of religious services, although the author has encountered none that relate to Miss Baldwin's era. On the other hand, there are found many sincere expressions of appreciation of the religious teaching received in the Seminary, from both students and alumnæ. The *Annual* of 1897 commented, for example, on the excellence of Dr. Fraser's sermons, and on the spiritual influence and evangelical zeal of Mr. Murray; and the *Recorder* of December, 1893, on the great benefits derived from a series of meetings held by Dr. Guerrant of Kentucky at the Presbyterian Church.²²⁹ Student publications also showed great interest in the visits of missionaries and in the student religious organizations. There was no suggestion of revolt or radicalism in religion; the evangelical spirit still ran strong.

As to student religious activities aside from the program instituted by the administration, there was a prayer meeting every Friday evening from 1891, and perhaps earlier.²³⁰ In 1891, a young women's Missionary Society was organized through the encouragement of Miss Laura Shortt, a member of the faculty.²³¹ The *Recorder* stated in 1893 that the membership was forty-nine and that the band had had interesting visits and talks from several missionaries, among them Mrs. Lane, the friend of Miss Kemper and the wife of the founder of Protestant missions in Brazil.²³² Miss Shortt, the founder of the Mission Band, attended in this year, 1893, as a representative of the Seminary, the Second International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, meeting in Detroit.²³³ There was also in the Seminary a very active and enthusiastic Volunteer Band; many of Miss Baldwin's students were preparing to enter the field of mission service.

In the fall of 1894 the various religious groups were merged into the newly organized Young Women's Christian Association. The inspiration for this movement came in May, 1894, through the visit of Mr. D. Willard Lyon, the Secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, who suggested the

need for such an organization in the Seminary. Miss Baldwin favored the idea, and in October, 1894, the Y. W. C. A. was organized. According to the student *Annual*: "The Y. W. C. A. combines in itself the little Volunteer Band and the Missionary Society and takes under its supervision all our religious meetings."²³⁴ It has had a continuous existence of almost half a century down to the present day. It is interesting to note that from the beginning it has been a student organization with student president and other officers, which was not true of all college associations.²³⁵ The first president of the Y. W. C. A. was Miss Eleanor Preston. In 1897, the Y. W. C. A. had a representative, Miss Penelope Crocheron, at the summer conference held in Asheville, North Carolina.²³⁶ It was the first organization to bring the Seminary student in contact with young people's organizations outside the Seminary.

Some of the problems, experiences, and activities of this early organization as described in the *Annual* remind the reader of similar conditions and circumstances of the present day, especially the question of a meeting place, a dilemma that constantly recurs in a school that has always tended to expand beyond its physical bounds. Miss Baldwin finally arranged to give the Y. W. C. A. the "Old Calisthenics Hall," which the Association decorated with the proceeds of a Mother Goose party.²³⁷ In a short time the Y. W. C. A. was to prove its great usefulness both religious and social, becoming the most effective bond between the members of the student body and a valuable organization for social service.

Closely related to these religious activities were certain other student enterprises of a social service character. If records remained, they would probably show others of a similar sort. On December 25, 1873, a special concert was given by the students of the Seminary directed by Professors Koerber and Hamer for the benefit of the Memphis orphans. One hundred dollars was raised.²³⁸ One of the very early King's Daughters circles was formed at the Seminary, three years after the foundation of the movement in New York.²³⁹ The Seminary contributed later through this organization to the maintenance of the King's Daughters' Hospital, a work today sponsored by the Y. W. C. A.

As Miss Baldwin grew older her concern for the spiritual

welfare of the students occupied an even larger place in her thoughts. After her health failed, some wondered that she continued her work as head of the Seminary. She herself declared: "My only object in holding on to the school is that I may do these girls some good spiritually."²⁴⁰ She put much emphasis on the week or more of special religious services in the spring, referring at times in her annual reports to the beneficent effects of these meetings in their results for the individuals "who embraced Christianity" and in deepening the spirituality and elevating the moral tone of the school.²⁴¹ The religious influence of the Seminary can be read in the lives of the alumnae, many of whom went into special religious service. Many others became workers in their home churches and in the various religious activities of their communities.

Aside from organizations of a religious and social service character there was apparently little organized student activity in Miss Baldwin's administration. Although there was some development of interest in athletics, mentioned above, this seems to have been small, and there was little organized activity. The public exhibitions in the new gymnasium in the 1890's produced some spirit of rivalry but did not lead, it seems, to the organization of permanent teams or to regular contests. On the whole, exercise was exercise and not sport.

Several other fields of activity or interest might be mentioned—student publications, European travel, and student interest in or activity with respect to public affairs. Two publications were issued in the last decade of Miss Baldwin's administration. One of these, the *Annual*, issued from 1891 to 1898, has been referred to above. It could hardly be termed an extra-curricular enterprise since it was a product of the literature classes—English, French, and German. It did treat of school life, however, and in that respect became an organ of Seminary student opinion. These classes in literature included the larger part of the student body. The writer of this history would like to express here a very great indebtedness to those students and faculty advisers who produced these volumes; the information obtained from them has been invaluable. Beginning in 1891, there was another publication fostered by the entire student body, *The Recorder*. The author

has seen only one issue of this periodical, that of December, 1893. This shows it to have been a very creditable journal, something of a union of a newspaper and a literary magazine. It lacked, however, the periodicity of a newspaper, being issued only three times a year. The catalogue of 1891-92 said of the *Annual* and the *Recorder*: "These publications have given a noticeable impulse to the interest and zeal of the young ladies in the writing of essays."²⁴² After 1895, there was no further mention of the *Recorder*.

In the later years of Miss Baldwin's administration the Seminary fostered European travel in parties conducted by members of the faculty. Increasing wealth made the "pursuit of culture" through the "classic tour" a characteristic American activity of the later nineteenth century. Although this was not properly a student or school activity, it might be included with these. The catalogue of 1891-92 made the following statement with reference to this service:

For the benefit of the pupils of the school parties will be formed for summer travel in Europe conducted by teachers of the Seminary. Young ladies who contemplate joining one of these parties will be directed in their reading with reference to the proposed tour.²⁴³

In the summer of 1890 Miss Baldwin herself was one of a party conducted by Miss Wright. Miss Nannie Tate, Dr. Newton Wayt, and Miss Mattie Wayt, his daughter, were among the other members of the group.²⁴⁴ According to Mr. Waddell, Miss Baldwin returned "greatly refreshed, declaring that ten years had been added to her life." She was reported an excellent traveler and gave a delightful account of her trip, but was much concerned about her absence from her school, her pets, and her friends. To a friend she confessed that she went twenty years too late.²⁴⁵ After she left the Seminary, Miss Wright conducted parties of which former students of hers were members. They recall yet with great enthusiasm the excellent instruction they received from her on shipboard and throughout the tour, which gave to her trips an unusual educational value.

How much interest in and discussion of public questions, including those relating to the economic, legal, and political position of woman, there was among the faculty and the students

of the Seminary it is not possible to say. There seems at least to have been no organized activity. It has been observed in the first chapter of this study that the movement for the higher education of woman up to the Civil War was not directly connected with the various movements for woman's participation in public affairs. Without doubt there was, however, an indirect connection; each supported and furthered the other.²⁴⁶ The colleges, which began to appear in the latter half of the nineteenth century, took a more active interest in social, economic, and political questions, through special lectures, regular courses, and the student press.²⁴⁷ This interest was a natural result of woman's entrance into industry, business, professions, social service, and other activities outside the home. The woman's college, it is true, did not lead in the battle for the economic, legal, and political rights of women. Even a too evident interest in these movements might give rise to opposing forces in the college itself.²⁴⁸ There is no evidence of any support of the feminist movement in the Augusta Female Seminary. It was without doubt more conservative than the Northern and Eastern schools in this respect. Also the average age of the student was less than that of the four-year colleges. It may be that Miss Wright aroused some interest in "woman's rights"; she is sometimes spoken of as representing the "New Woman" of her day and as being at variance in this respect, as well as in her Northern background, with Miss Strickler and other teachers of Southern traditions. Miss Baldwin herself adhered to the Southern tradition, it seems, with respect to woman's position, although she believed in her education and made provision in the school for some training in professions or vocations. Of her attitude one of her prominent alumnæ said just after Miss Baldwin's death: "While she desired lofty attainments for the daughters of the South, I think she was in no sense an advocate of the 'New Woman.'"²⁴⁹

Prominent Presbyterian leaders who were associated in one way or another with the Seminary opposed decidedly woman's participation in public affairs. Dr. Fraser, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church after 1893, a member of the Board of Trustees, and later President of the College, was an outspoken opponent of woman suffrage and adhered to a very old-fashioned

view with respect to woman's position. Dr. Joseph R. Wilson spoke to the young ladies of the Seminary in the commencement sermon in 1879 on the subject: "Let your women keep silence in the churches."²⁵⁰

The commencement speaker of 1870, Major Robert Stiles of Richmond, had attacked more directly the question of woman's rights. As the *Staunton Spectator* reported:

The address of Major Stiles was very happy both in the matter and and in the manner of advice to the young ladies. His allusions to our "embowered city" and "glorious valley" were exceedingly beautiful. His "tilt" at woman's rights was with all the ardor of a young knight zealous for the ancient right of woman and jealous of the primeval rights of man.²⁵¹

These attitudes are perhaps typical of those held by the larger part of the patrons of the Seminary; although it is probable that few clung to their conservative views as long as did Dr. Fraser. Only when votes were needed to defeat Alfred E. Smith in 1928 did he give a reluctant sanction to woman's going down to the polls. The great emphasis in the Seminary was on woman's religious and social obligations, for missions, for education, and for benevolent enterprises, and not on any possible political rights or obligations.

One does find, on the other hand, some evidence of active interest in politics in the Seminary. It is likely that more could be cited, if fuller documentation existed. In 1872, it was said, "in testimony of the sorrow felt for the defeat of Greeley, many of the pupils of the Augusta Female Seminary, representing all portions of the South, voluntarily arrayed themselves in black when the news became known here."²⁵² In student "Reminiscences" published in the *Annual* in 1893, one finds the following account:

Some remember our delight over our Holiday and the supposed election of Cleveland in '88 and also Miss Baldwin's chagrin when she found that we had been rejoicing over a false report. At the last election she resolved to make assurance doubly sure. Report followed report of Cleveland's election, until it became an established fact, and each morning we anxiously listened for the summons to rejoice, only however to be daily disappointed. At last, a week after the election, we were given half holiday on the evening of the "rally" in Staunton. . . .²⁵³

In spite of a patronage from the North and West and some teachers from the North, the Seminary was still predominantly Southern, and the South was solidly Democratic. The curious statistician or "census taker," who has been referred to several times, left these figures on the political faith of the young ladies in the Seminary:

Number of Democrats	124
Number of Republicans	8
Number "on the fence"	24 ²⁵⁴

Miss Baldwin's own Southernism is suggested in the following comment:

We hear some one ask if Miss Baldwin's patriotism is failing, but we answer stoutly "No!", for we had a holiday in honor of Robert E. Lee's birthday, something never known before, but which we hope, for the sake of those that follow us, will become an established institution.²⁵⁵

That the participation in politics was not absent from the Seminary girl's mind is evidenced by the following casual comment:

Many of us have thoughts for the future which would no doubt amuse our elders if they only knew them. Some of us want to "grow up and be famous and have our names known in the world" . . . Perhaps by that time this glorious Union will have acknowledged "woman's rights," and our teachers may yet be brought to undergo the pain of seeing us side by side with scores of "Kableites" and "University Boys" as Judges of the Supreme Court or as Representatives in Congress."²⁵⁶

Whether the instruction and informal discussion in the Seminary had actively fostered woman's public interests or not, many alumnae were later to take a prominent part in the public affairs. Their records would indicate that the Seminary had not given them a prejudice against such participation and that, constructively, it had helped to prepare them for such activities by developing qualities of sober reasoning and sound judgment and an orientation toward social responsibility. Of the encouragement of these traits through Seminary teaching there are many witnesses.

THE SEMINARY ON PARADE

Without any tendency toward an exaggerated display and certainly with no desire to secure applause for herself, Miss Baldwin took an honest pride in the progress of her students and in the good work of her faculty, and gave to the public frequent demonstrations of their achievement. The city of Staunton beamed upon "Miss Baldwin's School" and took advantage of every opportunity to attend its performances. In that day, before the era of the automobile, the movie, or the radio, the concerts at the Seminary furnished a welcome entertainment, particularly when their excellence was enhanced by the glow of local pride. The *Staunton Spectator* of April 9, 1872, declared: "Among the entertainments that enliven Staunton during the long winter months none are more interesting or afford more delight than the musical soirees. . . ." Around these performances—soirees, recitals, dramatic productions, even calisthenics drills, all culminating in the grand finale of commencement there was concentrated, it seems, in the hearts of the older people at least, all the nostalgia for their ante-bellum civilization now "gone with the wind," a civilization whose hardness, whose rough edges, whose incompleteness were forgotten, and only its code of honor, its fine manners, its beautiful women, and chivalrous men were recalled. The present generation, inclined to look upon sentiment with some skepticism, will perhaps only smile at the picture drawn of "Miss Baldwin's School" by its enthusiastic friends. One must attempt to catch its rhythm, its tempo; to see it as a "thing in itself," an expression of the social sense of an age steeped in the traditions of the Old South, in Scott's romances of chivalry, which had done so much to crystallize the social ideals of the South and perhaps thus to cause the war; and in the general atmosphere of sentimentality that characterized the Victorian Age, particularly in its attitude toward women.

If one recalls from *Mont San Michel and Chartres* how Henry Adams fled from the rawness of the American industrialism, materialism, and political corruption of the later nineteenth century to the beauty of the medieval church and its worship of the Virgin, one might say that the Seminary with its beauty of line and building, its social "sweetness and light," provided, momen-

tarily and for its small circle of intimate friends, a similar escape from the unlovely features of the post-war South with its new men and new manners. Perhaps what they said existed in part only in their imaginations; but their eulogies must have had some basis in fact and truth. The commencements had nothing of the academic formality and dignity of those of the present, nor did the soirees possess any of the sophistication of the professional production. They were characterized by the simplicity of school-girl performances, and yet apparently they had a grace and dignity all their own; as someone said of the Seminary itself, they possessed a certain "old-world mignonette flavor."

Some descriptions of the appearance of the young ladies upon these public occasions will suggest the romantic popular conception of the school. The *Valley Virginian* of June 1, 1882, describing the girls at the commencement soiree, declared:

The assemblage surrounding the stage formed a veritable rosebud garden of girls, the fashionable tints of blush-rose pink largely predominating in the quaint and picturesque costumes that would transport one in fancy back to the "teacup times of hood and hoop." Some of the beauties might have fairly stood for the mimic shepherdess that held her court while Watteau painted in the leafy gardens of Versailles, lending her loveliness to the artist for the adornment of dainty vase or fragile teacup and now given to immortality upon the mantel shelf of the bric-a-brac devotee.²⁵⁷

And the same paper of May 22, 1884, said of a commencement scene:

The ascending tiers of school girls on either side of the orchestra, like rose-buds of varied hue studded in a huge bouquet, seemed to perfume the air all around with their fragrance. How the hearts of the youthful elite of Staunton ached as they stood before the mass of concentrated beauty and intelligence may be conceived, but will never be known. . . .

The benediction pronounced . . . the girls sprang like birds from their bowers to congratulate each other, the boys in adoring wonder stood spell-bound, the old sighed over days long since gone by and, amid this glorious mêlée of earthly joys, seizing our hat and shaking off the reverie of the hour, we bade adieu to one of the brightest scenes of our life.²⁵⁸

A contributor to the *Spectator* declared that he thought he had fallen "on the shores of an enchanted isle" when he entered the

campus at commencement; another that the "music might have entranced Calypso and her nymphs."²⁵⁹

But the visitors were impressed not only by the beauty of the scene afforded them at the Seminary; they had equally fulsome praises for the programs. Only two criticisms were ever made with respect to these entertainments. The first was the lack of an auditorium with adequate seating space to accommodate those who wished to attend. This obstacle to full public enjoyment of the programs was frequently, in fact continuously, voiced. "The hall was crowded almost to suffocation; not even standing room could be obtained by many," was a typical statement.²⁶⁰ On November 17, 1874, the *Spectator* had the following observation with respect to the entertainment of the preceding Saturday: "Upon entering the room our attention was attracted by the new arrangement which has been made, by which the pupils of the Seminary are given seats upon either side of the room, just in front of the stage, on seats which rise one above the other, thus affording much greater accommodation for the audience."²⁶¹ This was the origin of the famous "Circus Benches," long to be retained in the Chapel. No doubt the visitors were gratified, too, by the better view they had of the young ladies, as they marched in and across the stage and sat, "rising tier above tier." This innovation relieved only slightly, however, the congestion of the auditorium. Many entertainments were given only to invited guests.

The other criticism against the Seminary entertainments had to do with the character of the programs themselves. There was too much "high-brow" music. An editor declared that it was the general opinion of the public that so much difficult music was hard on the uncultivated ear.²⁶² One may wonder now that an audience could be secured for amateur performances of classical music lasting until near midnight. But these criticisms were mildly advanced, usually only when a departure from the usual full classical program gave an opportunity to express appreciation for the variation. A program of old ballads was pronounced a treat "in these days of operatic and scientific music."²⁶³ The introduction of readings and other dramatic performances in the programs of the later 1870's and afterwards added variety, and the protests against "high brow" music ceased. Even when they

criticized its use, the writers took pleasure in proclaiming that "the difficult pieces were played without a single mistake," or that the twelve performers on six pianos kept such perfect time that it sounded like one instrument.

The first ambitious program given after the war period was a "Cantata of Spring," presented in December, 1866. The *Spectator* declared that it was the "first exhibition of the kind ever produced in Staunton," and "became certainly a feature."²⁶⁴ It was repeated at the commencement of the same year. It is interesting to note that cantatas soon became a popular feature in the programs of other schools in Staunton.

May Day was observed in 1866 and again in 1867. In the latter year, the supper on the front lawn was an added feature.²⁶⁵ The May Day pageant did not become a regular feature of the commencement week programs until after Miss Baldwin's era. In fact, after 1867 one encounters no further mention of these celebrations.

Full measure of sentimental appeal was achieved by "Ye Olden People's Concerte" of ballads and folk music given in April, 1874. The *Spectator* declared that one felt as if the age of chivalry had returned, and did "not wonder that noble knights in those days delighted to break a lance in the behalf of our grandmothers, if they were half as fair as those who appeared before us."²⁶⁶ The sentimental strain was maintained in the tableau, "Rock Me to Sleep," and the reading, "Over the Hills to the Poor House," rendered so that "many a heart felt moved by the touching pathos of the reader." The idea of "Ye Olden People's Concerte" was taken up by other groups in Staunton, and for several years such programs continued to be given.

Readings were a new feature that were just appearing on the public programs. It was perhaps due to popular prejudice against the theatre that when elocution was first introduced into the curriculum, it was explained that "readings and recitations . . . are given by the pupils, in the presence of the school, but never before a promiscuous audience."²⁶⁷ The tableau was a very popular feature of soiree programs for many years. Much attention, apparently, was given to costumes for these presentations and all other dramatic performances.²⁶⁸ They offered an opportunity to escape from uniforms.

There was much use of the allegory, which easily lent itself to romantic treatment. One given in 1872, "Lightheart's Pilgrimage," which represented a young maiden commencing her pilgrimage through life, got much praise.²⁶⁹ In later years scenes from Shakespeare became popular features of the programs. *Henry VIII*, *King John*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Twelfth Night* were used; also Tennyson's *Dream of Fair Women*, and Schiller's *Maid of Orleans*. In 1891, Miss Haughwout adapted and presented Tennyson's "Princess." The *Seminary Annual* of the year described its rendition and applauded (perhaps with tongue in cheek) its presentation in this "female university":

"Exquisite," "beautiful," "graceful," "tender" are the words one would choose with which to characterize Tennyson's fanciful poem, "The Princess," and all of these qualities are embodied in its clever adaptation to the stage by Miss L. May Haughwout. . . .

Here we might allude to the appropriateness of its presentation on the Chapel stage, for is not this the classic hall of learning of a "University for maidens," on whose walls the inscription, "Let no man enter in (without a ticket) on pain of death," is as clearly writ as if in letters of gold?

Even our Princess had but to imitate the example ever before her, in her scorn for the bold intrusion of "barbarians" into their midst.²⁷⁰

A musical program of this same spring given by the pupils of Miss Douglass and Professor Hamer established a new high in the musical field as Miss Haughwout's "Princess" had in the dramatic. It was a concert in costume featuring selections from "Il Trovatore," "Said Pasha," "The Mikado," and other operas. The *Valley Virginian* pronounced it "unsurpassed perhaps by any other private entertainment ever given in the city" and "a fair exhibition of the Seminary's high standard of proficiency in musical instruction."²⁷¹

The climax of the public performance of the year came during the commencement season, an occasion for the full display of artistic achievement and for the granting of diplomas and innumerable prizes, awards, and medals. Commencement also furnished an opportunity for contacts with leaders in the Presbyterian church and educators in Virginia schools, who were invited as commencement speakers. Among the notable speakers during Miss Baldwin's administration were Dr. William H. McGuffey

of the University of Virginia, Dr. J. Randolph Tucker of Washington and Lee, Dr. Moses Drury Hoge of Richmond, and Dr. Peyton Hoge of Wilmington, N. C.; Dr. Joseph R. Wilson of Augusta, Ga.; and Dr. W. M. Murkland of Baltimore, a nationally known figure in the Presbyterian church.

The following description of the commencement of 1866 appeared in the *Alumnæ Bulletin* of 1926:

Miss Nannie Tate of Staunton was the first graduate. Her own account of the ceremony is delightful. The first concern of the sweet girl graduate is the dress, and the war had left few white dresses in Augusta County. But from one friend came the loan of a plain white muslin skirt and from another a waist of dotted swiss. The exercises were held in the Presbyterian Church. There were certificates of various kinds to be delivered; Dr. McGuffey of the University of Virginia was to make the address; on the top of the high desk reposed the precious diploma. And Miss Nannie Tate, who had worked for years for it, was obliged to work hard up to the last minute, for whether the speaker's motive may have been to emphasize the lofty status of learning, or whatever his reason, we know that Dr. McGuffey did not descend from his eminent position. Rather he leaned over the pulpit to bestow the parchment from above. And the diminutive graduate stretched on tiptoe to reach it from below. Surely never was honor so hardly won!²⁷²

After the Chapel was delivered to the Seminary in 1871, the commencement exercises continued to be held there, but the baccalaureate sermon was preached in the new Presbyterian Church. After 1881, the Art Exhibition on Saturday became a feature of the commencement. A long musical program was given on Monday evening; the graduation exercises, also with much music included, took place usually on Tuesday evening. In 1881, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was held in Staunton during the commencement season, and its members were invited to attend the events. The *Christian Observer* of Louisville declared Miss Baldwin's success "astonishing."²⁷³

One event of the final commencement night remains to be told. The young men were permitted a short interval for conversation with the young ladies before the latter were sent to their rooms. The *Valley Virginian*, describing this closing scene, wrote in 1879:

The award of medals terminated the exercises of the evening, and one second after the benediction was pronounced, a marvelous transformation took place. There seemed a New Pentecost begun in the unloosing of several hundred tongues, and we left the hall with a bewildered sense of having fallen upon a nineteenth-century Babel.²⁷⁴

Roselle Mercier Montgomery, writing of a similar occasion in 1892, which she observed on a visit to the Seminary after she had left school, said:

It seemed very natural to be there listening to the duos, quartettes, solos, and octettes just as in the days gone by, but it was a unique experience and a vastly entertaining one to listen to the conversation between "the young ladies and gentlemen" after the performance, as other people, outsiders, used to listen to *us*. One that I heard (and no doubt it had been looked forward to for months) was between a Kable boy and one of the girls, and was something like this:

She—"I think all the girls look so pretty in white, don't you?"

He—"Yes'm."

She—"And they look so pretty when they are marching in, don't you think so?"

He—"Yes'm."

She—"And they look pretty when they sit down on the circus benches, don't they?"

He—"Yes'm." Then gallantly, but with visible effort—"but they ain't none of 'em as pretty as you."

At this exciting moment I moved on, thinking that time, after all, is a sort of mirror wherein we may see ourselves as others see us. I found it hard to realize that once the mere anticipation of this mild little chat was enough to take our attention from our books for months beforehand, and I have yet to understand why it causes such uneasiness to those in authority. It certainly sounds mild, but perhaps that meek little "Yes'm" contained a flavor of wickedness that I guessed not.²⁷⁵

That the young lady, by 1892, could regard the commencement and other features of Seminary life with some degree of detachment and of amusement, indicates that the sentimental attitude was being outgrown, at least by some of the younger generation. The following description of commencement appeared in the *Annual* of 1892:

The old chapel has put on its holiday array; the tattered shawls that usually adorn the windows are seen no more; the grand pianos have thrown aside their double coverings; the circus benches even have arrayed their gaunt forms in clinging white draperies; down in the auditorium,

instead of the bent forms of heavy knowledge-seekers, are the waving plumes of fair lady-visitors; and way back at the door and up in the gallery, oh, wonder of wonders! appears a mass of shoving, pushing, grinning, staring boys! What means this sudden transformation? Ah, surely it is not hard to guess. What else but commencement would so change the aspect of this time-honored hall?

But now the first notes of a march are heard and the door flies open to admit an advancing column of radiant maidens. As they wind their way up the circus benches amid fluttering ribbons and fleecy gauzes, one is reminded of Jacob's vision of angels, robed in their shining raiment, ascending and descending the golden ladder.

The entrance of these fairy creatures is the signal for the raising of opera glasses by the occupants of the gallery. For a few minutes this telescopic review is carried on without interruptions or distractions of any kind until the gentle rapping of the music professor's wand demands attention.

The audience listens patiently and with signs of appreciation to several long compositions, but at the appearance of eight young ladies at four pianos, a martyred look spreads over every face, and distressed glances are turned from side to side in search of some diversion. . . .

Now, too, the student of human nature may study the different phases represented in a gathering of this kind. Here is the proud mother or father, watching with loving admiration every movement of the fair young daughter as her hands glide over the keys; yonder is the young girl perched high in the window who likes to talk and be talked about; over there in the gallery stands the opera-glass young man, who winks and smiles at every damsel who may cast by chance a glance in his direction; there on that bench sits the small boy, whose head nods suspiciously but whose dignity forbids him close his eye; near the front sit the honored faculty with conscious smiles, suggestive of finished work and new black silks; and by the door stands the policeman with his back firmly planted against the wall, as if to say,

"Come one! come all! this rock shall fly
From this firm base as soon as I."

In time the four pianos cease, and then follow an innumerable force of solos, duos, and quartettes. . . . The program ends with the same octette that has never been played before. No doubt the young ladies show skillful execution, but who can tell! for where is the man who has heard one octette and has ever been guilty of listening to a second? A sort of suppressed excitement seizes the audience; the boys near the door edge closer and closer, and the girls on the benches lean forward eagerly to exchange smiles with their friends they hope to speak to if this octette ever ends; the policeman assumes, if possible, a more determined air and even the worthy principal shares the general feeling and casts uneasy glances at the gallery and the circus benches.

Crash! bang! go the last notes—then comes the wild rush for the stage; the girls, pell-mell down from their lofty perches, very disorderly angels now, the boys headlong over chairs and desks in their wild anxiety to reach the goal of their desires, beaming mothers and fathers hastening to greet their equally beaming daughters. For two brief minutes compliments or congratulations flow on in an uninterrupted stream, then comes the dread fiat, “the young ladies will please retire.” A few parting words, a few parting looks, and they make their way reluctantly from the stage, some with the thoughts intent upon the glories of the day; some think sadly of the near parting from familiar faces; and some eagerly to the morrow when they shall receive the just reward of long and patient toil.

The large crowd “homeward plods its weary way,” each one firmly resolved never to come to a school commencement again. Yet on the morrow here they all are. All eager to know who are the favored few upon whom the medals and blue ribbons are bestowed; all quick to note that fair faces look fairer when “hidden from day’s garish eye,” all curious to see if Master Baldwin Darrow will carry out the medals with the important air that characterized his predecessor; and all wondering why the girls, when all is over, instead of lingering over sad farewells, hasten with joyful expectancy written on every face. Ah! they do not know that *The Augusta Seminary Annual* is being distributed in the hall below and that every young lady who has received honors on this glorious occasion may find her name in print. . . . ²⁷⁶

Thus a student of the “gay nineties” philosophized over the “Seminary on Parade.”

VICTORIAN IDYL: LIFE IN THE SEMINARY

It would be interesting if one could recount the before-school days of the Augusta Female student, the planning and preparation that preceded her arrival at “Miss Baldwin’s School.” Unfortunately there is little record of this pre-Seminary activity. Hope Summerell Chamberlain has left a brief record of how she happened to come:

The next autumn, my brother, now in the way of earning his own living and a little over, offered to send me to what he called a real school, and not the old dame’s affair he considered Nash and Pollock to be. This time it was to be a school which has gone on, and prospered, and is today a college well patronized. I cannot remember the argument he used against one of the three or four schools for girls in North Carolina to which I might have been consigned, but that September, in care of a friend of ours who taught there, I was sent away to a boarding school in the mountainous part of Virginia, “Miss Baldwin’s,” as it was then familiarly called.²⁷⁷

There was no doubt much correspondence that went on between Miss Baldwin and the parents of the young lady about to enter the Seminary. Some of these letters survive in Miss Baldwin's handwriting (how much time she must have devoted to the writing of these one wonders; her summer vacations must have been very busy ones). The following letter, which shows the careful attention she gave to the individual student, even before she arrived, is perhaps typical:

The Augusta Female Seminary
September 10, 1880

Mrs. M. N. Weeden
Huntsville, Alabama
Dear Madam:

I have just received your letter and write to say that I reserved a place in a large pleasant room for your daughter, and I have taken great care to select her roommates from those whom I consider among the nicest girls in the Seminary, and hope she will find them congenial. It will be impossible for me to give your daughter a bed alone; had you asked me to make this arrangement earlier I could have accommodated you, but every place in the boarding department is full. I am declining applications every day, and many, in order to attend the school, have obtained board in town. I am extremely sorry that I could not grant your wish. Telegraph me when your daughter leaves Huntsville, and I will send my secretary to meet her in Waynesboro. It shall be my earnest desire to do all that I can for the happiness and advantage of your daughter, and I hope you and she will feel at the close of the session that it was well for her to have been here in the Seminary home. I think I understand the mother's anxiety in sending a daughter among strangers; I am sure I do the responsibility which dwells upon me. I fully sympathize in all these joys and sorrows. I hope she will find the influences of the college good and the society of her roommates and schoolmates not inferior to that to which she has been accustomed.

She will be particularly fortunate in her church privileges; we think we are particularly famed in having Dr. McFarland for our minister; he interests and instructs both young and old.

Hoping to see your daughter this week,

I am yours, very truly,
M. J. BALDWIN.²⁷⁸

When one knows the fine influences of the school, Miss Baldwin's modesty is striking. She hoped the young lady would "feel that it was well for her to have been here"; that her associates would not be inferior to her former ones. After Miss Baldwin's death

the following petition was found in her Bible: "O, God, let them not go back to their homes worse than when they came."

It seems to have been a common practice for Miss Baldwin to send someone to meet the students in Waynesboro or other junction points, even as far as Atlanta. The story of the journey from Atlanta was told by two students in the *Annual* of 1892 in an article entitled "Our Journey with the Agent." A number of girls, some new, some old, met here and were conducted in a special coach to Staunton. The conversations have the typical school-girl flavor, even though the chaperonage seems a little old-fashioned now. To quote from the story related by two of the "new girls":

"Do you have to study very hard?" we asked. "Indeed you do," said a tall, languid-looking girl. "Why aren't you ashamed of yourself," said another, "You know you don't study at all unless you want to." "Girls, don't you believe any such nonsense," said the first. "Some of us study from six in the morning 'till ten at night." "Yes, and some of us don't." "Tell me, do we get anything good to eat?" interrupted little Mary . . . "Should think we do," said Jane, "rolls every meal, apples every day, and dessert three times a week. Why, I am just going back to the Seminary to get fat. It certainly is a healthy place." At this juncture the train whistled and all was a bustle and excitement—there was a hurrying to and fro, a gathering of bundles, a bidding of hasty farewells. Mr. Sergeant could be seen running from the coach to the girls and back again, coat-tails flying, glasses on the end of his nose, in fact, he was every where at once. Finally we were all seated and quietly resumed our conversation, the old girls telling miraculous tales of last year's exploits,—of the tearing the fence down on commencement night, of the painting of the Seminary green on St. Patrick's and of the dangers of the "covered way" after dark.

Next morning, while eating our fashionable breakfast at twelve o'clock, we discovered that the sleeper in front of our "special" was crowded with boys; they had tried in every conceivable way to gain access to our car, but found to their extreme dismay that Mr. Sergeant was no corruptible guardian. They had told him many different tales and made excuses of every sort to gain admittance, but he was inexorable. Not until our car was attached to another train at Charlottesville and the boys were left behind did they give up all hope of talking with some of the girls. We soon forgot them all as we hurried through the Blue Ridge tunnels and neared Staunton.

Here Mr. King picked us out from the common herd of humanity by the little tube-rose that decorated the button hole of each of Mr. Sergeant's charges. . . . ²⁷⁹

Hope Summerell made the trip from North Carolina with Miss Mattoon, a teacher in the Seminary and a friend of her family. Her trip and especially her first impressions of Staunton and the Seminary are interesting:

I tried to sleep doubled up in the car seat, for Pullmans were not commonly demanded, and all night long the train rumbled northward. In the morning, the prospect showed hill country, with a range of blue mountains on the left. We arrived at the close-built town of Staunton with some streets so narrow that a mountain wagon must go around the square to turn. After a bit of breakfast, we beckoned a rickety hack, and it twisted around one or two corners and then stopped in front of a steep tilted square filled with a miscellany of buildings all interconnected with covered ways. From the street, stone steps led up to a large residence with the conventional white pillars in front, but close beside this stood an old brick church building, steeple removed, and three stories made of it for school use, while other and varied structures were flung pell-mell against the hillside. . . . While my studies were being discussed and my room assigned, my mind as usual was taken up, my whole being was fairly squirming with interest in my new surroundings. I was shown my room, not far from the entrance and a few doors from Miss Mattoon's. . . . It was one of a row, and my huge round-topped trunk (called a Saratoga) already sat beside the door. My roommate was in the room already and she began to chatter.

Berry's (the roommate's) stepmother came at noon and took us to the hotel for dinner. . . . After dinner we three drove in state through the streets in an old-fashioned barouche, a carriage cut low at the sides, in which the occupants faced each other, and the driver sat on a high perch in front. I was deeply impressed by the grandeur of our progress. Soon we went a short way into rich green country walled with mountains. Then we came back and drove twice around the city reservoir, then a novelty and a wonder in itself. . . . We had supper that evening, the first meal in the big dining room. . . . Tables each held twelve or sixteen girls and were presided over by teachers. There was that year a fashion of wearing scarves or shawls of cashmere, in all possible bright colors. The girls wore these to supper and let them trail over the backs of their chairs, so that the great room was full of splashes of color.²⁸⁰

Her roommate difficulties have been related earlier in the story. With all Miss Baldwin's care with respect to matching girls, there were no doubt frequent misfits; and girls were girls, and not angels, whatever the romantic gentlemen of the city might think. The fact that studying was done in the study hall and that the day and evening were pretty well filled with work relieved

the situation somewhat, as the following letter suggests. Still readjustments had to be made at times. This letter was from a new student in 1889:

I received Mama's letter last night and believe she is more homesick than we are. This is Sunday evening, but as Sue and all the girls are writing I thought I had better do it than talk and carry on. We are staying with them until their roommates come and I wish I could stay always.

We don't like our roommates but don't have to see them except at night. Boydie and I have become quite popular with all the girls, and she is one of the girls' darling already.

Yesterday evening Miss Baldwin let Camille take eight of us down the street to treat us and stayed about two hours.

We begin school tomorrow. I have arranged about all my lessons. I'll tell you exactly how and what we do. The rising bell rings at half-past six, breakfast at seven, go to Chapel at nine, and recite until one, then dinner, get out at four and walk on the terrace until six. Study hall at seven until nine, but one of my practice hours is the last hour of study hall. We go down in the calisthenics room and dance until half-past nine, come to our rooms and be in bed by ten. They have gotten awfully strict. If you get more than 50 demerits, you forfeit all honors.

Where is Papa? I want to write to him. You must all write often. With lots of love, I am

Yours affectionately,
Jane.....281

Here one has not only a suggestion of the roommate problem, but a description of a day's routine; also the dancing, the "darlings," the walking on the terrace, all features of the social life of that day.

It should not be forgotten that the Seminary was a school for little girls as well as for young ladies. The social pattern was affected by the presence of these children. Besides the Staunton little girls who attended as day students, there were children who grew up in the Seminary; Dunbar Murray, son of Professor and Mrs. Murray, who lived in Hilltop; Baldwin Darrow, son of Mary Crawford Darrow; and other relatives of Miss Baldwin who were there from time to time. The children may have been objectionable at times to the young ladies, but one gets little, if any, suggestion of annoyance. The *Annual* of 1893 commented on the presence of Baldwin Darrow: "The Seminary is no longer

without a child to vary its dull monotony, for we now frequently hear merry peals of laughter resounding up the back gallery from Master Baldwin Darrow when he has succeeded in tripping up his latest antagonist."²⁸² The young ladies always remembered fondly Miss Nannie Tate and her "little school room." The little girls used to sit on the front porch of the Cochran home (now the Alumnæ Club House) and watch the arrival of the new students, each claiming her darling, to whom she sent notes and presents. They played hop-scotch in the Covered Way; and often annoyed Uncle Chess in their romping on the lawn.

One of the best descriptions of the life of the smaller girl and her evolution into the young lady is that given by Mrs. Margaret Stuart Robertson:

I went to the Seminary when I made mud cakes and wore pinafores. . . In those days the study hall was in the center of the main seminary building. . . . And the lecture room was under the present library [now the business office]. This lecture room was used for the preparatory department, and there my Seminary school life began. The Church steps and their wide abutments on each side made charming play places, and there we little girls used to eat our lunch, discuss our elders and betters, and settle the affairs of the town.

Wood was our fuel in those days and there was a splendid pile stacked between the schoolroom and the Church. It was awfully hard to climb up, but we called it the Alps and took many a perilous journey over it; sometimes we and the woodpile rolled down together, and oh, mercy, didn't Uncle Chess fuss and fume! We all went to prayers in the big school room and then scampered back up to our department through the back porch and down the steps three or four at a time; some of us preferred the banisters; the steps were steep, and as there were no newell posts at the railing, it was a very quick and exciting way of getting down, but very severe when you came to the bottom. What delightful games of "Tag" and "I Spy" we played and how thrilling to explore the gloomy recesses under the long back porch; sometimes in great emergencies, we took refuge in the dingy cellars under the study hall, where darkness might be felt. . . . Then there was a charming high fence between the Seminary and Judge Thompson's, now Hill Top. That was the suspension bridge over Niagara; it makes me dizzy to think how we used to run along on top of it!

After awhile we were promoted to the big school room; our hair had grown, and we curled it on slate pencils; we wore gloves and long green sunbonnets to protect our complexions, and we wore corsets and had our dresses buttoned in front. I never felt so delightfully mature in my

life. . . We were allowed to sit on the portico and front steps in those days when the school room was in the Seminary building. . . I find I wax garrulous on old Seminary days. The memory of my big Newfoundland dog "Burleigh," who carried my lunch basket to school for many years, who would crack nuts during prayers and burst open the class room doors, who strolled in to meals and went to school long after I left—those same lunches and baskets of chestnuts, grapes and apples, which we day scholars were so honored to have eaten up by the boarders! The stolen visits to boarders' rooms where the Southern girls served oranges and the tide-water girls shrimp and sardines. Then the exciting days of dress parades in preparation for the photographer or the soirees, and once and only once the more injurious excitement of planchette and table turnings and fainting and screaming girls upstairs. And then commencement with the rigid examinations beforehand, for the Seminary, from its earliest days, advocated and made possible the higher education of women . . . the awarding of diplomas and prizes, . . . packing, parting, tears, farewells, and for us who were left—silence, reaction, the abomination of desolation, those first few days of vacation!²⁸³

The Seminary not only included the young; it gave shelter to and cherished the old. There was always a "grandmother." First there was "Grandma McClung," who comforted the girls in Civil War days when they flocked to her room by dozens to sleep, if they had a particular fright. Later Miss Baldwin's uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. Wade Heiskell, lived for twelve years with her in the Seminary. Mrs. Heiskell's room, as one of the girls wrote, "was to each tired homesick school girl a haven of comfort and heartrest; her soft hand and gentle voice were better for a sick girl than doctor or medicine; and her very presence among us was like a benediction on the school."²⁸⁴ Mr. Heiskell was also fondly remembered, especially for his stories of their visits to Virginia from their Western home in the days before railroads.

After the death of Mr. and Mrs. Heiskell, both in the winter of 1892-93, Mrs. Crawford remained as the grandmother of the group. With her romantic nature, her delight in sentimental novels, her love of fluffy clothes, her joy in children, she gave a perfect background to this Victorian idyl. In physical appearance and in social composition it was a big home. The social discipline was exacting in that it was complex—involving relationships to old and young as well as to one's equal in age. It gave a more normal course to life and thus perhaps removed or tended

to remove the harmful effects that might have arisen from a too narrow segregation.

Along with the children and the old, other essential parts of the school were the servants and employees. They took great pride in the Seminary and considered themselves an integral part of it, a sentiment that has continued to exist among their successors. There was, for example, Mr. Thompson, the night-watchman, who always solicitously inquired of the teachers at the end of the session, "Well, Miss, are you coming back to *us* next year?" Apparently Miss Baldwin did not have a nightwatchman for many years. According to the *Annual* of 1891, this office had been introduced just three years before. Mr. Thompson, an Irishman, with red cheeks, red blankets, and the big red apples "which he used to bring in his capacious pockets for those of us who teased him most," was the most picturesque of the lot, and made for himself "a name second only to Uncle Chess." He acted as escort of the girls to the theatre and to the station, rang the night and morning bells, and patrolled the grounds. Of his relations with a certain crowd of young men, then known as Kableites, the *Annual* said:

Monday afternoon he is put to his wits' end in devising stratagems to keep off a certain band, famous for military prowess. This is the afternoon of the week as regards excitement. But to give "honor where honor is due," the Kableites possess in a remarkable degree the quality known as ingenuity. They can even get ahead of our guard. There is one battalion of lovers, another of "funlovers." The latter inveigle Mr. Thompson to "Hill Top" and pleasingly chat with him while the former named band are "making hay while the sun shines" with mute voices and talking eyes.²⁸⁵

The quality of his boldness in accosting the intruder has been inherited, some might say, by later heirs to his office. To a thief he declared: "If you don't go away from here, I will blow your brains out, like I did last year." In 1893, it was announced that, "Mr. Thompson, whose red blanket was so gracefully scalloped for the sake of the girls' memoirs, no longer escorts timid maidens to Hilltop, . . . but the Seminary nowadays is guarded from all intruders by Mr. Licklitter, whose dignity is so imposing that we pass him by in silent awe."²⁸⁶ Within a few

years, Mr. John Smith, another Irishman, replaced him. Mr. Smith was shortly torn by divided loyalties. With his Irish love of a fight, he wished to volunteer for the Spanish-American War; but the Seminary won, and he remained to protect the young ladies.²⁸⁷

No Seminary employee achieved such legendary fame as Uncle Chess, celebrated in poem and story. Uncle Chess had been a slave in the family of Miss Baldwin's grandmother, and came to the Seminary with Miss Baldwin. For many years he was the bell ringer, the mail carrier, and the yard man. "Pretty tolruble mail" he always repeated, when beset by eager girls to know if he had many letters. Many anecdotes collected around him. The *Annual* of 1898 thus related one of these: "His daughter . . . said that when her children were little she used to tell them as our line passed her gates: 'Look, there goes Miss Mary's girls.' But the children would run to the gate, and scrambling upon it to get a better view, would say with great complaisance, 'Dere goes grandpa's girls.'"²⁸⁸ His horizon did not reach beyond Miss Baldwin's realm. He was certain that "Miss Mary July ran the United States and had Europe for a foot-stool." Uncle Chess stayed on, even after he was too feeble to be of much use; he raked the leaves. He was glad of the assistance that the fashion of "Half trains" in skirts gave him.

And when the leaves are budding out
And none fall to the ground
He sits all day most patiently,
And keeps a sharp watch 'round
For fear that one stray leaf may fall
And not by him be found.²⁸⁹

In 1893, he was reported "too feeble to look after Miss Mary's things any longer" and to be living in Staunton with his daughter.²⁹⁰

The picture of the inhabitants of the Seminary would not be complete without the animal pets. Her fondness for animals softens the picture of Miss Baldwin, which her reserve and dignity might tend to make severe. She was rather broad in her choice of pets, too. She had once kept cats someone tells of her. For many years she kept a large collection of "rare birds of brilliant

plumage from Java, Syria, Africa, and South America." Professor Walter helped her in the selection and care of her birds. Finally they dwindled to the parrot that all the students of her later years recall, the companion of Miss Baldwin at meals, sitting on the back of her chair; the guardian, who yelled, "'Who's that! who's that!' to the abject terror of the approaching V. M. I. cadet."²⁹¹ But the two pets most fondly remembered were the two dogs—little Midget, without distinguished pedigree, and the lovely Pomeranian, Beauty, an oil painting of whom has long hung in the Red Parlor. These two were the faithful companions of Miss Baldwin about the dormitories and campus. Their bells probably served as an effective warning to girls of the approach of Miss Baldwin, in case they were out of their rooms, cooking over the gas jet, or involved in other infractions of the regulations. It was difficult for Miss Baldwin to keep bells on them, however; the girls took them for souvenirs, and almost sheared poor Beauty of his fine coat in collecting pieces for their memory books.

Mention has been made incidentally of the attractions of the Augusta Female Seminary for the boys from the neighboring schools, how they came to soirees just to gaze upon the girls from the gallery, or to the interminable commencement concerts for the boon of a few minutes' conversation. Their devotion deserves a more particular treatment here. The popularity of Mary Baldwin College girls with the young men of the University, Washington and Lee, the Virginia Military Institute, and Hampden-Sydney, as well as with those of the local military schools, is notorious. But the young men were just as devoted to their mothers and grandmothers and struggled under much greater difficulties to see them. Many are the legends handed down about the impregnable walls of the Seminary. Perhaps that was part of the enchantment, but only a part; for the young ladies of the Seminary, to judge by their pictures and by the testimony of women as well as of men, were exceptionally pretty and charming. The last generation of girls in Miss Baldwin's day had also to look back to the day of their mothers, when the girls had been just as attractive. One wrote in *The Annual* of 1898:

We think the girls of the Seminary enjoy considerable popularity now, but they were just as popular some twenty years ago; for my dentist at home, who is forty, perhaps, says that when he was a V.M.I. boy, he used to drive the thirty-six miles between Staunton and Lexington any Sunday to see the Baldwin girls go to church! His girl was from Texas. He showed me her picture, which he had carefully preserved all these years. He said the bare mention of that girl was enough to make his wife jealous, although he had not seen her since she went back to Texas so long ago.²⁹²

The young lady of that generation seems to have taken all the attentions for granted, however, just as those of today do, no doubt; to receive admiration and homage was her right and might be met with tolerant amusement only. "Spreads" in the Seminary might even be the occasion for more pleasant anticipation, as the following account indicates:

We have not time to dwell upon the concerts and readings patronized by the girls, nor to speak at length of the admiration they have excited whenever they appeared in public. Never before have the verandas opposite the terraces been so popular as places of resort; windows and street corners have been thronged with admiring young men as the school passed by; scarcely a young man in Staunton has not strained the muscles of his head and neck and been in danger of acquiring strabismus in his frantic efforts to see "Miss Baldwin's girls." While this has been entertaining and flattering, yet more genuine delight was felt in the fashionable receptions and teas given by the social four hundred of the A.F.S.²⁹³

No doubt this long-distance worship did lose its charm and novelty after a time. But the young men left no stone unturned apparently to break down the isolation. Some were fortunate in getting special permission to visit. Some were able to get introductions and letters of permission through brothers or cousins of the young ladies attending the men's colleges. The young men, it is said, used to pick names from the Seminary catalogue, and attempt a correspondence with the one chosen. Woodrow Wilson's unsuccessful visit to his cousin, Harriet Woodrow, when he came without a letter of introduction has been recounted. Later, however, he did get permission to visit her. The story of his courtship of her is told by Ray Stannard Baker in his *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters*:

Across the mountains at Staunton, Wilson's birthplace, several of his fascinating cousins were at school at the Augusta Female Seminary. . . . It

was easy enough to slip over the mountain to spend a week-end and return in time for his first Monday lecture. One of the gifted students in the Seminary was Harriet Woodrow—"Hattie," the daughter of his mother's much loved older brother, Thomas, who lived in Chillicothe, Ohio. Young Wilson fell precipitately in love with her, and scandalized his other cousins by his vociferous cheering at a concert where she played. He went to spend the Christmas holidays in 1879 in Staunton with his uncle James Bones, and here the affair with his cousin made rapid progress. . . . A somewhat ardent correspondence with Hattie continued during the following year and a half, and in the summer of 1881, Wilson visited his cousin's family at Chillicothe, made his suit, and was promptly refused.²⁹⁴

But many romances begun in the shadow of the Augusta Female Seminary had a more successful outcome. While the girls might take the homage accorded them with some show of indifference, they admitted their own inclinations to romance; they declared that although teachers might keep sweethearts out of sight, "none of them have as yet been able to invent a safety-valve to keep them out of mind."²⁹⁵ Thus the ties between the Seminary and the Virginia men's schools, established by such academic contacts as Dr. McGuffey, commencement speakers, or the textbooks of their professors adopted, were forged much more firmly by the romances that budded and the unions that were effected between the students.

In the relative difficulty of seeing the young men, the young ladies found various resources for entertainment. To a few, who sought diplomas as "full graduates," the heavy schedule of work did not leave much time for diversion. But there were many who found time to play and to dream. In the eighties and early nineties an epidemic of "darlings" or "cases" among the girls struck the Seminary. Disciples of Freud would find, perhaps, unpleasant significance in this development; that the participants were entirely unconscious of any impropriety is indicated by the frank publicity given to the cases. The craze began to decline in the early nineties. The *Annual* of 1891 recorded: "It is often difficult to distinguish between cause and effect—whether the annihilation of the Saturday-night Dike is the outcome of the extinction of the "darling" or vice versa is a question of weight. Be it as it may, the age for "darlings," that is "girl-sweethearts," belongs to the past."²⁹⁶ The "darlings" did not cease at once, but

the Seminary annalist of 1893 recorded that the "cases" of the year could be counted on one hand.²⁹⁷ At the same time the disappearance of the German and the "Tackey Balls" was recorded with the comment that three of the old social landmarks were gone. The Germans, or dances in the "gym," had been closely associated with the "cases." One of the pair took the part of escort. The Germans and also the "darlings" were popular again a few years later, and perhaps never really disappeared.

In the middle nineties "the fashionable teas and receptions" to which one girl referred, quoted above, became a popular feature of Seminary life. With all the regulations against boxes from home, imprudent eating at night, etc., the girls *would* eat. They were allowed fruit any time, and apparently Saturday night "spreads" came to be tolerated, Mrs. Crawford buying the food. But there was cooking and eating apart from the appointed times. In time the gas jet gave place to the chafing dish for culinary purposes.²⁹⁸

The "parties" of the middle and later nineties, however, which the young ladies preferred to the adoration of cadets were gala affairs occurring on holiday occasions—Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Washington's birthday—when boxes from home were allowed. Party decorations, evening dresses, hand-painted china, and sometimes fine silver were often features of these festivities. Formal invitations were sent out. Since the young ladies had few other occasions in the Seminary for evening dress, they wore them for the Saturday German and the dormitory "spreads." The *Annals* gave much space to descriptions of these "fashionable affairs" with their curious mixture of the formal and informal. The following description of Christmas festivities reflects the supreme satisfaction they afforded in the eating and "in remembrance":

Rivalling all the feasts of the year in jollity and abundance were the five o'clock dinners of Sky High during the Christmas holidays. They really began at 10 o'clock Monday morning when the express man came. As John labored up the long flights of stairs with the first box, he was hailed with shrieks, growing more enthusiastic, as our olfactories, made keen by long abstinence, recognized the odor of some loved dainty exhaling from the cracks of the box. All rushed to the room of the happy receiver and seated on the floor generously aided her in unpacking the

delicious home provisions. Salad, turkey, jelly, candy, potted meats—which were immediately locked in trunks for a time of famine—followed in rapid succession. Our favorite kinds of cake were there too, and we enjoyed these all the more when we thought of the loving hands which had made them, that they might be the more delicious for us. Oh, what a luxurious feeling to sit down on the bed and look about the room, every space filled with things to eat—no more starvation for at least two weeks! Every room was visited in the same manner, and in one or another was found every dish known to the chef de cuisine of Delmonico's. We "skipped" supper and prepared for a grand dinner. The preparations would doubtless seem strange to our mothers, but they will be familiar to old school girls. We rolled the bed into the middle of the floor, spread it with towels and then arranged the "festal bed (board)." Everything ready, we donned our evening gowns, without which no one is admitted to a gathering of the "Four Hundred," and seated ourselves about the table prepared for pure enjoyment. . . .

The next night the performance was repeated with the same success—the same faultless viands and serving. But imagine our remorse when told that Mrs. Boone had opened her heart and regaled the school with chicken salad. Of course we had chicken salad, but the fact that we had missed the grand occasion of seeing chicken salad on those red-covered tables heretofore sacred to rolls and preserves was what "made our only woe." The enjoyment of those banquets was not only temporary. Will a Christmas ever pass when we will not think of our good times together that Christmas vacation? They will always be among our brightest recollections, and more substantial sentiments will cluster about our old dried wish-bones than ever clung to a "faded flower." Years hence, when we gaze upon the old bone, our imagination can easily draw the outline of a large, brown roast turkey. We shall recall our joy at first spying it, our bliss at first tasting it, and our regret at seeing it vanish with our happy vacation. But with these recollections will come the more serious thought—that our school days are past and gone.²⁹⁹

Life was gentle to the young lady of the later nineteenth century. Even in the "Gay Nineties," the Victorian complacency, security, and faith in progress had not yet been shaken. It was an "Age of Confidence"—confidence in the security and stability of one's family and home, confidence in one's community, in one's nation. The long international peace of the nineteenth century, only briefly interrupted by the Franco-Prussian War, still endured. To us Europe was only the destination of a pleasure trip or a source for "culture" for the man of means or for his wife and children. The future was secure in its general pattern. The individual had only to work out the details. Social and economic

problems were troubling America, it is true; but they had not yet become so insistent that they penetrated the walls of the Seminary to any degree. Hence the student in her idle moments indulged in rosy dreams of the life before her. Dreaming of the future became a favorite indoor sport; or a pastime which often drew them outside to "walk on the terrace." This aspect of life in the Seminary has been beautifully expressed by Roselle Mercier Montgomery in her poem, "Across the Years":

Across the years, I hear your laughter sweet,
I see your faces through a mist of tears,
Dear comrades of the happy school-girl years!
I hear the echo of your tripping feet
As on the terrace there we used to meet
In the soft dusk: In happy laughing pairs,
We walked and talked and dreamed—and knew no cares
Upon the terrace there above the street!

Ah, yes! we wandered there and talked and dreamed—
A radiant wonder then the future seemed!
We planned what we should do when school was done,
And turned to life as flowers to the sun!
How slow time seemed to our impatient feet
That trod the terrace there above the street!

Oh, comrades in the dusk of memory,
Where are you now? has life been good to you,
Or death? Have all your girlish dreams come true?
On gay young faces that come back to me,
What lines are written now, if one could see?
And is the laughter hushed that I once knew?³⁰⁰

A student of an earlier day, the 1870's, had written in recollection of her school days:

Through the open door of a music room I catch enchanting glimpses of grass and trees—again it is Saturday night at school, and I am sitting beside that window, needle in hand, dreaming the hours away, while Hattie Woodrow plays Chopin's weird, wonderful music and my unsewed buttons fall unheeded to the floor.³⁰¹

But the student's thoughts were not all in the nature of an idyl. Another student, inclined to self-analysis and to the analysis of the public's opinion of school girls, wrote in sober, if more

prosaic vein, that if students built air castles they got near enough the moon to discover that it was not green cheese, that girls had thoughts of their own and plans for the future that might startle or amuse their parents by their seriousness.³⁰²

From time to time special events—an unexpected holiday, sleigh rides or a drive in the country, a trip to Weyer's Cave or Natural Bridge, a special program of music at the Staunton Opera House, or a play in the city came to vary the routine of Seminary life. The *Annual* of 1895 recorded:

The hearts of the girls were made glad on the morning of April 16th by Miss Baldwin's announcing that there would be no school on that day. About ten o'clock, carriages came up and Miss Baldwin took the whole school for a drive. The day was beautiful and a drive was never more enjoyed.³⁰³

Heavy snows in the winter meant as a rule a sleigh ride and also incidentally, ice-cream for dinner.³⁰⁴ Snows and sleigh riding were naturally a very great attraction for the girls from the Deep South.

The various trips, scientific, artistic, and historical, that Mary Baldwin College now sponsors had their beginning in a small way in Miss Baldwin's day. The Weyer's Cave trip seems to have been the most common one. The Staunton *Vindicator* described a trip to the cave in 1879:

Some forty or fifty young ladies and teachers of the Augusta Female Seminary took a delightful picnic excursion to Weyer's Cave Tuesday. A special train carried them to Weyer's Cave Station, where they were met by Mr. Ned Burke with his elegant livery, some eight or ten conveyances, and the trip to the cave and back and by train back to Staunton was made without accident and in excellent time, (the party) reaching Staunton at half-past five in the afternoon.³⁰⁵

Another trip to the cave that received special treatment in verse in the *Annual* suggests the appearance of school spirit of a rather modern flavor. In the "gay nineties" something of the rigid decorum was relaxed—at least on picnics. As the "poet" recorded the history of this excursion:

The people then we greeted
With the Seminary yell;
Some smiled at us serenely,
While others fled pell-mell.

The trip to the cave, the voracious appetites, the "lemonade in the horse-pail stirred with a small-sized tree," the journey home by moonlight, when the "Rollers (Augusta Military Academy) . . . to greet us waved sheet and counterpane" made this trip a memorable one among the cave excursions.³⁰⁶

Apparently the Seminary did not yet have a series of concert programs. Occasionally a reader came. The *Annual* of 1891 described one such program, which does not indicate a very auspicious beginning in "lyceum" attractions:

Mr. Walden, "a descendant of the Waldenses," gave a recital in Chapel last fall to show us "how it is done." If his object was to illustrate how much noise one man can possibly make within a certain length of time, the evening was certainly "a howling success." . . .

His masterpiece, "Poe's Bells," was rendered with realistic and deafening effect. So much so that Midget, on the porch below, deceived by the thunderous vibrations, thought it the iron-throated churchbell over the way, and, as was his wont, howled dismally.³⁰⁷

There had been "elocutionists" of an early day, however, who had read at the Seminary and received the commendation of the Staunton press.

The following event was, no doubt, an enlivening diversion for the Seminary and is suggestive of the present custom of the Mary Baldwin girls themselves in their Christmas carols:

The Staunton Glee Club gave the young ladies of the various seminaries a very neat instrumental serenade on Wednesday night last. The intervals between the musical pieces were filled with a brilliant display of pyrotechnics—rockets, roman candles, spit-devils, and other diabolical fire inventions.³⁰⁸

In the 1890's the Staunton Opera House brought some very good musical and dramatic programs to Staunton, which the students of the Seminary were allowed to attend occasionally.

In the meantime an amateur glee club and an amateur orchestra appeared in the Seminary, forerunners of the later more seri-

ous organizations. An "old girl" thus related the origin of the Glee Club:

With a little encouragement we should tell you about the jolly little glee club of '91 which made hideous the warm nights of early spring, when the balcony of Long Room resounded with the strains of "I'll be All Smiles Tonight, Love" and "My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean." One of the teachers used sometimes to entertain her callers out on the front porch. On those occasions we took a peculiar school-girlish delight in warbling "Good-night, Ladies" and "Home Sweet Home" in the alluring hope of embarrassing the visitors. Everybody laughed at us, and we laughed at ourselves and at each other; but we had a very happy time over it *and the present glee club with its recognized place on the commencement program has grown out of it!* In those days they would sooner have thought of putting us in jail than upon the program for commencement, I am sure.³⁰⁹

In much the same way the "Excelsior Orchestra Club" had evolved by 1897, with violins, mandolin, and guitars.³¹⁰

One finds some indications of school "spirit" at an early day in emblems and activities that are universal. An old girl of 1871 recalled that the Seminary badges were first proposed, devised, and gotten out in '71, that for a time the school was divided into two parties, that "Anchor and Monogram were the battle cries, like Guelf and Ghibelline, though not so irreconcilable, since we ordered the Monogram badge."³¹¹ School pennants were introduced; and in 1891, the school colors, white and gold, were adopted.³¹² College yells increased; and a new college song appeared in 1897.³¹³ Popularity contests for the selection of the prettiest, smartest, most accomplished, and most popular girls in school were instituted in 1895; and that of 1896 added most stylish and handsomest to the list.³¹⁴ The *Annual* itself was tending more and more towards an expression of college life.

Most of the girls in the Seminary came from well-to-do families. Life was easy for them with respect to material desires. There were some, however, who were not so fortunate. From all reports there was no distinction made on the grounds of wealth. The social life was democratic in spirit, even though its code of behavior was rooted in the aristocratic tradition. Of this characteristic of the school a thoughtful student and one well-schooled in the traditions of the Seminary declared later:

Another thing that was instilled into us merely by the atmosphere which surrounded Miss Baldwin in her life time—and which has passed on as a school tradition—is an utter lack of snobbishness. There was no recognition, even, of money values. We never cared or even knew who was rich and who was not. That fact was never taken into consideration in accepting scholars for the school, or in dismissing them, or in the awarding or withholding of honors by the faculty, nor by the girls in forming friendships or awarding student honors.³¹⁵

This spirit has been perpetuated into the college life of the present day.

In leafing through the *Annals* and *Records* other features and incidents of life in the Seminary—some sad or tender, others gay or amusing—crowd upon one and demand recognition; the simple and beautiful memorials to all who died among faculty, students, or employees, in this home “circle”; the quiet Saturday evenings in the library when someone read aloud from a favorite book; the exciting daily event of “mail-call” when, in the absence of a post-office and under the regime of a restricted correspondence, the mail was distributed from the steps leading down into the old Calisthenics Room, the present Business Office; the pandemonium of voice and piano practice all over the place in close proximity to all other activities; the distant view of Betsy Bell; the nearer view of street-cars outside drawn laboriously up the hillside by mules, carrying sometimes one passenger, sometimes none; suppers of hot rolls and syrup, or cheese and crackers on Saturday and soiree nights; napkins under the table; the firemen, who turned on “all the steam on a warm and sunny day and turned it off again when the bitter winds were blowing”; the line of Gray-coats “Looking Backward”; the French table; the Seminary fire when the barns behind Sky High burned, but the cows were rescued; the things they adored—“Easter holidays, Glee Club nights, spreads, Saturday leisure, surprise holidays”; the things they deplored—“examinations, compositions, Latin notes, English questions, literature tables,” etc.

One is inclined to linger over this picture of the Seminary in its Golden Age, even though one is an “outsider” who must reconstruct the picture from the memoirs of others. In reading and re-reading the *Annals* and *Records* one is captured by the spirit of the times, a convincing evidence of the faithfulness of

the recordings and the filial piety of the recorders to their Alma Mater. The *Record* is the grateful remembrance of the first generation of alumnæ; the *Annual*, the immediate expression of the Seminary in the last days of its Golden Age. What did the Seminary mean to the student of the first group? A graduate of the later 1870's said in 1896:

The Augusta Female Seminary, in a greater degree than any school I have ever known is an individuality to its pupils. Their devotion to it is so loyal, their love for its honored Principal so deep and strong that for a Seminary girl there can be no greater pleasure than a visit to the scenes of her school days.

The years of my life at the Seminary were years of unbroken prosperity and harmony. The turbulent waters of the early years were calmed and scarcely a ripple stirred the placid waters. Schools are like nations—those periods are usually happiest that have no history. . . . As I wander from room to room I have many memories, some grave, some gay. . . . Indeed the whole place seems a very Vallambrosa, thick strewn with leaves of memory! How the office hall speaks of the organ on which I used to practice, while Polly, (green be her memory as her plumage!) demanded her customary cracker in default of which she would tear my music, pick the buttons off my boots, and tweak my hair, which hung in braids within her evil reach. The long gal'eries recall those evening promenades when "best particulars" vowed eternal friendship, quite oblivious of the evanescent nature of school girl friendship in general and also of the stern realities that awaited them outside that enchanted land. Many of these friendships still remain, beautiful reminders of that happy past. . . .

A benediction seems to rest upon the room where Miss Baldwin gathered us around her and taught us those lessons of loyalty, of faith, of courage, of high resolve and noble striving that have been to many of us our best inspiration in succeeding years, and for which we would crown her not only with the laurel of our honor but with the myrtle of our love.³¹⁶

Representative of the second generation, a student of the 1890's thus paid tribute to the school in the *Annual*, the literary and social product of the Seminary at its peak:

Six years is a long time in Seminary life. Does life always get dearer as it grows older? . . . Like every other girl who comes in September, we were sure by November that nothing would tempt us to return, yet six returning Septembers have found us each time more glad to come back to the sheltering home and the kind friends we have made here. We are homesick now as we think of other faces gathering about the library table; other hands pulling out the books, other voices singing the morning

hymns, other ears listening to the teaching; homesick almost as we think of others intruding themselves and finding fault with the rough floor in the Calisthenics room, the barbed wire in the back yard, and the lack of magazines in the library. We have learned to feel it our sole prerogative to find fault, for we love so much that we forgive much. . . . We leave dear faces and warm friends. Who will ever give us more pleasant cheer than Mr. King or wiser counsel than Mr. Murray? Who will ever set us such an example of beautiful self-sacrifice as Mrs. Williamson, . . . of unflinching devotion to duty as Miss Weimar, of persistent work as all our teachers, of triumph over difficulties as our dear Principal? Where will the hills be bluer, the grass be greener, the songs of the birds be sweeter, or the fall of water more musical than just here at the Seminary.³¹⁷

It was in this same year that the filial devotion of the graduates of "Miss Baldwin's School" brought them together in the Alumnae Association.

THE SEMINARY IN THE LARGER WORLD: THE ALUMNÆ

From its first issue in 1891, the *Augusta Seminary Annual* carried news of the "old girls." These "news letters" might be said to constitute the first step toward the organization of the alumnae, or at least the first group expression of the "school tie." The early ones gave news, however, of the more recent "old girls" with only rare notices of earlier ones, while the initiative for the organization came from an earlier group. But the editorial policy of the *Annual* promoted this tie with the past, not only by giving generous space in its small publication to the "news" of the "old girls," but by articles and news items about the school that would interest former students and by a definite historical interest in the school in reminiscences of life in the Seminary as far back as the Civil War.

In August of 1893, Mrs. Elizabeth Andrew Hill of Georgia, a graduate of 1880, came to the Seminary as the guest of Miss Baldwin. Over recollections of Miss Kemper and old classmates, she proposed the organization of an alumnae society. Miss Nannie Tate and Mrs. Nellie Hotchkiss McCullough were called in and approved enthusiastically the plan. Other Staunton alumnae were then invited to a meeting on August 30, 1893, and a preliminary organization was formed with Miss Tate as president; Mrs.

Hill, secretary, and Mrs. McCullough, historian (referred to in preceding pages as Mrs. Holmes). On November 15, 1893, Mrs. Hill sent a circular letter to the full graduates, inviting them to a reunion the next June to effect a permanent organization.³¹⁸

On April 10, 1894, Circular Letter, No. 2, set May 25 as the day for the meeting. All graduates were asked to prepare poems, the best ones, as selected by a committee of outsiders, to be used in the program. Eleven graduates were selected, at about three-year intervals, to give short talks on the Seminary in their day. These talks might be "grave or gay, humorous or pathetic, some special incident, a memory of girls or teachers, or a résumé of the salient features of the daily life, but told in a bright, chatty way, as girls to girls." Both the poems and talks, later published in the *Alumnæ Record* along with Mrs. McCullough's historical sketch of the Seminary, are an invaluable source for the history of the Seminary. The following interesting notice appeared in the *Record* of 1902: "At the request of Miss Weimar, the Principal of the Mary Baldwin Seminary, copies of 'The Record' were sent to Messrs. West and Johnson, the publishers of Richmond, Virginia, who were collecting data about schools in the South; also to a gentleman in Europe, who was writing an American novel and wished some items of school-girl life."

The contemporary account of this historic occasion as given in the *Record* of 1896 will best convey its spirit:

When Friday, May 25th, came, all was propitious. The bluest skies and brightest sunshine made the Seminary at its sweetest, with its brilliant flowers, tinkling fountains, and shady walks. A merry crowd was in the pretty cosy Library where in old days the three recitation rooms were, opposite the old school room, now Miss Baldwin's office. The proceedings were far from stiff, our good fellowship filling up for those limits of legal procedure laid down for us by our parliamentarians and often overflowing them—but we did *not* all talk at once.

Miss Baldwin, upon her election as an honorary member, insisted upon her right to be an active member, being herself an old Seminary girl! She was welcomed by a rising vote, as she paid the first dollar into the treasury. . . .

Upon the platform were Miss Nannie Tate, dainty and sweet in a gown of black lace; Mrs. McCullough, who looked like an old portrait of colonial days in an exquisite gray and silver brocade; Mrs. Hill, petite, yet stately, like a lily in her white satin gown, perfectly foiled by Mrs. Samp-

son's height in her black lace and gold. The contrast of the last two was picturesque as they stood so long together during the roll call.

Mrs. Sampson welcomed the "girls" in the name of Miss Baldwin, whose failure to speak herself is perhaps the best indication of her failing health and her feebleness. Mrs. Sampson then spoke of the growing appreciation by the graduates of Miss Baldwin's great love for them, as best expressed in her prayers; of their pride in the distinction of being "Miss Baldwin's girls"; of their gratification in "the clear proof that the higher education of women, for which Miss Baldwin has ever raised the standard, has not interfered with physical strength in the fact that in thirty-three years (thirty-one years), out of eighty-eight full graduates there have been but thirteen deaths; and of the proud boast of this school's friends that it needed no 'drummer' because of its pupils' loyalty."

There followed then the long program of history and reminiscences, which included a special memorial to each of the thirteen, who had passed away.

The hour for memories was over. The school girls passed out, a lovely procession, full of congratulations and thanks for the privilege of being present with their older comrades. We older ones followed down the winding stairs and to the parlors, where we greeted the gentlemen of the Board of Trustees and of the Faculty. And presently we formed a new march, this time to the dining-room, to the feast Miss Baldwin had made in honor of her Full Graduates. "Head of Apicius, what a banquet!" Every delicious thing the fruitful season could produce and the art of skilful hands prepare was set forth upon many tables—shining with fairest snowy damask, glittering with exquisite silver and cut-glass and rare china, and bright with a profusion of lovely flowers and softly shaded myriad candles.

The evening seemed fitly crowned when Major Hotchkiss, with fair chosen words, proposed Miss Baldwin's health in a glass of crystal water, pure and sparkling as the draught of life she has given us from the full flowing current of her existence. The men who had known her all her days, those who had been advisers and helpers, the women who had shared her great work and we, who had reaped the harvest of their labors, all joined with glad hearts to do her reverence.

At the risk of being repetitious one is tempted to quote the description of this banquet by the Staunton *Spectator*, as a final example of the grand manner of a past age and of the

glowing rhetoric which the Seminary always inspired in the Staunton press, and of a last gracious bow of homage to Miss Baldwin:

At nine o'clock an elegant banquet was served in the dining room of the Seminary, where fragrant flowers and delicious refreshments inspired the guests to "fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world." Graceful sentiment and sparkling jest reigned supreme. The faculty and trustees added dignity to the occasion and when Major Hotchkiss in his inimitable way paid a glowing tribute to Miss Baldwin and proposed a toast to her and to the school over which she has so long and so ably presided it was the crowning touch to the most delightful occasion in the annals of the Augusta Female Seminary.³¹⁹

Thus ended the first meeting of the Alumnae Association.

At this meeting the Alumnae Scholarship plan was approved, and the Association was opened to all former students. According to the Constitution biennial meetings were to be held at the Seminary during commencement and in alternate years a meeting at such time and place as the Executive Committee should appoint. In 1895, no annual meeting was held, because of an epidemic of small pox in Staunton, the place appointed.³²⁰ In 1896, the alumnae were again welcomed by Miss Baldwin in their meeting during commencement. This proved to be the last meeting she was to attend. Mrs. Betty (Guy) Winston was elected to succeed Miss Tate as president. At a special meeting in Staunton in August, 1896, the Association was dissolved and reorganized as the Mary Baldwin Alumnae Association, the name of the school having been legally changed in 1895.

The 1897 meeting was held on June 17 and 18 in Nashville, Tennessee, during the Centennial Exposition of the State of Tennessee, and a reunion was also held there the following year, 1898. This did not take the place of the meeting at the Seminary in May, 1898, a meeting saddened by the fact that Miss Baldwin had passed away the preceding summer. This meeting was concerned primarily with memories of Miss Baldwin, Mrs. McCullough presenting her fine biographical sketch; and with plans for the memorial window to be placed in the Chapel.

The mention of outstanding alumnae of the Seminary and College and of statistics on the work of alumnae are reserved for

a later point in this history. It may be in place to say something here about the activities of the *alumnæ* in general, the relation between their life in the Seminary and their later activities, and their reactions to and interpretations of the Seminary influence.

The Seminary and College have always been notable for the large percentage of students who marry early and who thus do not follow a profession or career, at least not to the exclusion of marriage and a family. The marriage lists of students in the early *Annals* and the notices of engagements and marriages in the news from old girls were large. Nevertheless, one finds many of the graduates and former students of the 1880's and 1890's going on for further study in the fine arts or in literary fields and even in medicine and law. There were *alumnæ* in active leadership, even in 1900, in the woman suffrage movement through writing, lecturing, and organizational work, and graduates who were connected with child welfare organizations, or who held positions as postmistresses, as superintendents of schools, or otherwise participated in public affairs.³²¹ Many were teaching in public schools, private schools, colleges, and even universities. A number were missionaries in foreign fields. The foremost alumna was Miss Baldwin, of course. In the course of time, a considerable number of *alumnæ* were teachers in the Seminary.

One finds many evidences of the fact that the Seminary girl felt that she should measure up to the traditions and training of the school by study and service in the world outside and that she should so live that she would not "let the school down." As one girl put it: "Every year I am more thankful that my lot was cast at the A. F. S., though sometimes it is mortifying to be reminded that one is a *graduate* of Miss Baldwin's when one makes a *lapsus linguae*, a mistake in history, or a wrong quotation."³²² Even though the Seminary apparently had not agitated such questions as woman's rights, nor even stressed professions and careers for women, the graduate had a feeling that she should "pursue some object" after school.

Women's clubs were becoming prominent around the turn of the century, especially the Chautauqua Reading Circles and other literary clubs. The school *Annual* sought to project itself into the life of the student after school by encouraging participation in this activity. In 1892, this notice appeared:

We wish that our paper, while indicating each year the character of our work might add an impulse to the one given us here to continue, on leaving school, our studies, or at least our serious reading. With this in view we wish to devote a corner of the *Annual* to the record of some of the Literary Circles that may be organized by the members of our Contributors' Club on returning to their homes.³²³

Reports in this issue from girls in Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Virginia told of clubs engaged in the study of literature, history, and current affairs, which Seminary girls had organized or joined. One club took 1893, the year of the Columbian Exposition, as an incentive for the study of Spanish history and went on from that to German history. Careful reading was done and papers were prepared. As the reporter said: "Most of us grew more and more interested, although a few dropped out because the new plan took more preparation."³²⁴ Some clubs gave programs and raised money for civic objects. The club in Staunton had the special attraction of being entirely a Seminary group. Of its thirteen members, ten were or had been teachers.³²⁵

These facts about the life of the anonymous alumnæ, taken more or less at random from *Records* and *Annuals*, indicate the generally serious purposes of the Seminary student, her sense of social responsibility in her community, and her actual achievement in service. Some of these alumnæ, whose names are mentioned later, were already becoming outstanding in various fields. But the larger contribution of the Seminary to society lay, no doubt, with the more numerous but less prominent group—a group composed largely of mothers and teachers, club workers, loyal church members, engaged in various forms of community service. Another thing revealed by the reading of these reports from old girls is the strength of the "school tie" and of the friendships formed at the Seminary, which could be compared in vitality to those of the English private school. "Miss Baldwin's girls" possessed character, individuality, and a fine *esprit de corps* and pride in their institution. The school itself possessed an unusual integrity and undoubtedly left its hallmark on its students, not only in the refinement of manners, but also in the sharpening and refinement of consciences.

THE END OF AN ERA: DEATH OF MISS BALDWIN

The close of Miss Baldwin's work in the Seminary coincided with a period of transition in social history generally. It was the twilight of the Victorian Age. New ideas and ideals, new problems, economic, social, and political, were pressing for recognition and solution. Around the accession of Victoria in 1837, near the date of the foundation of the Seminary, there had burst into flower a remarkable age of reform, of progress, founded on principles of middle-class individualism and liberalism. As the century drew to a close, doubts and disillusion arose with respect to the social efficiency of its program. Material progress had outstripped social and had been attended in fact by serious social ills, inequalities, and injustices. Criticism of the very bases of the economic and social organization began to be heard, in addition to the criticism of some of its excrescences, which had been more or less continuously voiced. A new philosophy and literature of reform began to appear, advocating what would constitute a social revolution. The First World War confused the issues for a time. In the midst of a more serious conflagration, we are still groping for a solution, beset by doubts and fears and uncertainties as to the future. This social revolution that has affected the very roots of the social order has also been attended by many less vital changes in fashions, manners, and customs. In both its fundamental and its incidental aspects, woman has played a far larger part than at any time in world history. In fact, the changed position of woman is one of the outstanding features of the revolution, operating as both cause and effect of other changes. This fact has naturally a vital relation to the whole matter of woman's education and of the program of women's colleges, questions treated in the later chapters of this study.

Few people realized in 1900 the scope and seriousness of the coming change. It would have been unusual if Miss Baldwin should have done so. With a keen social conscience and a generous nature, she had always sought to relieve distress and suffering by individual aid, according to the tenets of Christian charity as well as of nineteenth century liberalism. That the search for social security required more radical action than private charity backed by moderate reforms, she probably did not fully conceive.

Without sensing, perhaps, the coming social changes and problems, Miss Baldwin, nevertheless, had given her young women the best preparation for facing them through her personal example of piety, fortitude, and forgetfulness of self in service to others and in the emphasis she placed on the development of the personality and character of the individual. Today it is being recognized again that the small Christian college has done and can do a remarkable service in this field.

One should no doubt be glad that Miss Baldwin could go to her rest in peace and serenity in the twilight of this age to which she belonged, with the gratifying memory of the recent reunions of her "family" still fresh in her mind. In 1895, the Board of Trustees had secured an amendment to the charter of the Seminary through an act of the Legislature, by which the name of the school was changed to the Mary Baldwin Seminary in grateful recognition of Miss Baldwin's able and devoted service of more than thirty years. Incidentally, two other changes were made at the same time. The Board of Trustees was authorized to grant degrees and to hold property, real and personal, not exceeding two hundred thousand dollars in amount or value. In a published statement announcing the opening of the session of 1896-97, Mrs. Nellie Hotchkiss McCullough, historian of the Alumnae Association, wrote of the change, in order perhaps to reassure those fearful of "change":

These lines will reach many alumnae, far from Staunton, to whom it will be news indeed to hear that the "Augusta Female Seminary" has been transformed into the "Mary Baldwin Seminary," since November, 1895. The name only is changed for the bell still rings for Chapel services, the view from Hill Top is as beautiful as ever, Brick House still shelters the revered Principal, Sky High is filled with eager art students and placid plaster casts, while the minor buildings are in the same familiar spots. Even the grounds are only an evolution from the brickyard purchased by the Presbyterian Church in 1841, which was then leveled, sodded, adorned with trees, and enclosed by a neat paling fence.³²⁶

Miss Baldwin died two years later on July 1, 1897, at the age of sixty-eight years, exactly one half of which had been devoted to the Seminary. She went to her rest as she had lived, quietly. There was no long and serious illness to disturb her friends and relatives. Those close to her recognized her growing feebleness.

She herself had been forced to recognize it and to call to her aid an assistant principal and a secretary with functions as a general assistant. Nevertheless, she continued as general head and principal to the end. And she continued devoted to her church duties and obligations. Her pastor said of her afterwards:

The strain of such an intense life as she had lived began to waste her strength and make her old before her time. Her last years were years of incredible feebleness. Her chamber (which she had fitted up for herself with characteristic simplicity) was in an upper story of one of the dormitories. There were several flights of steps to descend in order to reach the level of the church across the street. Many a Sunday she might have been seen coming down those flights of steps "in weariness and painfulness," leaning on the strong arm of a friend, slowly making her way to the house of God. After preaching she climbed with even greater difficulty back to her room. What a spectacle of devotion it was!³²⁷

She would have wished, no doubt, that the end should come, as it did, when the school was not in session, so that its orderly course would not be interrupted. Miss Baldwin had continued to perform her duties with Miss Weimar's assistance to the end of the session in June. Indeed, the students were not conscious of her rapid weakening. After a night spent in prayer, she passed away quietly on the morning of July 1, and was laid to rest beside her mother in Thornrose Cemetery on one of the hills of Staunton. During her funeral all places of business in Staunton were closed.³²⁸

The following appreciation of Miss Baldwin from the Memorial written by Judge Charles Grattan and adopted by the Board of Trustees on July 3, 1897, is an excellent appraisal and reflects the old Roman piety of the men of her generation as well as the essential integrity of Miss Baldwin:

It was difficult to analyze the character of one so well rounded. She was modest without timidity, tender without effusion, firm without severity, kind but true; her justice was nice and discriminating and so tempered with mercy as to lose its sting. Her judgment was clear, her convictions strong, her faith firm, her will determined. . . . Her great generosity was without ostentation, guided by wisdom, and neither bounded by sect nor continent. She loved her friends without dissimulation and never had an enemy. She was often times bold to audacity in the conduct of her school, but the secret spring of her conduct was an unflinching faith in her

heavenly Father and the efficacy of fervent prayer. An atmosphere of holiness seemed to surround her, which repelled the coarser things of the world, while it mellowed and fathomed the higher and more refined.

Her place in the hearts of this people will never be filled.³²⁹

Around Miss Baldwin there grew up a legend of irreproachability. To her pupils she was "without fear and without reproach." Girls told how they used to "criticize catalogues," writing opposite each name the faults and foibles they discovered in teachers and classmates. But no "criticism" was ever written opposite Miss Baldwin's name.³³⁰ Dr. Fraser related how this atmosphere of sanctity surrounded her, even in her earlier pre-seminary days, and influenced the community. Opposite her grandmother's home, where she lived, there was a saloon. Young men declared that if they saw Miss Baldwin sitting by the window, they would not enter the saloon, so great was their respect for her.³³¹ Likewise her reputation for generosity became proverbial. She gave lavishly to her church for all its causes and to other charitable objects. "She probably gave away," Dr. Fraser said, "in her life fully as much as she left behind when she died. Seldom, if ever, was an applicant for aid denied, however little claim upon her charity he might have. She never allowed a deserving girl to fail in getting an education for lack of means. Some one who was familiar with her business remarked 'that if it had been possible for Miss Baldwin not to make money, her charities would have ruined her.'"³³² Arista Hoge, in his *First Presbyterian Church, Staunton, Va.*, stated that from forty to sixty per cent of the contributions made by the First Presbyterian Church to home and foreign mission work during Miss Baldwin's life came from her.³³³

By her last will and testament made on July 10, 1895, Miss Baldwin left the larger part of her property to the Seminary.³³⁴ The clauses of the will relating to her bequest to the Seminary are as follows:

1. The late Miss Agnes R. McClung having by will given her interest of one-third (1/3) in the two pieces of ground purchased by her and me from the estate of Judge L. P. Thompson and the widow of said Judge Thompson, respectively, to the Trustees of Augusta Female Seminary, the same to take effect at my death, I hereby devise all my interest of

two-thirds ($2/3$) in the said two pieces of real estate and their appurtenances to the Augusta Female Seminary or the Trustees thereof, for the use and benefit of said Seminary.

2. Miss Agnes R. McClung and I having years ago bought from Mrs. Catherine Thompson the remainder of the Thompson lot (the part known as "Hill Top") and I, having since the death of the said Miss McClung, purchased and paid for her interest in the property, so that I am now the sole owner thereof (see deed made by a Commissioner of the Circuit Court), I hereby give and devise the said lot and its appurtenances to the Augusta Female Seminary, or the Trustees thereof for the use and benefit of the same to be held and used as a part of the Seminary property. . . .

3. All personal property belonging to me and used in carrying on Augusta Female Seminary, such as furniture, musical instruments, apparatus, books, etc., unless otherwise disposed of, I give to the Augusta Female Seminary, or the Trustees thereof, for the use and benefit of said Seminary.

4. In consideration of the gifts I have made to the Augusta Female Seminary, I require that the daughters of the successive pastors of the First and Second Presbyterian Churches of Staunton, Va., shall be instructed free of charge by said Seminary in all the branches of education and accomplishment therein, or as many as may be desirable and practicable. . . .

10. I direct that the sum of five thousand dollars be paid to the General Receiver of the Circuit Court of Augusta County, Va., if proper and allowable, otherwise to be securely held in some other way by my personal representative, the interest on which shall be paid annually, or semi-annually if practicable, to my Aunt, Mrs. Julia A. Barclay, during her life, the principal to go at her death as part of an endowment to Augusta Female Seminary, or the Trustees thereof, for the use and benefit of said Seminary. . . .

41. I give and devise to the Augusta Female Seminary, or to the Trustees thereof, for the use and benefit of the Seminary, the house and lot on the East side of the First Presbyterian Church, Staunton, now occupied by Mrs. Van Lear; this lot as well as other property, real and personal, given by me to the Seminary, is not to be sold for payment of legacies, but the said legacies are to abate ratably if the assets appropriated to their payment shall not be sufficient to pay the full amounts. . . .

46. (13) All silver and plated goods, glass and china used in connection with the Augusta Female Seminary, I give to said Seminary or the Trustees thereof for the use of the Seminary.

47. All other property belonging to me and not herein, or otherwise disposed of, both real and personal, I give to the Augusta Female Seminary, or the Trustees thereof, for the use and benefit of said Seminary, and I hereby appoint and constitute the said Seminary, or its Trustees for its benefit, my residuary legatee and devisee. . . .

In other provisions of her will Miss Baldwin left three thousand dollars to her church, the First Presbyterian, and two thousand dollars to the Second Presbyterian Church of Staunton; ten thousand dollars to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to be used for foreign missions and five thousand dollars for home mission work. One thousand dollars was left to the Young Men's Christian Association to be used for the purchase of books for the library.

Liberal bequests were left to a large number of relatives and friends; among the latter were several who had served her for many years in building the Seminary. The largest gift to a relative was the ten thousand dollars left to her "little aunt," Mrs. C. S. Crawford. To Miss Kemper in Brazil she left two thousand dollars. The loyal employees were not forgotten. "To my faithful gardener, Thomas Butler, I give the sum of three hundred dollars." "Uncle Chess" was to receive fifty dollars a year as long as he lived. "To Sarah Alexander (colored) I give the deed of trust I hold on the house built for her at my expense, for her separate use and free from the control of her husband." Various other Negro employees received bequests.

The disposition of her personal belongings, her clothes, her jewelry, and other "treasures" forms an interesting part of the will and reflects her fastidious liking for fine things, softening somewhat the austere self-discipline that her life generally reveals. The careful enumeration also shows her systematic business-like methods.

46. Wishing to dispose of my wearing apparel, articles connected with my person, and a few articles of furniture, I bequeath as follows:

- (1) All clothing except as otherwise disposed of, I wish divided by Mrs. C. S. Crawford between herself, Mrs. Julia A. Barclay, and Mrs. Carrie Westmoreland. Such articles of dress as may not be needed by my relations and friends, I wish Mrs. Crawford to give to the servants according to her judgment.
- (2) To Nannie Westmoreland I give my best silk dress.
- (3) To Miss Ella C. Weimar I give my seal skin cloak and cul laces such as handkerchiefs trimmed with lace, and pieces of lace not made up, and such as are made into articles for the neck. I also give to her the small desk at which she writes and my painting of "Beauty" given by her to me.

- (4) To Mrs. John Murray I give my velvet cloak made by Worth and my wide gold bracelets.
- (5) To Mrs. Laura Boone I give the carpet and all the furniture she has used in her own chamber.
- (6) I give to Mrs. Julia Wayt my black velvet mantle, trimmed with fur, and also my solid silver sugar bowl and pitcher.
- (7) I give to Miss Charlotte Kemper my gold watch and chain.
- (8) I give to Mrs. C. S. Crawford all the furniture, including the carpet used in my own chamber, and also my cameo pin set in pearls.
- (9) To Carrie Westmoreland I give my oxidized silver bowl.
- (10) To Mr. Thomas Ranson I give my French clock on the office mantel.
- (11) My fine table linens, not used in connection with the boarding department of Augusta Female Seminary, I leave to be divided between Julia B. Wayt and Carrie Westmoreland.
- (12) All silver and plated goods, not otherwise disposed of, and all china and glass ware used for ornament, and not used in connection with the boarding department of Augusta Female Seminary, I give to be equally divided between Mrs. C. S. Crawford, Mrs. Julia B. Wayt, and Mrs. Carrie Westmoreland.

Queen Victoria wielded perhaps no wider influence among women in the later nineteenth century than that of the prevailing fashion of the black silk dress established by her persistent mourning for Prince Albert. Miss Baldwin dressed always in black silk in her later years, with an extra fine dress for "Sundays." Along with the fashion of the black silk dress went the solid gold watch and chain and the cameo pin. In an age when yards of fine laces were used on underclothing as well as on "neckwear," every woman who could afford these had stored away, no doubt, "pieces of lace not made up," as Miss Baldwin did. It is satisfying to discover her paying tribute to these "gods of the tribe."

Soon after the death of Miss Baldwin the alumnae initiated a plan for a memorial to her. At the meeting on May 27, 1898, the Memorial Committee appointed by the president reported the money already raised, and the Association voted in favor of a memorial window. Mrs. Lucy Bailey-Heneberger, daughter of Dr. Bailey, born at the Seminary, was a member of this special Memorial Committee and made an eloquent appeal to all alumnae to participate in the privilege of erecting this memorial to Miss Baldwin.³³⁵ Each old girl was urged to give at least a dime so that every one could have a share. On May 24, 1901, the memorial

window, designed and made by William Reith of Philadelphia and placed in the Chapel, was unveiled in a sweet and solemn ceremony. Mr. J. A. Waddell, life-long friend of Miss Baldwin, presented the gift of the Alumnæ Association. Baldwin Darrow, son of Mrs. Darrow, pupil and teacher at the Seminary, now dead, and grandson of the beloved "little aunt" unveiled the window, and Dr. A. M. Fraser accepted it on behalf of the Trustees of the Seminary.³³⁶ A central feature of the design of this window is the Baldwin coat-of-arms, which has been selected and adapted to use as the official seal of Mary Baldwin College.

Those who gave this memorial recognized the fact that the Seminary itself was the real monument to Miss Baldwin. "*Si quaeris monumentum, circumspice.*" And greater than the material foundation she left is the heritage of lives and ideals. Within the limitation of circumstances and an outlook restricted by her age and locality, she had builded characters and standards that have continued to serve until the present. There must be much truth in Carlyle's interpretation of history as the "lengthened shadow of great men." To a considerable degree, the history of Mary Baldwin College is the lengthened shadow (or light) of a great woman.

Chapter Three

FROM SEMINARY TO COLLEGE:
PROBLEMS
OF AN ERA OF TRANSITION, 1897-1929



CHAPTER III

FROM SEMINARY TO COLLEGE: PROBLEMS OF AN ERA OF TRANSITION, 1897-1929



FOR three decades after the death of Miss Baldwin, Mary Baldwin struggled with the difficulties of adjustment to new physical, educational, and social standards for women. A world war intervened to complicate the problems, even if to hasten the changes. On the heels of the war came a movement fostered by the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia to build a new college, physically separate from the Seminary, combining with it a memorial to Woodrow Wilson, a movement that ended in failure and loss to the institution. The fact that Mary Baldwin survived the uncertainties, the conflict of ideas and interests, and the consequent friction of this period and evolved into a college recognized today as of the first class by all the standards of measurement is evidence of the vitality of the ideal established by Miss Baldwin for the higher education of women.

Many of the problems which Mary Baldwin faced in this period were common to all schools for women. The single generation from the death of Queen Victoria (or Miss Baldwin!) to the Great Depression telescoped an amazing material and technological evolution. The social effects of this evolution began to appear before the first World War and were greatly accelerated by that conflict. Schools, generally conservative, were bound to be affected fundamentally in the course of a short time. Their material, financial, educational, and social programs underwent change, more or less radical.

Mary Baldwin faced problems, however, that some of the institutions for the higher education of women escaped, or had already solved under less trying circumstances. In a generation in which graduation from the standard four-year college was becoming the ideal in women's education, Mary Baldwin had remained a seminary, with preparatory work given alongside the higher courses and without exact classification or standardization of either type. A generation earlier, when colleges for women were still looked upon with question or disfavor, the Augusta Female Seminary had enjoyed a positive advantage in being considered a select *seminary* for young ladies. But that advantage had largely, if not quite, disappeared. College education for women had come to be generally accepted. As early as 1905, Mary Caroline Crawford had declared in a charming little book, *The College Girl of America and the Institutions Which Made Her What She Is*: "I have taken for granted in this book the advantages of college training for women."¹ As she assumed, the fight for woman's right to a higher education was won. Miss Crawford went on to say: "The college girl today is a force second to none in American life." Indeed, she included Mary Baldwin among those institutions which were forming the college girls and spoke in high praise of the ideal of giving the Seminary "all that purity and refinement that characterize the model Virginia home."² This recognition from a New England college woman is an indication of the high reputation of Mary Baldwin. But in spite of the collegiate level of the higher courses and the recognized excellence of the instruction at Mary Baldwin, the Seminary graduate was soon to encounter difficulty in getting favorable rating in the teaching profession, into which many of them went. Public schools were beginning to standardize and to apply more exacting requirements in the selection of teachers. The same difficulty was to be expected in entering other professions. Miss Baldwin had been free, just as the great pioneers in business were, to establish her own standards and build as she liked. Hence, her school had the qualities and the fascination of the unique, like a work of art. And it had served its patrons and the cause of higher education marvelously well, whatever its minor or even major faults may have been. It did not have to fear

competition, because its program and achievements were equal or superior to those of any competitors, even if not the same. Standardization had not yet become the prevailing rule. That day had passed, however; that particular sort of "academic freedom" was gone. The women's colleges of the Northeast had established standard requirements for admission and graduation. Four-year colleges for women had been founded in Maryland and Virginia—the Woman's College of Baltimore, Randolph-Macon, Sweet Briar, and Hollins (formerly a seminary). Moreover, coeducation was coming into favor with some people; or at least did not meet any longer with active disfavor. Some southern and many western state universities and colleges admitted women. There was a movement for establishing a woman's college in connection with the University of Virginia. The facilities for a standard college education were greatly increased and went on increasing. And the prestige and professional value of the college degree rose.

Thus the Mary Baldwin graduate found herself at a disadvantage professionally, although she might insist that her education was quite as high as that given in the colleges. Had they not long spoken of it as "collegiate" and heard it thus described? Did it not contain the "University Course"? Had not Miss Baldwin always insisted that her school achieve and maintain a curriculum equal to the best and in many respects higher than most? The fact remained, nevertheless, that Mary Baldwin's unique system of "university" instruction did not fit the pattern of the standard college. So there they were. What would they do about it? There was indecision, hesitation, and delay; the problem was not easy to solve because of the financial limitations of the school. Change to a college would necessitate the discontinuance of the preparatory course (or its separation from the college, which would require a new plant). The fine arts department would suffer relative loss of pupils if four years of college literary work were established. From these departments came most of the profits of the school by which it maintained its higher courses. Should they make the Seminary a standard preparatory school and junior college combined and not attempt the senior college? Finally this was done in 1916. But to stop short of the senior college,

now recognized as the goal in woman's education, seemed disloyal to the memory of Miss Baldwin, who had aimed at the best, and a blow to the pride of the *alumnæ* in their Alma Mater. Still there were *alumnæ* who hesitated, fearing that financial handicaps might prevent Mary Baldwin from attaining first rank among colleges. Was it not better to retain the ancient and proved virtues of the Seminary than to take the risk of not being able to achieve a high place among colleges? There were those who knew something through their daughters of the younger colleges and who had concluded that their own education in the Seminary had been far superior. This conflict of ideas and the final decision for and transition to the senior college in 1923 are described in the course of this chapter.

Mary Baldwin was threatened with loss of patronage from another development in the country. Southern parents no longer felt such compulsion to give their daughters the benefits of contact with Virginia culture. A *degree* from Wellesley might be worth more; and sectional prejudice had declined sufficiently to make them willing to send their daughters to Northern schools, if practical advantages could be derived from such a course. The peculiar glamour of Virginia culture was somewhat dimmed anyway. The old Virginia aristocracy was decadent or vanishing—a fact artistically portrayed in the novels of Ellen Glasgow, which date from the end of the century up to today and present a picture of Virginia civilization far less flattering than that portrayed in the post-Civil-War novels of Thomas Nelson Page. Moreover, the automobile, the newspaper, and the moving picture were standardizing and nationalizing manners and morals; no one wanted a “peculiar” civilization, whatever its excellencies might be; certainly the younger generation of the post-World-War period did not. One may hope that whatever virtues Virginia culture possessed or possesses—and there are certainly authentic ones—will be revitalized and preserved along with those of other local and regional cultures in the sadder and perhaps saner world of today. Indeed, Mary Baldwin has never failed to treasure her Virginia roots (and branches), even though they may have lost something of their appeal to “foreigners.”

If the high school graduate of 1900 chose a college rather

than a seminary because she wanted a recognized degree, she was probably influenced too by the desire for the popular excrescences of college life, sports and social activities. She wanted to be "collegiate." The college type had become the social ideal in the United States. Mary Baldwin still fostered the "sheltered life" characteristic of the Victorian age. It is true that she had taken on, or tolerated, at any rate, within her walls certain "collegiate" characteristics, but there was not much opportunity for their display. It is true, also, that even in the colleges for women there was not so much freedom until the close of the First World War. But, compared to the restricted social life in the Seminary, the typical college regime of 1900 or 1914 would no doubt seem liberal. It could easily be so because of the higher average age level. The conservatism of the Seminary in its social regulations was not, however, entirely the result of the presence of younger girls. It was in part due to the geographical location of the school in the heart of the city one block from Main Street and in the shadow of the First Presbyterian Church. The city of Staunton in general and the Presbyterian Church in particular had always assumed a sort of proprietary interest in the institution and expected of its students more exemplary conduct than would be demanded of the daughters of Staunton. Thus modification of the social regulations has had to go slowly, even under the college system.

In spite of the uncertainties, the discouragements, the financial limitations, the increased cost of operation in a period of rapidly rising prices, and the failures of some of the large plans formulated in this period, much progress was made. The high standard of instruction was maintained and the academic rating of the faculty improved by the addition of many with degrees and some with higher degrees, the course of study was steadily raised until it reached the senior college level, and the physical plant was expanded and improved. The two principals of the school, Miss Weimar and Miss Higgins, with the able assistance of certain members of the faculty and the support of Dr. Fraser, President of Mary Baldwin College, were primarily responsible for the academic advancement. Mr. King, the Business Manager, built a monument to himself in making the Mary Baldwin campus

one of the most beautiful, without a doubt, in all the United States. And by his sound business management he made possible all these improvements from the income of the school.

THE WORK OF MR. KING: MARY BALDWIN ATTAINS A UNIQUE DISTINCTION IN PHYSICAL BEAUTY

The place of Mr. King in Mary Baldwin constitutes one of those distinctive features of the history of this institution that emphasize its individuality and give to it its peculiar fascination for the historian. Rarely, if ever, the writer ventures to say, has a business manager played the prominent part in or influenced the life of a school to such an extent as Mr. King did this one. One finds difficulty thus in selecting a title for this part of the story. As Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds he gave us the present Mary Baldwin; as Business Manager he brought the school through a very difficult period of rising prices and the financial uncertainties of academic transition without a debt; as sympathetic friend to all the students and a cordial host to patrons and visitors to the school he influenced the internal morale and the public attitude toward the school during a time when there might have been, in fact were, many sources of dissatisfaction and complaint. If, at times, he may have complicated, by his sympathy for the girls, the problems of discipline, and one suspects he did, the balance of the scales even here is perhaps much in his favor. These various phases of Mr. King's work were closely interrelated. To secure patrons and an income for the school the accommodations had to be improved in a period of a rapidly advancing standard of living among well-to-do-Americans; to make the girls contented and happy they had to be made comfortable and kept healthy. Those more responsible for the academic progress must have felt at times that too large a proportion of the small income was devoted to physical expansion and improvement; but they too realized its importance and frequently urged these changes.

The fact that the physical expansion of the Seminary followed the distinctive pattern, already begun but not perfected, and thus embodied and enshrined the aesthetic ideals and traditions of the past during this period of transition seems to justify giving it

first place in this chapter. It furnished a main thread of continuity with that past, just as Mr. King himself did through a service of fifty years and under five administrations. In a generation when college architecture was tending toward the Gothic or, a little later, the modernistic, Mary Baldwin preserved the colonial style, with its classic dignity and simplicity, characteristic of Jefferson's Virginia. The effect of retirement and spaciousness and elegance achieved by these buildings within the limits of a small campus of four or five acres in the heart of a city is surprising and delightful. If the limits conditioned or determined the type, the result at least is eminently gratifying.

William Wayt King belonged to Virginia, just as he did to Mary Baldwin. He rarely left the state and spent little time even outside his beloved Shenandoah Valley. He was born in Augusta County in 1864. He attended the Hoover Military Academy in Staunton and later the Dunsmore Business College, which took over the building of this Academy. From its foundation this College had had close associations with the Augusta Female Seminary. Professor Dunsmore, the founder, had been the first teacher of business subjects in the Seminary. Other teachers of business and secretaries of the Seminary received training there or under him in the Seminary. Upon his graduation Mr. King went into the County Treasurer's office as Deputy Treasurer. He lived at Kalorama, then owned by Mrs. Bayly, whose daughter, Fanny, he married. This historic old landmark of Staunton, now the home of the Public Library through the gift of Mrs. King, had been built by William Beverley in 1737 and for many years was the home of that famous Virginia family. Later it was occupied by the Kalorama Female Academy, most notable predecessor of the Augusta Female Seminary in woman's education in Staunton. Here Miss Baldwin had received her first instruction.

Mr. King's service to Miss Baldwin from 1890 to her death has been mentioned above. He occupied a desk in the corner of Miss Baldwin's office, now the office of the Dean of the College. The pictures of the room of that day show the massive safe that stood also in this corner. Mr. King sat on a tall stool that "looked as if it had come out of Dickens."³ Here the social as well as the business problems of the school were settled, and Mr. King had

opportunity to learn of both and to observe Miss Baldwin's handling of internal and public relations. He had served as more than a secretary in her last days, and had caught something of her great devotion to the school. In one of his last reports as Business Manager he declared: "The seven years' training received under Miss Baldwin, one of God's noblest women and a pioneer in the work of the higher education of our Southern women, has been my guide and inspiration. I believe that the success of this wonderful institution is due to her prayers and that her spirit still hovers over us."⁴

It becomes necessary at this point to describe the changes in the control of the school resulting from the death of Miss Baldwin and to state Mr. King's relation to the new regime. The peculiar status of the Board of Trustees during Miss Baldwin's administration has been discussed above. Chiefly through the persistence of Mr. Waddell, the Secretary of the Board, was the Board kept in existence at all, since its sole function for many years was self-perpetuation. The Board of Trustees met on July 3, 1897, following the death of Miss Baldwin on July 1. Since that date it has remained in active control of the school, although its control for the first year was subject to the consent of the executors of Miss Baldwin's will. The Executive Committee appointed at this meeting was instructed to unite with the executors in issuing a circular to the patrons and friends of the Seminary informing them "that the school will be continued on the plan prescribed by Miss Baldwin, by the teachers and other officers selected by her, and under the joint superintendence of the Board of Trustees and the executors."

It might be noted in passing that the Secretary was instructed at this meeting "to procure a suitable blank book and record the proceeding of the meeting." From this date these records are complete. Apparently no minutes were kept during Miss Baldwin's administration.

At a meeting of the Board on August 10, 1897, Miss Weimar, assistant to Miss Baldwin and now designated Acting Principal, was declared to have authority to employ teachers to fill any vacancies, to fix compensations, and "generally to discharge all other duties pertaining to the office of Principal, referring to the



From Portrait by Bjorn Egeli

WILLIAM WAYT KING

Board of Trustees only in those cases in which she may feel unable to decide, or in which she may be unwilling to assume responsibility." The immediate occasion for this meeting and statement was the necessity of securing a teacher of moral philosophy due to the serious illness of Mr. Murray, who died shortly after this. The Board resolved further "that Mr. W. W. King, the late Miss Baldwin's Secretary and continued in the same office, is hereby authorized to hire servants and other employees in like manner and to take over the care of the grounds and property of the Seminary." In the following year Mr. King was elected with the title of Business Manager, and Miss Weimar with that of Principal.

The by-laws adopted on January 25, 1898, by which time the Board had come into control of the funds left by Miss Baldwin, defined the duties of its Executive Committee and officers and its relation to Principal and Business Manager, as well as the duties of these officers. In some respects the Board retained features of the administration characteristic of the personal control of Miss Baldwin. Article X of the By-laws reads:

The Principal shall have exclusive authority to select and employ all teachers, the Physician, and the Intendant of the Infirmary and, in co-operation with the Business Manager, shall fix their salaries or compensation, subject to the approval of the executive committee.

In this as well as in certain other matters there would appear to have been ample room for conflicting interest and aims between these two offices. Article IX of the By-laws provided that any difference between Principal and Business Manager in regard to matters committed to their joint control should be referred to the Executive Committee or, at its discretion, to the Board. In 1914, the matter of the selection of the faculty and the fixing of salaries was taken over by the Board.⁵ From the beginning of this administration, the Principal and Business Manager were elected annually by the Board. From 1901 to 1916, the Board voted these two officers an additional \$300 at the end of each year, with occasional special grants at other times, instead of raising their salaries, considering it advisable "that an increase, if any, be determined by the condition of the finances at the close

of each session.”⁶ This, too, appears to be a transference, with modifications, from the private school conception.

Mr. King’s duties as Business Manager were defined in Article XII of the By-laws of 1898:

The Business Manager shall select and engage all employees not otherwise mentioned, prescribe their duties and fix their compensation. He shall collect and discharge for the running expense of the school all sums due for tuition and board. He shall rent all real estate not necessary for the use of the school, collect the rents, and pay over the same from time to time to the Treasurer. He shall purchase supplies and have control of all real estate and furniture belonging to the Seminary. He shall make contracts for improvements, repairs, and insurance, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of all matters pertaining to his department.

At a meeting of the Board, January 10, 1899, the provision requiring the Business Manager to pay the rents to the Treasurer was suspended and never restored. The rents continued as a part of the current funds under Mr. King’s management.

Some explanation might be made here of the financial status of the school and of its financial policy. The invested funds, consisting primarily of loans, secured by real estate, were put into the hands of the Treasurer of the Board of Trustees to be administered as a reserve fund.⁷ All further expansion and improvements on the campus, with the exception of Memorial Hall, came from the current income. After the estate of Miss Baldwin was settled and Memorial Hall built, this invested reserve was approximately \$25,000. There seems to have been an impression outside that Miss Baldwin left a large money endowment, but if so, it is unfounded. This reserve fund itself was spent in May, 1923, in the purchase of the so-called College Site, now known as the Apple Orchard. By that date it had increased to approximately \$60,000 (\$59,790.35), the cost of this property.⁸ In addition to this money endowment, Miss Baldwin left the school the real estate and other property belonging to her and in the use of the Seminary, including the Seminary farm on the Valley Turnpike. In the settlement of the estate the Seminary secured also four residences in its vicinity, the rent of which, a few hundred dollars a year, went into the current funds administered by Mr. King.⁹ Most of this property is now used by the College.

The policy of the Board with reference to the use of this income was stated in the By-laws of 1898, Article XIV:

All income from any source whatever over and above the running expenses of the school shall be expended in permanent improvement of the property, the purchase of educational appliances, or the gratuitous education of young ladies. . . .

That the last of these objectives was not an empty statement is well shown by facts given further on. As to the first there was need for much immediate expenditure. The second suffered lack of appropriated funds for a good many years. At an early meeting of the Board the Executive Committee declared that its policy had been "as far as possible to keep the invested funds intact but to use the surplus income from the school and rents in betterments, so as to bring the institution fully abreast of all demands upon it and equal to all similar institutions with which it must compete."¹⁰

The work of expansion and improvement began at once. No doubt the Seminary had met adequately the standards of living in Miss Baldwin's day. Around the turn of the century, however, with Free Silver and Populism in the background, there was a period of business expansion in Mark Hanna's "billion dollar country" and of rapidly rising standards of living in the American home and community. More room, single beds, more bathrooms, better plumbing and sanitary arrangements were demanded. This prosperity and the consequent demands for more material comforts and conveniences were to go on increasing, with a few temporary reverses, until they reached a climax in Mr. Hoover's two-car garage. A school with virtually no money endowment, with inadequate space to meet the new standards of health and comfort, and with old buildings needing constant and extensive repairs found it difficult to keep abreast of the progress of this era. For a time it kept abreast materially only by sacrificing educational advance. Mr. King declared in 1925 that Miss Baldwin had recognized the need for physical expansion. "She outlined to me many times what she would like to have in new buildings and equipment, and I believe that what we have now is in answer to her prayers."¹¹

In the first year of the new administration the enrollment was small, less than a hundred boarding students. In the following year there was an increase, which continued for some years. Complaints about crowded conditions arose, although the enrollment was still much less than it had been at many times in the past. The report of Miss Weimar to the Board on October 10, 1899, stated that there was a "steady and increasing demand for single beds and not more than two girls in a room."¹² In the session of 1904-05, there were one hundred eighty-four boarding students, exactly twice the number enrolled in 1897-98. Although Memorial Hall had been built before this date, the Principal declared that the capacity was strained to accommodate the increase; that, in spite of the fact that the guest room, the Young Ladies' Parlor, and the Infirmary had been used, there was still a crowded condition.¹³ The next year Mr. King stated in his Annual Report:

I find every year there is an increasing demand for better accommodations and up-to-date sanitary appointments and in order to meet such demands we are obliged to put forth our best efforts in that direction and make the most improvements where they will satisfy the patrons and pupils.¹⁴

The complaints of parents about four in a room caused the administration to decide in 1907 that no more than three girls would be placed in each room the following year, even though the application of this rule would mean a sacrifice of fifteen students.¹⁵

In 1900, Memorial Hall was built, being completed in time for use at the opening of the session of 1900-1901. The cost of this building was \$12,820.78.¹⁶ The catalogue of 1900-1901 carried the following announcement: "For the greater pleasure and convenience of the pupils a large two-story brick building, the Mary Baldwin Hall, has been erected, which will be ready for use in September. The rooms in this building are for two pupils, who will have separate beds."¹⁷ This new residence hall contained sixteen bedrooms. Erected in memory of Miss Baldwin it soon came to be known as Memorial Hall. The catalogue of 1902-1903 and those of succeeding years designated it thus. In 1914, an addition, containing twelve rooms and eight baths, was made to Memorial Hall, at a cost of \$12,000.¹⁸ Because of bad

leaks, resulting from a severe hail storm, the roof was changed from slate to tin. The funds for this enlargement came from the current income, and Mr. King supervised the work.¹⁹ In 1904, Hill Top was repaired and enlarged at a cost of about \$10,000.²⁰

Although Miss Weimar had recognized the need of new residence halls, her first request was for more class rooms, and she continued to insist upon a building for class and practice rooms.²¹ Classes were still held in the old Bowling Alley, or "Miss Strickler's Building," which cluttered up the quadrangle, and practice rooms were congested in the addition to the Chapel and in the Main Building. At times teachers were actually without rooms in which to hold their classes.²² For a time both the Executive Committee and Mr. King opposed this expansion. In May, 1902, the Executive Committee stated its view of the matter:

Your committee believes that in the present state of affairs, of unsettled strikes, high prices and sensitiveness of the money market, it will be indispensable to keep in hand, in ready money, such an amount as will enable us to tide over any financial calamity that may befall the country. . . As it is, by reason of peculiar circumstances, we have escaped trouble, but with the present outlook, there is no telling when that trouble may come and we should be ready for it. Therefore your committee would advise for the present that nothing be expended except such as is advised by the Business Manager on the usual repairs and necessary care of the premises and purchase of pianos and furniture.²³

It might be recalled that Theodore Roosevelt was engaged in his "trust busting" campaign, which resulted in the so-called Bankers' Panic of 1903. This brought no serious set-back to the tide of prosperity, however, and very soon the Board was ready to take up the matter of an Academic Building. In 1903, a committee was appointed to consider the project and make plans. In 1904, the Executive Committee reported that both Miss Weimar and Mr. King were insisting on more class and practice rooms to relieve the congestion.²⁴ The Committee stated, however, that it considered the addition to Hill Top wiser because of the smaller outlay involved and recommended it for immediate relief with the promise of an Academic Building in the near future.

Mr. King had become in the meantime more enthusiastic for this building, in part perhaps because he could combine with it

improvements in the appearance of the campus and the living conditions within the school, of which patrons were no doubt more conscious and on which they were more sensitive than on the matter of classrooms.²⁵ At a meeting in July, 1905, a resolution was passed that the building be erected as soon as practicable and a committee was appointed to prosecute the work. Apparently the work was begun sometime in 1906. In January, 1907, the progress on the building was reported by the Executive Committee, at which time it suggested other changes—the construction of a new infirmary, the remodeling of Brick-House, and some slight alterations in the Chapel. Its policy, however, was cautious, and its statement suggests the very close margin between prosperity and potential poverty in the institution :

We are of the opinion, however, that our present resources will not justify us in making the last two changes at this time (an estimated expenditure of \$20,000 to \$23,000). It is the judgment of your committee that further improvements should be made from the profits of the Seminary rather than to draw from the funds in the hands of the Treasurer; that this should be regarded as a reserve fund for emergencies. Although our country is said to be in a very prosperous condition at present, we do not know what the future has in store for us, and there are some who predict a corresponding slump in business affairs within a few years as a result of the present inflation. In such an event, or of a failure of the cotton crop, or of the breaking out of an epidemic in our midst or of other contingencies, the attendance at the Seminary would probably show a great falling off while our expenses to a great extent would continue. . . . When it is considered that the one item of salaries amounted to nearly \$21,000 the last session, it can be seen what a load this one charge might be in a poor year. While not anticipating any such emergency, it would indicate poor management, if it found us unprepared to bridge over the interval and might reduce us to the condition of beggary in which some institutions find themselves.²⁶

Incidentally, one might feel a sort of nostalgia for a generation that was yet untroubled by war, and in which the most serious calamity that could be imagined was a failure of the cotton crop or an epidemic in the vicinity that might prevent parents from sending their children to the school.

The construction of a new infirmary was undertaken in 1907, and at the meeting in January, 1908, the Executive Committee reported the completion of both the Academic Building and the

Infirmary. "The new building admirably planned and arranged stands completed at a cost of \$35,782 . . . a most valuable addition. . . . The same may be said of the new Infirmary Building which has been erected and equipped at a cost of \$3,101.18. . . . All this has been accomplished without drawing on any of the invested funds of the institution. . . ."²⁷ The porch of Academic was not yet built. Constructed in 1913, it conformed to the colonial style established in Main and Memorial and found in Hill Top.

The *Mary Baldwin Miscellany* of December, 1907, describes thus "The Summer's Improvements":

The most important and certainly the most noticeable of the changes which greeted our return to the Seminary this year is the New Building. It is a handsome buff brick structure, three stories high. It contains besides music-rooms—class-rooms, furnished with ample blackboards and with desk chairs of the most approved model; well-equipped physical and chemical laboratories; and a most attractive library. The library occupies about half the Southern side of the building, affording a glorious mountain view which often tempts wearied eyes away from too close peering over books. Adjoining the library, a large room, set apart as a student's parlor, suggests delightful future possibilities. The practice rooms on the third floor—many with new pianos, are like the class rooms below, roomy, well-lighted, well-heated, and well-ventilated, a contrast to the small dark apartments of last year. . . . After a brief experience of hard-wood floors, resounding to the joyous clatter of many vigorous heels, rubber treads on the stair and cork linoleum on the long halls are welcome sound-deadeners. . . .²⁸

The next work undertaken was the "remodeling" of Brick House in 1909.²⁹ At the meeting of the Board of Trustees in January, 1910, the Business Manager stated that the new building was almost completed and already partly occupied.³⁰ Upon the suggestion of Miss Weimar it was named Agnes McClung Hall. "The patrons, students, and visitors are delighted with Agnes McClung Hall in every way, and it is considered the best house on the grounds," Mr. King declared in the following July. The cost of this building was \$33,815.09.³¹

In July, 1910, Mr. King recommended the construction of the colonial porch to Academic, mentioned above, and the construction of a "large double-decked colonnade between Main and McClung, with a colonial entrance on New Street," the structure

to be largely brick and glass and practically fireproof. This colonnade was completed in September, 1911, at a cost of \$7,507.³² Mr. King was very proud of it. Concerning its construction and merits, he stated in his Annual Report of 1912:

Your Building Committee had great trouble in working out a plan, as this was one of the most difficult propositions we have encountered in rebuilding the Seminary, due to floor levels, elevation, entrances, and connections with the present buildings. Our aim was to add a colonnade that would be convenient and attractive and furnish a safe exit from the Chapel and Academic Building. We now have a splendid lobby and entrance to our dining room, which was before very unattractive. . . Our teachers, students, and visitors are very enthusiastic about the colonnade, and I do believe it is the best improvement that we have made, as it is really the heart of the entire property. . .

In spite of his great pride in this "colonial colonnade" or "Arcade" as he liked to call it, it has continued to be called ingloriously the "Back Gallery."

For some years there had been discussion of a change in the Chapel. In 1905, Mr. King stated in his report that the committee appointed to improve the front entrance of the Chapel had decided not to do so, as the benefit of the proposed change would not justify the expense. "It is hoped," he said, "that some day we shall be able to build an auditorium on the eastern corner of the yard." But in 1907, the report of the Executive Committee indicated that the original idea had not been given up: "It is . . . contemplated to make alterations in the Chapel at a cost of \$5,000 to \$8,000."³³ The Committee went on to say, however, that the resources did not justify the expense at that time. Mr. King returned to the idea of a new Chapel in his Annual Report in 1909, when the construction of McClung Hall was begun:

I would suggest that the next improvement be the tearing down of the Chapel and dining-room building and erecting on the same site a large and commodious auditorium and dining-room easy of access and up-to-date in every respect. I am afraid that to attempt to remodel the Chapel would not prove satisfactory, and, in fact, I do not believe we could carry out our plan of rehabilitation without a new foundation, as I question the strength of the old foundation for a larger and stronger building. And I would suggest making the building wider and shorter, which I think would add very materially to the appearance of our front lawn, as it would give at least eight or ten feet more and throw the Chapel and din-

ing-room back on a line with Main Building. . . .

The estimated cost of this improvement is \$30,000, but I believe it will cost a great deal more, and it will take several years to make the money for this building.

A diversion might be made at this point from the question of the Chapel construction to the naming of the Chapel. Since the building came into the possession of the School, it had always been called the "Chapel." In 1911, the Executive Committee proposed that

Whereas, the Hon. Jos. A. Waddell has been the Secretary of the Board of Trustees for more than fifty years; and, whereas, the Board was kept in existence altogether by his watchful care throughout the thirty-four years in which the control of the school was left to Miss Baldwin; and, whereas, he has loved the school with a singular devotion, contributing to it of his own means, serving it unstintedly with his time and directing its course by his counsel; and, whereas, it is fitting that the school should continue a recognition of his connection with it, in a conspicuous, appropriate, and permanent form; and, whereas, fervent piety has ever been one of the pronounced traits of his character and his love for the Seminary has been attracted largely by its religious purpose and influences: Therefore, be it Resolved that the Board of Trustees is hereby requested to name the Seminary Chapel in honor of him, "The Addison Waddell Chapel," this name to be borne not only by the present Chapel, about which cluster so many tender memories of his long life; but also by the handsome and more substantial one which we hope to erect soon on the same site.³⁴

The Board approved these resolutions, with a shortening of the name suggested to "The Waddell Chapel." But just as the "Arcade" is still the "Back Gallery," so the old name "The Chapel" is still generally used.

Mr. King continued to keep the proposal of a new Chapel before the Board. The World War, which brought labor problems and high cost of labor and materials, checked the building program, but from time to time Mr. King expressed the hope that it might soon be taken up again. In 1923, he announced that the Alumnæ Association had agreed to furnish the pipe organ when the Chapel was built.³⁵ Some years before this date, however, Mr. King had begun to shift his emphasis for the Chapel to a new building, gymnasium and residence hall combined, to

replace Sky High. The demand for a larger sports program and for better rooms to replace those in Sky High led to this change of emphasis, along with the question of fire hazard, which existed both in Sky High and in the Chapel.

The more effective organization of the *alumnæ* and their activity in the college movement in the 1920's perhaps developed among them a more active appreciation for the historic landmarks of Mary Baldwin. In 1924, the Board received a letter from the Staunton and Augusta County Chapter of the *Alumnæ Association* in which it expressed the hope that, if at any future time changes in the buildings seemed necessary, the old Chapel should be left as it was, or restored as far as possible to its original form, "so as to preserve the old building in its pristine simplicity of beauty and design."³⁶ The sentiment expressed by this Chapter came to be, if it was not already, the feeling of all the *alumnæ* with reference to the Chapel. Not long after this letter was received came the campaign for a Woodrow Wilson Memorial in connection with the College, which silenced any further suggestion of a removal of this building, in which Wilson's father had served as pastor and tradition held Wilson had been baptized. Mr. King did not live to see the erection of the new auditorium, or Chapel, he had desired. It is fitting that the auditorium-gymnasium just erected on another part of the campus bears the name, William Wayt King Memorial Building.

It has been stated above that from 1913 Mr. King gave first place in his building program to the replacement of Sky High. The erection of Memorial and McClung had answered in large measure the demand for two-girl rooms. It is true that at times there was crowding. Miss Weimar recommended that the Speck House, later the Pancake House, and now the Art Building, be used for teachers, thus leaving more rooms on the campus for girls.³⁷ A little later she recommended that it be used for the domestic science work introduced in 1913. During the first year the cooking classes had been conducted in the building known as the Church Parlors, now Fraser Hall, and the sewing class in the former Calisthenics Hall, then the Girls' Parlor, and now the Business Manager's Office. This had left no place for a Girls' Parlor. The Board declared that "the way was not clear to use

the Speck House for this purpose.”³⁸ Miss Weimar objected to the plan under consideration and favored by Mr. King to use the top floor of Sky High for the domestic science classes; she considered the fire hazard too great. And Mr. King admitted that he did not like to use the top floor for bedrooms. But all the domestic science classes were placed there and remained there as long as domestic science was offered. In 1919, Miss Higgins reported that she had had to use the top floor of the Infirmary for dormitory rooms and that four teachers had been moved to the Church Parlors, which thus came to be called the Teachers’ Home.³⁹

If the construction of the new residence halls had satisfied one demand, it had encouraged another: the demand for more uniformly good accommodations. Sky High and Chapel Hall were considered undesirable in comparison with the new buildings and with Hill Top, the oldest but still the most “distinguished” of the dormitories. The Executive Committee stated in 1909 the problem of internal administration created by this situation:

The Principal in her last report refers to the perplexity and annoyance which she undergoes from the complaints of a number of scholars and in some instances from their parents, regarding their rooms. Although all the rooms are sanitary and comfortable, yet there is a difference in them, some being more attractive than others. Naturally every pupil wishes as good a room as the best and most of them do not hesitate on account of the additional price.⁴⁰

The Committee thought McClung, soon begun, might be adequate to meet these demands, but it did not end the complaints. And in the meantime, the need for expansion in the physical education program and equipment gave origin to another reason for replacing Sky High. In a letter the Executive Committee presented to the Board in January, 1913, Miss Weimar urged the construction of a three-story brick building on that site, the ground floor to provide a larger gymnasium and the other two to answer the demand for better dormitory rooms.⁴¹ Her suggestion preceded Mr. King’s recommendations on this question. “All these rooms are objectionable and during the nine months continuous complaints are made by the occupants and patrons,” she declared.

"This [a new building] would do away with all the objectionable rooms except those on Chapel Hall, which would be removed when that is rebuilt." It might be mentioned in passing that Mr. King stated in his report in 1926 that he had replaced the wardrobes in Chapel Hall with closets, and that this improvement had changed the students' attitude to that building.

The recognized need for a larger gymnasium came to be a more prominent feature in the movement for a new building than the demand for uniformity of rooms, which was admitted to be impossible of attainment anyway. In his report of July, 1913, Mr. King insisted upon the need of a new gymnasium for social as well as recreational purposes. He returned to this subject in his report of July, 1914, advocating a new building instead of an enlargement of the existing gymnasium. But the failure to secure this led to an enlargement of the gymnasium in 1915 to twice its former size.⁴² However, both the Principal and Business Manager recurred to the recommendation of a new building. In the William Wayt King Memorial Building the two objectives that Mr. King left unattained, an auditorium and a gymnasium, are achieved.

Mr. King was very proud of his buildings and improvements. He was especially proud of the fact that the Seminary had been able to pay for them from the current income, a fact which he considered unique and which no doubt was unusual in the history of schools of this type. But from 1910 to the end of his administration no building was erected; and Mr. King realized the greater difficulty of building from the profits when the cost of labor and materials was advancing much more rapidly than income. In 1909, he had stated the estimated cost of a new Chapel at \$30,000; in 1912, the estimate was \$50,000; and in 1922, \$100,000.⁴³ At this last date, he estimated the cost of a building to replace Sky High at \$80,000; the next year at \$100,000. All his buildings had cost less than \$100,000. Mr. King realized, too, the narrower margin of profits derived from the school after it changed from a seminary to a college. He declared in his report in 1927: "We have now a very small margin between the income from the board and tuition and our operating expense, due to the increased cost of the college program."

Some expansion of the buildings and grounds through purchase of property was made during Mr. King's administration as Business Manager. In 1904, the Seminary purchased the Lynn property on Market Street across from the later Academic Building, and improved the building on it for use as a home for the dining-room and dormitory maids.⁴⁴ It is now known as the Maids' Cottage. In 1919, the Augusta Sanatarium, also called the Bruce property, on the corner of Market and Academy Streets, was purchased for \$10,000.⁴⁵ The discussion of the purchase of this property had begun in 1914. Mr. King recommended that the Seminary acquire it to give more room for outdoor sports, such as tennis.⁴⁶ The house, he declared, was not suited to school purposes "due to its exposed position" (!), but might be used for members of the faculty or more mature students. At this time he expressed the hope that the Seminary would acquire all the property on New and Academy Streets adjoining it. After the purchase of this property Mr. King reported that the building was in very bad condition and would require several thousand dollars in repairs. For some time it was rented to Professor W. R. Schmidt for a nominal rent, spent largely in essential repairs. In 1922, Miss Higgins expressed the hope that it might be made into a home for the Principal, but the Board took no action on her suggestion. During the administration of Dr. Jarman, it has been made into a home for the President and now bears the name "Rose Terrace," probably more generally called the President's Home. In January, 1923, Mr. King stated that the Sams lot on North Market Street had been purchased.⁴⁷ Although he did not say so, the College probably bought this to prevent the establishment of a coca-cola bottling works across the street from the Beckler Home owned by the College. In the preceding July, Mr. King had urged the Board to use its influence to prevent the establishment of the coca-cola plant on that lot and in September the Board had sanctioned this purchase.⁴⁸ Because of its location, Mary Baldwin has had some difficulty in keeping its neighborhood residential. At one time a little later there was talk of putting the city jail on the block adjoining the College! In November, 1924, the Board approved the sale of the Sams property to Mr. Albert Shultz.⁴⁹ On it the Jewish synagogue was erected.

Many changes were made within the dormitories during this period of expansion. As stated above, the Board of Trustees had approved, at an early meeting, the policy of spending all the surplus income on repairs and improvements in order that the school keep "abreast of all demands" and "equal to similar institutions with which it must compete." And Mr. King declared in 1911: "I realize more fully every year that competition is keener as schools multiply, and, in the future, I believe that we will have to put forth a greater effort to secure and keep students than in the past."⁵⁰ No one can question Mr. King's effort to put the school on a level with the best in physical accommodations, nor is there doubt of his ultimate success. But the difficulties were considerable. The age of several of the buildings made repairs frequent and costly. In 1900, Mr. King said on this point: "The buildings being old require remodeling and many repairs in order to keep pace with competing institutions having modern buildings and equipment."⁵¹ And he went ahead to suggest changes that should be made during this vacation period in addition to the usual cleaning and painting. Among these was a porch to the west side of Sky High. This addition, made when Sky High was enlarged in 1915, improved the appearance of this old building very much, making it harmonize more effectively with the other buildings in the quadrangle.

Considerable expenditure was incurred in the earlier years of Mr. King's administration in securing the buildings against fire. It might be said here that Mary Baldwin has never had a serious loss from fire, such as many schools have suffered. During Miss Baldwin's administration, the barn back of Sky High had burned. The fire hazard was greatly reduced by the removal of the wooden buildings in the quadrangle. The first step taken toward protection against fire was announced in 1901: "The Business Manager has supplied all the buildings with ladders, buckets, and axes."⁵² In 1904, the Executive Committee reported that it had given special attention during the past six months to the matter of protection against fire and had introduced additional appliances; and in his report in 1910, Mr. King announced that he had made various changes in the electrical equipment to reduce the fire danger. The Chapel Building caused the greatest uneasi-

ness because of the difficulty of exit, a difficulty in part removed by the construction of the colonnade in 1911, which gave an easier exit from the rear. In 1905, the Board of Trustees had passed a resolution that public assemblies be held in the Opera House instead of the Chapel.⁵³ The Executive Committee reported at the January meeting in 1906 that it had granted Miss Weimar permission to give an entertainment for the benefit of the King's Daughters' Hospital in the Chapel with the understanding that not more than fifty tickets be sold outside the school.⁵⁴ At this same meeting the Board of Trustees, upon the request of Miss Weimar, agreed to suspend its previous rule on the use of the Chapel with the understanding that the gallery not be used and that the invited guests be admitted by tickets, the number to be limited to the number of seats in the Chapel. Thus the packed house of Miss Baldwin's day, when one considered himself fortunate to get standing room, was not permitted. In 1922, the Chapel was closed to public entertainments by order of the Mayor of Staunton until further fire precautions were undertaken.⁵⁵ He did permit the holding of the approaching commencement in it. At the Board meeting in January, 1923, Mr. King stated that fire escapes and fire alarms had been installed in the Chapel and in Sky High.⁵⁶ In 1912, fire drills had been instituted.⁵⁷ The *Miscellany* of November, 1912, announced: "Fire drills have been introduced this year at the request of the Board of Trustees, and both the faculty and the girls are entering into them enthusiastically." The Executive Committee reported that all buildings could be vacated in a few minutes with the exception of the Chapel. There was further talk of securing another meeting place, possibly the New Theatre, for public assemblies, but apparently nothing came of it. The erection of the fire escapes ended the matter.

The erection of new buildings, the demand for more sanitary arrangements and greater comfort, as well as the installation of fire protection devices necessitated considerable change in the plumbing. One of the first improvements undertaken was in the heating system; and Mr. King reported in January, 1900, as to its results:

The heating system works excellently. The buildings are more comfortable than ever before. During the cold weather at the time of the Christmas holidays, when some of the teachers usually go away for relaxation, they remained, because they were more comfortable here than they could be elsewhere.⁵⁸

The Boiler House and the laundry room above it—the laundry work was done at the College then—were enlarged in 1905. This laundry room has since become the Work Shop. In 1911, Mr. King reported that he had installed a new laundry outfit at a cost of \$1,500, with a ten horse-power motor to be used also for sawing wood and freezing cream.⁵⁹ Larger pipes had been laid before this date and new boilers installed to furnish more hot water for the dormitories. In a day when personal cleanliness was becoming an obsession with Americans, so European visitors thought, Mary Baldwin could insist on her generosity in the supply of hot water. The increase in bath rooms has been mentioned above. Mr. King's ideal was one for every five girls (at the beginning of his administration there was about one for twenty). He at least approached his standard in this particular.

Within the girls' rooms many changes had been instituted. The heavy furniture of Miss Baldwin's day was largely replaced. Closets took the place of wardrobes, and single iron beds in white enamel with new mattresses were introduced throughout the buildings. But the heavy bureaus, or dressers, many of them marble-topped, continued to be used. Gradually hardwood-floors replaced the earlier pine, and the matting covering was discarded. The floors were first varnished. Later this was removed and wax used. Electric lights took the place of gas.

At an early date the parlors also underwent changes, although there the Victorian heaviness was retained to a considerable extent. The catalogue of 1901-1902 announced the re-furnishing:

The parlors, located in the Main Building, are exquisite in every respect. They are laid in hardwood parquetry flooring, with a mosaic border of mahogany and maple. The furniture is heavy mahogany and the hangings are rich lace. There is a sun parlor attached [the conservatory on the front] where a sun bath may be had in winter.⁶⁰

Needless to say, the conception of a sun bath was quite different from that of the present day, although it represented an advancement from the days of huge sunbonnets and "bleachings." Other changes were made in the front part of the Main Building. The entrance, or reception hall, was enlarged. After the Academic Building was erected in 1907, Mr. King moved from the front office to the old Library, now the President's Office, the library having been removed to Academic. These changes relieved the congested condition of these front rooms. A parlor for the girls, where they might have dinners, feasts, and parties, was fitted up in the Calisthenics Hall, below Mr. King's new office.

In the dining-room some improvements were made at once; more complete ones after the construction of Academic. The catalogue of 1901-1902 said: "The dining room is one of the most attractive to be found anywhere. The floor is bird's-eye maple; the chairs are comfort personified and have rubber tips to keep down the noise. The tables are spotlessly white, and the service is as nearly perfect as it is possible to make it."⁶¹ Those who are acquainted with the acoustical character of the Mary Baldwin dining-room can appreciate the value of the rubber tips. Dr. W. W. Moore, of the Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, visited the Seminary in 1899, and in a letter to his wife, October 20, 1899, commented on the changes and made other interesting observations on the accommodations and on the students:

I reached Staunton Wednesday evening at 7:08; Miss Weimar had sent a carriage for me, so I took a hasty supper with her at the Mary Baldwin Seminary; then went over and lectured at 7:30 in the Wednesday night service of the First Church, and got back very tired, so tired that I could not sleep, though the bed, like everything else about the institution was good. . . . They breakfast at 7:30, but I was up and ready, having slept only two or three hours. I notice the dining room chairs have rubber feet now, so that when one table after another rises you no longer hear the successive crashes as of artillery. It struck me as always before, that the pupils were an exceptionally intelligent, fresh, and fine-looking body of young women.⁶²

In the dining-room, as in the parlors and bed-rooms, some of the old furniture of Miss Baldwin's day was restored and retained. Fine old antique drop-leaf tables, heavy side-boards, mirrors, and

the massive silver service preserved something of the atmosphere of an earlier day.

The construction of Academic made it possible to enlarge the dining-room by one-third by removing the kitchen and bakery to the basement floor of the new building, which adjoined this one. New kitchen equipment, including refrigeration, was installed. Roselle Mercier Montgomery wrote of a visit to the Seminary in 1916, soon after the new kitchen fixtures were secured :

Mr. King showed me all these innovations last winter when I passed through Staunton. He is positively alight with enthusiasm as he decants upon the wonderful plumbing, the number of bath rooms, the absolutely sanitary kitchen and pantry arrangements, and the very complete and up-to-the-minute infirmary, presided over by a trained nurse, who has her own very complete diet kitchen.⁶³

She noted also that the old bell had been supplanted by a complete system of electric bells. Program clocks, electric bells, and an inter-dormitory telephone system had been approved by the Board of Trustees in 1913 and were installed soon afterwards. Communication between buildings had been facilitated also by the extension of the Covered Way to Memorial and its improvement throughout as to grade and outside protection. In appearance it had been transformed, Mrs. Montgomery declared, into an "artistic pergola." As to all the changes, she was enthusiastic:

It is all so wonderful to an old-timer that one feels that Aladdin had been rubbing his lamp and invoked the Genii to do his bidding. It would certainly make the girls of 1916, in their very attractive rooms for two, with hardwood floors, single iron beds, and separate bureaus and closets, open their eyes if they could turn back the page of Time and look back upon us girls of 1891 and our accommodations.

Eternal vigilance was, and is, required to maintain the physical standards established during this period. Mr. King declared that more than three months were needed—the entire summer vacation—to put the property in condition for the next session. There is no aspect of the school that attracts more comment from visitors than its immaculateness. Fresh paper and paint are used generously, some might think extravagantly, but the results are immensely satisfying.

The city of Staunton took much interest in the physical improvements in the Seminary. The *Staunton Leader*, September 1, 1905, had a long story, in which it declared: "In point of facilities for the comfort and pleasure of its students as well as from the strictly educational standpoint, the Mary Baldwin Seminary rivals all other institutions of like character in the South and surpasses many of the excellent schools of the North." Describing the various internal and external changes, it concluded: "No portion of the school has been neglected, and every apartment presents the appearance of a newly erected structure."

In the meantime the appearance of the campus was being transformed. These changes gave to the grounds a dignity in keeping with the buildings. Perhaps there were "old timers" in Staunton who objected to these changes, as well as to some of the internal modifications. There must have been some who regretted the disappearance of the rose trellises, the flower beds, and the fountains. Mr. King described the appearance of the campus in Miss Baldwin's day in reminiscences in 1923:

At that time the front fence was of the old picket style on a dry stone foundation with arches over the entrances and over the steps on the terraces leading up to the front porch. The arches were covered with vines and very attractive. The front lawn was a lovely Mary flower garden with one small and two large fountains filled with goldfish—a wonderful place for the bull-frogs to while away the evening hours. At that time we had some stately elm trees around Hill Top, but they have succumbed to the ravages of time. The old ice house stood on the ground now used for tennis courts. The old class rooms were in the center of the present quadrangle. On the right hand side going up to Hill Top the hot house was near the old Covered Way and just in the rear of Little Chapel Hall. The old Infirmary was to the right of the hot house. . . . Miss Strickler's building was just to the rear of the back gallery. The building between my present office, the old Library, and the dining room was the housekeeper's home.⁶⁴

The first considerable change made outside was the removal of the old picket fence and the construction of the present stone wall. This step was proposed and approved in 1900, but the wall was not built until the summer of 1905.⁶⁵ The *Staunton Leader* called attention to this new addition in its issue of August 17, 1905:

The front lawn of the Mary Baldwin Seminary will soon be graced with one of the finest stone walls in the city. Workmen have been engaged in its erection since the first part of July and now have the greater portion of it completed. It is made of the handsomest lot of blue limestone that could be obtained and is a great improvement over the former structure. The stone was quarried in Pleasant Valley and is being dressed by skilled masons as fast as the progress with the wall requires. . . There will be no fence separating the lawn from the street as heretofore, as the wall is of sufficient height to serve the purpose of such a partition. Broad stone steps, with massive pillars on each side, replace the narrow wooden steps that led to the street.

It is interesting to note the use of the terms "lawn" and Mr. King's "Lovely Mary Garden" instead of "campus." In spite of the more formal pattern introduced later, the term "campus" still seems hardly fitting. Just when the flower beds and fountains were replaced by unbroken grass-covered slopes is not recorded; very likely this change came soon after the wall was built. The trellises over the gates would go with the removal of the fence. One other change on the front "lawn" is, however, a matter of historical record, the removal of the boxwood hedge in front of Main on the upper terrace. This hedge was a casualty of the Woodrow Wilson celebration of December 28, 1912, discussed in a later section of this chapter. The crowd on the front lawn so trampled it that it was considered best to remove it entirely; a necessity deplored, because it was of a piece with the ante-bellum classical architecture and the Virginia tradition. Although Mr. King approved its removal, he declared to the Board: "I miss the old landmark very much, as it has been my near neighbor for twenty-three years."⁶⁶ In 1915, Mr. King reported among the improvements in progress the removal of the "Conservatory" on the front of the western "annex" to Main.⁶⁷ The front of this annex, he said, would be finished just like the rest of Main, as it had been formerly. Many still hope that the Chapel will in time be restored to its original form in the true Grecian tradition.

Within the quadrangle a complete revolution was effected. One may recall Mrs. Chamberlain's description of her impression of this part of the grounds in 1886, of buildings "flung pell-mell against the hill-side." As soon as the Academic Building provided room for classes, the quadrangle was cleared. The

Executive Committee reported the removal of "Miss Strickler's Building" in January, 1908: "Another improvement on which we congratulate you is the removal of the unsightly and dangerous wooden class-room building in the rear of Main building. Its site has been well sodded and adds to the beauty and usefulness of the grounds."⁶⁸ The greenhouse, which stood near the Covered Way, was also removed. Mr. King had much trouble in keeping the slopes grass-covered. The angle of the terraces was such, he declared, that grass seed would not grow. The passage of many feet wore out the grass so that frequent resodding was necessary. In his Annual Report in 1924, he declared: "I was obliged this year to do a great deal of sodding in places where the grass had been worn out by the constant use of so many people. I think it is very much better to sod this each year than to put up signs, 'Keep off the grass.'"⁶⁹

In spite of the great changes in the Seminary, the old student recognized its physical as well as its spiritual continuity. Lila (Ripley) Barnwell, a student of 1881, returned to visit the school in 1913 and wrote of this characteristic:

During a period of more than thirty years it is to be expected that material changes must occur in any business or institution. To be paradoxical, great changes have taken place at the Mary Baldwin Seminary, yet it remains the same. My visit to the Seminary in May but deepened the never-to-be-forgotten impressions that the Main Building and its surroundings made upon me, even as a girl in the beginning of my 'teens.⁷⁰

After describing the new stone wall and various changes on the lawn, she continued: "The long walk on the front terrace is, just as it used to be, as any 'old girl' will assuredly tell you, the the favorite promenade of thousands of girls from all over the United States."

Mr. King found great pleasure in showing the school to visitors and in reporting their impressions to the Board of Trustees. The introduction of the automobile increased the number of casual visitors as well as of prospective patrons. Although it took much time to entertain visitors and show them the property, as he told the Board, he felt that it was well worth the trouble. By 1910 all the major improvements of his administration had been made, and Mr. King could take great pride in dis-

playing the results of his work.⁷¹ He loved the buildings, as William the Conqueror the tall stags, "as if he were their father."

In all his contacts with visitors, Mr. King apparently enjoyed his work, and thus the visitors never felt that they were intruding. This air of friendliness and leisureliness that characterizes the school, in contrast to the crisp business efficiency of some institutions, has helped as much as the buildings to give the homelike appearance. The one supports the other. Spacious entrances, offices, and parlors invite hospitality. The small size of the school makes possible personal attentions that might not be possible in a larger institution. It should perhaps be said, however, and this is true of the present as well as of the past, that behind the hospitality, the respect for the social amenities, and the apparent leisureliness lie order, discipline, and hard work. The same was true of the Southern home. And the Southern woman, often and erroneously considered a fine lady unfit for the work-a-day world, was generally a remarkably efficient administrator of her estate. She was distinguished by the fact that she could be such and retain her essential femininity.

Among the school properties under the administration of Mr. King was the farm, an inheritance from Miss Baldwin, located just outside Staunton on the Valley Turn-pike, now the Lee National Highway. For a good many years, cows were kept here to furnish the milk for the Seminary. Mr. King insisted on the importance of this property, and his annual reports usually contained enthusiastic comments on the farm. "The farm is a source of great comfort to us as well as one of the best advertising schemes we could possibly project," he declared in 1913.⁷² During the World War, when family and school gardens were being encouraged and college girls were becoming farmerettes, Mary Baldwin could be proud of the fact that she produced a large part of her vegetables. Mr. King's report of 1917 is typical, not just of the war years but of the normal relation of the farm to the Seminary:

The farm is in splendid condition and the indications are that we will have an unusual crop of vegetables such as tomatoes, peppers, salsify, cauliflowers, turnips, carrots, beets, lima and other beans, celery, onions,

corn for table use, some apples, a large crop of grapes, and potatoes for the entire year. The fact that we have been able to have fresh vegetables in abundance from the beginning of the school until frost is thoroughly appreciated by our teachers and students and great value is attached to it by our patrons. It is therefore an important factor in the operation of the school, as it emphasizes the claim we make for the use of fresh and pure foods.⁷³

The Seminary was fortunate in retaining the services of Mr. Thomas Butler, Miss Baldwin's gardener, who had been gratefully remembered in her will. His death in 1918 Mr. King regretted deeply and declared to the Board of Trustees:

Mr. Thomas Butler, our faithful and efficient gardener died June 23rd after a long illness. His death means a great loss to our school, as it will be practically impossible to secure the services of such an expert gardener and one who will take the same personal interest in the work. Miss Baldwin told me when I came to the Seminary twenty-seven years ago that Mr. Butler was the most reliable man she had ever had in her employ and that she esteemed him most highly. I believe I can truthfully say that I have never come in contact with a man of finer character. He was one of the most perfect gentlemen that it has ever been my privilege to meet. He was so pure and his ideals so high that his life was an inspiration to all who knew him well.⁷⁴

Two daughters of Mr. Butler continued to live on in the cottage at the farm, paying a nominal rent and rendering some services in looking after the garden.

The evolution of machinery in the United States is suggested in the changes in the water supply system at the farm. In 1905, Mr. King asked the Board of Trustees to approve the purchase of a gasoline motor and pump, since the windmill did not raise sufficient water for the drier months. In 1919, he announced that he had replaced this with an electric pump.

It might be questioned whether, according to exact measurements of cost accounting, the farm was an asset. Mr. King insisted that aside from its products it was worth several thousand dollars in advertising value; and he felt that it was a "comfort" to the faculty and students. One thing cannot be doubted—it was a source of immense satisfaction to Mr. King. One other use of the farm is reserved for later discussion—its use as an athletic field. With the purchase of the College Site in 1923, the college

orchard came under Mr. King's administration. His annual statement from that time gave equally large place to reports on this property. To him it was always an orchard, not a "college site."

It is interesting to discover to what extent the life of a small school reflects the social history of the times, not only in its course of study and code of conduct, but in the many details of its economic administration and public relations. From the entrance of the United States into the World War until the end of his administration Mr. King had to contend with a changed labor situation. This, he admitted, created his most annoying problem. His attitude toward labor was apparently somewhat paternalistic, an attitude that survived longer in the South through the patriarchal traditions of slavery; although unfortunately the more beneficent features of paternalism have often been lacking in the modern South. Many features of this old relationship, at least as it had existed in the Seminary, were attractive and worth saving; and, it might be said, have been saved along with many other worthy traditions. The servants and employees had taken a personal interest and a sort of possessive pride in "our school," as they called it. This aspect of seminary life in Miss Baldwin's day has been described above. It is reflected in Mr. Butler's long and faithful service, and in the lives of many old employees after his day and up to the present. This is generally true of full-time employees, who often remain in the service of the school until retirement or death.

But the World War brought such enlarged opportunity to labor generally that its attitude became immediately more independent and aggressive, and no doubt it abused to some extent its temporary advantage. Mr. King was not exceptional in the fact that he seemed to have little understanding of or sympathy with the modern labor movement. As he had to replace servants or hire temporary help, he met sore trials. In August, 1918, he reported to the Board: "The help situation is unsettled here as elsewhere. Last year was my first experience with the unrest, and it is really our most serious menace in the operation of the school."⁷⁵ The following year his report was more explicit and more pessimistic:

The help situation is most serious and perplexing. I have increased our wages and in many cases doubled the amount formerly paid and then found difficulty in keeping help after I had met all reasonable demands. I have with difficulty secured mechanics, painters, etc., to make the necessary repairs. I do not believe that the condition will be any better for the coming year as the unrest and dissatisfaction among our working classes seem to be on the increase. The prevailing idea is shorter hours with more pay and just as little work as they can get by with. A great many of the salaries have been increased and all new teachers are asking more than their predecessors received.⁷⁶

He closed this report with the statement: "The year just ended has been in many ways the most trying during my connection with the school, which has been nearly twenty-nine years." The labor problem continued on into the 1920's as a constant source of trouble to Mr. King. Plagued to the last, he protested shortly before he resigned as Business Manager: "The help problem is increasing from year to year. I find it very difficult and nerve-racking to cope with."

The matter of teachers' salaries is discussed in a later section, but Mr. King's reference to it above along with his "labor problems" tempts one to say a word in comment here. Up to 1914, the Principal determined salaries in consultation with Mr. King and subject to the final approval of the Executive Committee. After 1914, the election of teachers and the determination of salaries were made by the Board of Trustees. The confidence of the Board in Mr. King's business ability no doubt gave him predominant influence in this field as over many other academic matters. Such a condition, it is safe to say, was unfortunate. Great as was Mr. King's love for the school and his pride in it, which no one questions, he had no adequate appreciation of academic needs and problems. He gave undue emphasis to the advertising value of physical accommodations in comparison to the academic standards, which had given the school its reputation under Miss Baldwin and upon which finally its success would have to depend. With the members of the faculty, especially those who had been in the school many years, Mr. King maintained the most cordial relations. He was devoted to them as friends, and they generally to him. Of the economic worth of these teachers to the school, however, Mr. King seems to have had little understanding.

During his thirty-three years of service as Business Manager, Mr. King's associations with the Board of Trustees were happy. His industry, his business ability, his careful attention to details, his devotion to the school were appreciated. He never spared himself in work for the Seminary. At times, as when he had undertaken special tasks in supervising the construction of the new building, the Board of Trustees recognized his work with extra compensation. In 1907, for example, the Board voted to pay him \$1,000; and there were several other special grants later.⁷⁷ In the summer of 1923, the Board of Trustees gave Mr. King a six weeks' vacation and the expenses of a trip to the Pacific Coast.⁷⁸

The following statements from the reply of Dr. Fraser, President of the Board of Trustees, to Mr. King's letter of resignation as Business Manager in 1930 express well the appreciation which the Board had frequently expressed while he was still in office:

The Board is deeply sensible of your thoughtfulness in providing for its comfort and convenience at all of its meetings and the many personal courtesies you have shown its members. Our associations with you have been means of establishing friendships which it is a joy to cherish and which will last as long as we live.

You had a well defined mission to perform at Mary Baldwin, and nature had given you unique fitness for it. Your management of the finances, the taste and judgment you have displayed in the erection and arrangement of the buildings, your control of labor, your keeping of the property in a safe and pleasing condition, beautiful and clean without and within, your winning and holding of students and patrons have resulted in the creation of a lasting monument to yourself and an educational agency of the highest value.⁷⁹

Mr. King possessed a happy, sanguine nature and a friendly disposition which easily won the devotion of students. His attention to their comforts and convenience never appeared a burden, nor was he ever too busy or too tired apparently to say a cheering word. He bade them goodbye at the train, giving each one a sandwich of Smithfield ham. He wrote them of the changes and improvements made during the summer, and was always eager to show the returning student what had been done in her absence. The following statement of Mrs. Margaret Kable Russell, published upon his retirement from the position of Business Manager, gives a sympathetic appreciation of his expansive personality:

For forty years girls who have come to Mary Baldwin from all parts of the country have known and loved Mr. King.

Mr. King in his office, Mr. King handing out luscious golden apples, Mr. King and his Red Head Club, Mr. King kissing you good-bye when you left and giving you a big hug when you returned,—everybody remembers that he did all these things, and many more, for the comfort and happiness of his girls. . . ⁸⁰

Mr. King's Red Head Club became an established institution. He had a special fondness for the girls with red hair, it is said, because his wife had red hair; and he organized the Red Head Club. Each year he gave a picnic to its members. The hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. King was not limited, however, to the members of the Red Head Club. The files of the *Miscellany* contain many notices of teas, receptions, and dinners at the Kalorama and of picture-show parties. Mr. King was not only the friend of the students, but he kept in touch with the girls after they left school. He appreciated the importance of the alumnæ to the school and urged the Board of Trustees to encourage and support the organization.

There are many stories of Mr. King's interest in fox hunting, in horses, and dogs.⁸¹ This was a part of his love for the land, especially the land of his beloved Augusta County, his first love according to the following toast of Mrs. Herbert McK. Smith at the luncheon given in honor of Mr. King by the Staunton and Augusta County Chapter of the alumnæ in 1925:

I never knew an old girl who didn't love Mr. King. They all do, yet there seems to have been no jealousy among his admirers in spite of the fact that he has always been partial to one girl more than any of the rest. . . . We have all noticed his face light up with pleasure at the mere mention of her name. He is never happy when he is not in her presence. She is one of the "Old Girls." Her name is Old Augusta. . . . ⁸²

This luncheon given in his honor and a luncheon given him two years before by the New York alumnæ at the Waldorf-Astoria, Mr. King prized as appreciations from the devoted alumnæ. Other honors came to him from college and alumnæ. Upon his resignation as Business Manager, Mr. King was asked to accept the position as Curator of Endowments, a position which he held until his resignation in 1936. In 1935, the alumnæ

presented a portrait of Mr. King by the artist, Bjorn Egeli, to the College. This hangs in the Red Parlor. In 1935, the Algernon Sidney Sullivan Award for unselfish service was conferred upon him by the College. Today the beautiful William Wayt King Memorial Building stands erected to his memory.

Mr. King was active in the life of the community. He had land and orchard interests in Augusta County, was a director of the National Valley Bank, had served as a member of the Board of Trustees of the neighboring normal school of Harrisonburg, and was a deacon in the First Presbyterian Church of Staunton. His death on April 15, 1939, brought forth many expressions of appreciation of his place in Staunton and Mary Baldwin.

In the making of Mary Baldwin Mr. King as Business Manager played a unique and important role. If, in his provision of an adequate physical plant for a college, there was not a judicious balancing of physical and academic needs, the fault was not perhaps so much his, as that of the Trustees of the school. Or perhaps the relative tardiness of academic reforms was due to the lack of a dominant leader at the head who could have overcome the conservatism of the Board, their satisfaction with the school as it was, and their failure to appreciate new educational needs; a leader who could have equalled Mr. King in influence with the Board and secured more support for academic needs. It is necessary to turn now to these academic problems; otherwise, one might get the impression that this was not a school, but a first class boarding-house.

MISS WEIMAR: ACADEMIC PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS, 1897-1916

A study of the academic status and evolution of the Seminary in these years presents a problem in perspective. An evaluation of the achievements of the period can be made fairly only by recognizing this fact. Although it was advancing, it seemed to be losing ground. It had established and maintained its excellence as a Seminary with a record of which its alumnae and patrons were justly proud. But in view of the advancement in the curricula of women's colleges, it could no longer claim equality with the best, no matter what its devoted friends might say. When the Seminary finally recognized its inadequacies, it was the first

to admit them and to face the problems they involved. There was doubt and hesitation, however, as to what should or could be done. Some advocated the establishment of a college, a proposal apparently originating with the Alumnae Association. When presented with and convinced of the financial difficulties involved in such a step, they suggested the raising of an endowment. Others favored preserving the Seminary with its "mignonette flavor," its peculiar excellencies, aloof from the new currents in educational organization. Some were willing to work gradually toward the ultimate goal of a college, making the most of their limited resources. Among these were Miss Weimar and members of her faculty. By standardizing first the preparatory work, they prepared the way for building a college curriculum. By 1916, the college curriculum was able to meet the requirements of the State Board of Education of Virginia with respect to two years of college work, and the Seminary was thus recognized as of junior college rank. This ground work of curriculum reorganization done by Miss Weimar and her faculty prepared the way for the transition to a four-year college under Miss Higgins, and was the more difficult task and the less gratifying. No one was proud, or even willing, to admit that Mary Baldwin was a *junior* college. For years it had considered itself a "college." It insisted on retaining the name Seminary and was never known officially as a junior college. Yet this hard work had to be done; Mary Baldwin had to seem to go backward in order to go forward. Those in control of the academic work faced the situation honestly, laying claim to no recognition not deserved. The granting of degrees was discontinued when it was recognized that the institution was not of senior college rank; it ceased to advertise four years of college work, as it had done for a few years after it had made considerable advancement in the curriculum; and it refused to outline and announce further curriculum advancement until it had facilities in equipment, personnel, and patronage sufficient to make this more than a mere name.

For the maintenance of the high scholastic ideals of the old Seminary and for the considerable academic progress that was made from 1897 to 1916, Miss Ella Claire Weimar deserves much credit. What progress was made was achieved under serious dif-

ficulties: the lack of money for academic purposes; the difficulty of modifying old standards of education and conduct upon which the seal of approval had rested so long and so unquestioningly; the slowness of the Board of Trustees to see any need for a change in the academic character of the school and its hesitation to approve any change for fear of losing patronage and income; the policy and proud boast of the Business Office that the school had never asked for aid, which helped to build up the tradition that it did not need it. Also it seems that Miss Weimar worked under the discouragement of not having, or not feeling herself to have, the full support and confidence of the Board of Trustees; and there were, perhaps, personal sources of friction and obstruction in the administration. Lack of boldness and of complete self-confidence made her less able to face and conquer these obstacles; and perhaps gave some basis for lack of confidence and full cooperation on the part of others. The importance of her achievements was somewhat over-shadowed by the more obvious physical expansion of the Seminary, to which, no doubt, credit was given too completely for the maintenance of the patronage.

Miss Weimar was a native Virginian, of Fauquier County. She had attended a private school in Warrenton, and later Mount Washington, a school for young ladies near Baltimore. While teaching in Winchester, she continued the study of Latin, Greek, and mathematics under Dr. Nelson, later a teacher in the University of Virginia.⁸³ From Winchester she came to the Augusta Female Seminary in 1873, as a teacher of English and history. Here she remained two years, and along with her teaching pursued some courses of study. After leaving the Seminary in 1875, she taught in several places in the South and Southwest, until she was called back in 1889 to serve as Assistant Principal to Miss Baldwin. At the time of her resignation in 1916, she had served the school for twenty-nine years, twenty-seven consecutively, a period not far short of Miss Baldwin's thirty-four years.

In assuming control of the Seminary upon the death of Miss Baldwin, the Board of Trustees made no suggestion of a change in its internal regime, academic or social; and later meetings from year to year brought no proposal of change. The changes that were to come gradually after a decade or more began at

least upon the recommendation of the Principal and the *alumnæ*, especially the latter. For some years, however, neither the administration nor the *alumnæ* suggested changes. In view of the educational development in the country and even in Virginia, this would appear to have been the proper time to convert the Seminary into a college, or, at least, to make plans for such a transition. One wonders whether Miss Baldwin had considered such a change. The records are silent on that point. Her ideal of progress in woman's education pointed certainly to that end, recognized as the goal. Dr. Fraser declared in 1923: "Were she living today and in the prime of her altruistic and dauntless spirit, I think there can be no question that she would have made Mary Baldwin the commanding woman's college of the South."⁸⁴ He admitted, too, at the same time, that for twenty-five years prominent people had urged him to make an effort to convert Mary Baldwin Seminary into a college; but confessed his failure to act, declaring: "There is a recognized tendency in the human heart to be content with a limited thing, because it is a thoroughly good thing." The reputation of "Miss Baldwin's School," its peculiar merits, its distinctiveness, without doubt, made its administrators, *alumnæ*, and patrons slow to admit the need of bringing it into line with new standards and caused many to oppose change when it was finally suggested. The financial risks and the almost certain temporary losses discouraged any thought of a college; but these losses had to be faced in the end and at a time when standards were more exacting and the costs of equipment and faculty were much higher.

The purpose of the Seminary as stated in the catalogue of 1897-98 and successive ones indicates the continuance of the ideals of Miss Baldwin—the development of scholarship and character through close associations of teacher and student without relation to any outside standards.⁸⁵ The course of study remained for some years as Miss Baldwin had left it, organized into "Schools" on the University of Virginia plan, with its special "University Course" required of all full graduates. Although there was apparently no movement for some years toward a reorganization of the curriculum, Miss Weimer began at once to urge attention to academic needs. She made a special request before the Execu-

tive Committee of the Board in the first semester of her administration for books for the library. This request was approved, with the condition that she not go beyond \$100.⁸⁶ In her report of May 26, 1899, she referred to instruction needs:

The teachers tell me that this has been a hard year on them in the way of work. For some years English composition has been neglected, because no one had time for that extra class, and I compelled almost every girl to take up this work. While the time for the recitation of such classes is one-half hour, yet a class numbering fifteen or twenty must entail upon the teacher not less than five or six hours of outside work every week. To provide fully for the work this session, I have taken a class, Mrs. Hamilton (the matron) one, and Miss Eva McCue (a student) one in exchange for tuition in French. To relieve the pressure next session, I have engaged Miss Jennie for full time work at a salary of \$400.⁸⁷

In 1907, the Executive Committee reported to the Board a recommendation of Miss Weimar: "It is urged by the Principal that after the improvements now under way are completed more money should be spent upon the Faculty 'lest the school become dwarfed in its most vital interest.'"⁸⁸ In the following year, Miss Weimar presented the following comparison of the size of the student body and of the faculty in 1897-98 and 1907-08:

Number of students (boarders)	75	200
Number of teachers	16	18
Number of assistants	7	8 ⁸⁹

The total enrollment of these years was 182 in 1897 and 328 in 1907. It may seem that the faculty was not too small. When one remembers the wide range of academic work, however, and the large enrollment in fine arts, where individual instruction was required, the figures appear in a different light. Eight of the eighteen teachers in 1907 were in fine arts and one in business subjects. Miss Weimar recommended an addition of three members to the faculty for the next session; and although the Executive Committee authorized that these changes be put into effect "as far as practicable," the faculty list of the next session does not reveal any increase in size. There was an increase in faculty during Miss Weimar's administration and some advancement in salaries, matters discussed more fully in the section on the faculty; but they were secured, it would seem, with some difficulty and

were not adequate to make possible very much academic expansion.

In the meantime Miss Weimar had been giving some consideration to academic reorganization and expansion. In a report in 1910, she said :

For many years I have thought the present course of study should be rearranged and modified in some respects. I have continued it as Miss Baldwin left it, thinking that would be most agreeable to the Trustees. While it seemed to meet all the requirements at the time it was formulated, I am convinced that the present arrangement is not for the best good of the greater number of pupils. The times and requirements have greatly changed and the school in some respects suffers because more modern methods are not used.⁹⁰

Already some changes had been made. In 1900, Miss Weimar had asked to send teachers to other schools to secure information that would help her in employing teachers and also to study methods in these schools.⁹¹ The Executive Committee had allowed her a small sum (\$75) for this purpose. Miss Martha Riddle and Miss Nannie Tate visited certain Northern schools. In 1902, Miss Weimar herself had visited Wellesley, Vassar, Barnard, Goucher, and Columbia University, apparently at her own expense, for the purpose of studying the conduct of these colleges.⁹² In May, 1906, she had reported that "some changes have been made in the course of study with the view of inducing pupils to continue for graduation. Heretofore an ambitious teacher has been able to make her department paramount, to the injury of others."⁹³ Just what these changes were by which a somewhat better balanced curriculum and a more judiciously controlled classification of students were effected will now be considered.

For the year 1899-1900, a new course in English, Intermediate Literature, was introduced to bridge the gap between the preparatory courses and the university course. It would seem that this course was much needed in view of the level of work in the university course. The restoration of special classes in composition in the same year has been mentioned above. The English school, along with the history and Latin schools, remained outstanding among the seven schools. For the first time, the course in Bible history was listed separately from history. In 1904, a

reorganization was made in Bible study and the following courses were included: Old Testament History, The Life of Christ, The Epistles, and some of the Prophetical Books. It is interesting to note this rather late appearance of the formal study of the Bible and Bible history in an institution which has always had a strong religious emphasis. The course was not required, but the records show a good enrollment; in 1906, there were 121 enrolled out of 304 students. Calculus and the history of mathematics were added in 1900. The catalogue of this year announced that students were required to perform the experiments in the science courses. In 1904, changes were made in the texts in mental and moral science. Among the new texts was James' *Psychology*. Only Butler's *Analogy* of the old texts in moral science remained, and it was soon to go. This department, long a very small school, showed some increase in enrollment; also mathematics became a considerable school and the natural sciences increased in size. In 1905, a special study in the history of art was included, apart from both the art school and the history school. This course and Bible history represented a departure from the seven "Schools." "The purpose of this study," the catalogue stated, "is to cultivate in the pupils a love for the beautiful and to fit them for travel, especially in European countries."⁹⁴ It consisted of two courses, one in ancient art, the other in Italian art.

In 1906, the historic organization into the seven schools was discontinued and the term "University Course" no longer appeared. The curriculum was organized into primary, preparatory, and collegiate divisions, with three years' work in the preparatory and four in the collegiate. This meant the addition of some courses, as the university course had covered only two years' work in each field. The courses now fell into ten departments, French and German being separate, and Bible history and the history of art added. Two, three, or four years of collegiate work were offered in each, with the exception of mental and moral science, which had only one. More attention was given to the classification of students. The catalogue contained schedules worked out by years. Students could still enter as "specials" and might enter any class of preparatory or collegiate work, but they

had to confer with the Principal and give some evidence of preparation. Neither an entrance examination nor the presentation of credits was required. Students could take work in the preparatory and the collegiate departments at the same time.

In 1910, there was another effort at reorganization, or at least a renaming, with one new feature, the English course. As in the previous organization the preparatory or sub-collegiate work required three years, the collegiate, four. The English course covered four years. The student could still enter any class, perhaps without too much proof of preparation.

In 1912, there were further changes, particularly in the preparatory course. The term *preparatory* now replaced sub-collegiate, and the work was organized into a four-year course. Two plans were offered: Course A, the regular preparatory course, and Course B, the college preparatory. As the catalogue stated, "Course B prepares a pupil for colleges of Class A. The right of certification having been granted this school by Goucher, Mount Holyoke, and Wellesley, any pupil who completes this course may enter one of these colleges without examination."⁹⁵ The collegiate work, called in this catalogue merely the advanced work, consisted of three plans or courses, two for four years' work, one for three. The latter was designed for those who had taken the college preparatory course. A student could still enter any class without examination, "provided she can give satisfactory evidence of her preparation for the work of that class." For the first time the Seminary required a minimum load—fourteen hours, and a maximum of eighteen was established.

All of this may seem like a mere juggling of terms—preparatory, sub-collegiate, advanced, collegiate, etc. There were curriculum advancements, however, some of which have been mentioned. Others are noted below. These adjustments all represent an effort to standardize the work as other schools were doing without frightening away students, many of whom came from high schools or private schools that were not standardized or from home instruction by tutors. The various combinations of courses made it possible to admit these and at the same time to give standard college preparatory work and a college course that would admit the graduates at least to the junior class of a

standard college. The catalogue of 1913-14 and the succeeding ones offered only three years of college work.

Among some of the curriculum changes that had occurred were the following: elementary physics and chemistry were dropped back into the preparatory work and advanced courses were given for college; the first course in psychology, which replaced mental and moral science, was likewise in the preparatory course; three years of Bible were now offered in this preparatory course and only one at the college level. Four years of English, including some that had formerly been covered only in the university course, dropped back to the preparatory level. There were three additional years of college English, including a new course, combining a half-year of two of these three courses: the drama, Browning and Tennyson, and the development of the English novel. History represented a similar change with five courses in history at the preparatory level and three at the college. The latter included an advanced course in United States history, a subject which had been "in" and "out" of the "collegiate" curriculum over a long period of years. French and German each contained two years of preparatory work and three of college. It might be noted that there was an appreciable increase in the number of students in German, which had always been a small "School." Four years of Latin were offered in the preparatory course and two in the college. Until 1915, Miss Strickler ruled over college Latin. It is interesting to note that she and Gildersleeve's *Grammar* left together. A new text appeared the following year.

Among the special courses offered and not included in the literary course was domestic science, introduced in 1913. Miss Weimar had recommended it in the spring of 1912, stating that many schools, North and South, had such courses.⁹⁶ In view of the later evolution of the college, it might seem that this introduction was a mistake and a loss, but at the time it proved to be a popular course and was in answer to a popular demand. Two courses in cooking and one in sewing were offered.

The fine arts held their former place of prominence and excellence in the school. First, as always, was music, with piano and voice holding first places. Chorus work and the orchestra had

grown in popularity. It is interesting to note that in the field of "Elocution," called "Expression" for the first time in the catalogue of 1913-1914, a course in public speaking was offered. There was also a special course in dramatic art. Advancement had been made in painting also. The School of Business had been retained, but the enrollment was usually very small.

Some comments made on these academic changes indicate the evaluation placed at that time on this expansion and the financial difficulties encountered in raising the scholastic level of the school. This statement appeared in the *alumnæ Bulletin* of 1915, unsigned. It may have been written by Miss Edith Latané, a member of the faculty, who later ably defended the academic and social administration of the Seminary before the *Alumnæ Association*; or possibly by the President of the Association, Kate Earle Terrell, a graduate of 1912. This report appears to be worth quoting at some length:

It has been remarked that few of the pupils of former years know that as great, if not a greater, advance has been made in the curriculum and methods of study than in the material part of the Seminary. The result of the faithful work and untiring efforts of the faculty cannot be seen at a glance, as the panorama of buildings is seen, but its silent powerful influence is known by the splendidly equipped women that yearly go forth from its halls into spheres of greater usefulness, honor and prominence; this is real power; this is *pro aeternitate*. . . . The Seminary by many is considered a wealthy institution. This is a mistake; it has no endowment and therefore cannot give its pupils all the advantages of the more wealthy institutions, which its ambitious faculty so greatly desires. The ways and means of existence and commercial interests constantly conflict with the demands of the more advanced work. The want of an endowment must retard the continued growth of the Literary Department and prevent the enrollment of pupils with greater preparation, by which alone the standard of scholarship can be elevated and the best prepared pupils secured. The alumnae are exceedingly anxious that the Seminary should become a college, but it is impossible with its present financial status. Most of the money comes from the preparatory students, that being the larger body. In the change from a secondary school to a college, these must be cut off, entrance examinations held and only those admitted who can enter the Freshman Class; then there being no endowment, there are no means to supplement the shortage made in the finances. The necessity for an endowment is strikingly illustrated by the great colleges, so richly endowed and to which so many legacies are left, and yet they are continually asking for more. An extensive curriculum may be formulated and the

institution be called a college, but without the material to utilize the course and meet college requirements, it is an empty name. Much more money than the Seminary can afford is needed to carry out the work marked out by the State Board for full college requirements. . . .

At the last meeting of the Alumnae Association a motion was made and carried that a detailed account of the changes in the curriculum of study be published in the forthcoming *Bulletin*, so that the pupils of many years ago may be fully informed of the advance that has been made, and it is as follows:

Calculus and the History of Mathematics have been added requiring an additional year's work; German and French are each two years higher, requiring five years; the Latin has been re-arranged, and the course increased requiring for its completion six years instead of four; English Literature and Composition have been raised from three to seven courses, History from four to eight. Instead of one year in Botany, Physics, Chemistry, and Psychology, there is now a second year of Senior work. There are two well-equipped laboratories for experimentation in these subjects, and large additions have been made to the apparatus for the coming session and a third laboratory added.

The library must be three or four times as large as formerly; it now contains considerably more than five thousand well-selected volumes, and each year large additions are made. . . The Library and the Laboratory equipments meet the requirements of the Junior College and are in advance of many of the Virginia Colleges.

The requirements for graduation are at least two years higher than they were fifteen years ago. The number of subjects is the same, but the courses have been broadened and several subjects not necessary for graduation have been added, thus giving a pleasing variety and satisfying the taste and demands of many. They are as follows: Bible History, Domestic Science and Household Arts, and the History of Art. There are two courses in each. The Domestic Science, because of its novelty, is a great success, and the girls derive much genuine enjoyment and profit from it.

The work of graduation [required for graduation] has so increased that those taking up this work cannot spend any time on Music, Art, or Expression. These branches have advanced proportionately, and separate diplomas are awarded to those completing the requirements. . . .

Three courses in college work are given. Course A is the Junior College course, and entitles the pupil to the Teacher's Certificate from the State Board of Education. It offers about the same amount of work as Course B and C, but differs somewhat. Course B is the advanced Seminary Course, and Course C is only for those who work to complete a full college course. The preparatory work is that of a first class High School.

Many pupils come to us having completed the High School and do not desire to take a college course; and, as the work of the Seminary is to

a certain extent elective, they select those subjects which they prefer and in which they wish to specialize.

The Seminary Course is two years higher than College entrance, so that pupils wishing to enter college are given only that preparation. . . Two of our graduates in two years took the A.B. degree at Cornell University with the highest honors. The thoroughness of their work was commented upon, and there were many inquiries concerning the school where their preparation was made. They were also admitted to the literary society into which only the finest scholars can enter (Phi Beta Kappa). These facts give a good idea of their work of preparation.

It is earnestly hoped that the alumnae who are so anxious that the Seminary should become a College may feel encouraged by the progress made. The Seminary has neither stood still nor stagnated, but all available means have been used for its uplift, and it has fully sustained its reputation for high scholarship. If equal strides are made within the next fifteen years, then the goal will have been reached. It may be gratifying to the alumnae to know that the instruction of the advanced work is done by college graduates who bring to their aid all the latest methods. The Faculty now numbers a Ph.D. from Yale and also one from Cornell University. Several have the degrees of A.B. and A.M.⁹⁷

As this report indicates, some of the alumnae were anxious to see the Seminary made into a college. It is necessary to go back some years to discover the origin of this idea and trace its early history. While there was an act of the Legislature of Virginia sanctioning the incorporation of Mary Baldwin as a college in 1923, one could hardly say that Mary Baldwin College was *established*; legally, it was; but not historically. Mary Baldwin College grew, evolved from the progressive ideal for the *higher* education of women embodied in the Augusta Female Seminary by Dr. Bailey, an ideal the expression of which was expanded by Miss Baldwin to meet the larger conception of women's education in the later years of the nineteenth century. As a seminary, the school had the scholastic ambition, the scholastic dignity of a college. The college represents merely the further expansion of that progressive ideal to meet the modern *standards* for the higher education of women, standards now more exacting and technical than the earlier notion of a liberal culture.

The idea of the registration of the Seminary as a junior college and of its expansion ultimately into a senior college began to take shape in the Alumnae Association in 1912. Just how long before this time it may have been discussed, the records do not

state. At the alumnæ meeting of 1913 the secretary of the Graduates' Council in the course of her report made the following statement:

There has been for several years a subject of paramount interest before the friends of the Mary Baldwin Seminary and rumors, indefinite and incorrect, have spread in many directions; namely, the question of registration as a Junior College under the State Board of Education. The opinions on this vitally important subject of those who had taken what Miss Baldwin herself always termed, "The University Course," it was felt should and no doubt would have some influence with those upon whom rests the responsibility of definite decision, and certainly no more interesting subject could be found to awaken, revive, and strengthen the interest of the Graduates in their Alma Mater.⁹⁸

The Graduates' Council, composed of the full graduates, was organized in 1912 to promote the college idea. The immediate issue was, as the report quoted above indicates, the registration of the school as a junior college, a step of practical importance to graduates who wished to teach in high schools of Virginia. Completion of junior college work relieved them from examination for a teacher's certificate.

The Graduates' Council had sent out a circular to the full graduates in 1912 on the question of registration as a junior college. A majority of the replies had been in favor of this action. The report of the secretary on the work of the Council was discussed in the meeting of the Association in 1913. The *Bulletin* gave the following summary of Miss Weimar's discussion on the question:

Many took advantage of this opportunity and Miss Weimar, in particular, gave some clear and illuminating information on the subject. She brought before us the fact that the Seminary had absolutely no endowment fund and that it was only by very hard work and wonderful management of those in charge that the school had been able to keep so near the front in the march of progress from the literary standpoint as well as from the standpoint of physical comforts and convenience. If the new buildings had not been absolutely necessary, more money could have been spent on the curriculum by securing higher priced teachers and by raising the standard, thus excluding pupils from the lower grades. As long as there was no endowment, Miss Weimar said that it would be impossible to make the Seminary into a standard college and difficult even to change it to a Junior College because the requirement of an entrance examina-

tion would frighten away pupils, thus detract from the attendance and consequently lessen the revenue. As matters stand there is not an institution without an endowment which comes up to the high standard of the Mary Baldwin. Miss Weimar expressed herself as opposed to the giving of a degree because such a degree is worthless, since only a standard college is entitled to give the degree of A.B. after four years of college work. Of course, this matter as well as that of the Junior College rests entirely with the Trustees, and Miss Weimar, as well as the rest of us, can only make suggestions.⁹⁹

Miss Weimar was perhaps reporting in large part the feeling of the Board of Trustees in the matter. As a matter of fact, she appeared before the Executive Committee in this same year and advocated the transition to a junior college.¹⁰⁰ The question had come before the Board of Trustees in July, 1912, apparently upon the initiative of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.¹⁰¹ The Executive Committee had reported a communication from him with regard to certificates for graduates and had recommended that his proposition not be accepted. The Alumnae Association voted, nevertheless, to send a copy of the report of the Graduates' Council favoring the plan to the Board for its consideration. This report was referred to the Executive Committee. The action of the Board at its January meeting in 1914 was still negative. The Executive Committee, to whom the matter had been referred, reported its action on the matter:

The Executive Committee had recently a lengthy interview with a committee of the faculty upon the question of changing the Seminary into a Junior College. The subject was thoroughly discussed as to its bearing upon the present and future status of the Seminary. At a subsequent meeting of the Executive Committee the following resolutions . . . were adopted: (1) That the sense of the Committee is that the Seminary should not be converted into a Junior College under the requirements of the Virginia Association of Colleges and Schools for Girls. (2) That the standard of the Seminary should be raised gradually so that in time its courses of instruction in liberal arts and sciences should conform in thoroughness and extent to all the requirements of the best and most modern educational institutions for women.¹⁰²

These resolutions were approved with the addition of the words "at present" to the statement that the Seminary not be converted into a junior college. Just what influence, if any, the faculty had on this decision or whether it was in agreement with it at all,

the records do not show. The feeling of the Board of Trustees was more explicitly stated by Dr. Fraser, the President of the Board, in an address to the Alumnæ Association in 1915, at which time the Board had already approved the Junior College:

I do not know that I could say anything that would prove a gladder greeting than to tell you what has been done about making the Seminary a Junior College, a movement in which you have taken so much interest. Several years ago the Association sent a formal petition to the Board of Trustees to convert the Seminary into a Junior College. We took so long to reply that some of you began to think the Board was afflicted with an ultra-conservatism (to express it mildly). But that was not the explanation at all. Really, the Board was so well satisfied with the splendid body of ladies the Seminary had sent out, that it was a little difficult to understand how an institution that had produced such a body of graduates could be very much improved by being made a Junior College. However, the Board at last decided to move in the matter not because you needed it, but because you wished it.¹⁰³

In February, 1915, the Board voted: "That necessary changes be made in the curriculum, classification, equipment, etc., of this institution to entitle it to registration by the State Board of Education as a Junior College."¹⁰⁴ A joint committee of the Board of Trustees and the Faculty was appointed to make the necessary changes. As to curriculum, the reorganization and expansion that had been in progress for some years made unnecessary further changes. Considerable additions had to be made to laboratories.¹⁰⁵ The larger appropriations for the library in these years was very likely necessary to meet the requirements of the State Board of Education. On February 2, 1916, the recognition of the State Board was granted for both the preparatory work and the junior college work.

That the Board of Trustees was not eager to register the Seminary as a junior college is evident from their delay and from their attitude to the change. The step had been taken in answer to a practical need of the alumnæ for certification as teachers and the standardizing of their credits for other purposes. The Seminary was not to be considered, they insisted, as merely a junior college. Dr. Fraser emphasized this point in his address to the alumnæ in 1915:

But mark you, this step was taken with the distinct understanding that we are not to lower our present standard in order to be of the same grade with other Junior Colleges. We are doing what is virtually three years of college work, and we will still require that amount and award our diplomas only for the full amount we have heretofore required. So in becoming a Junior College, it is not expected of us to give diplomas for two years' work, but virtually three, as we have been doing.¹⁰⁶

Many felt that Mary Baldwin had peculiar merits that were of more importance than labels and names and standardization and that any change that might threaten these intrinsic virtues and institutional ideals was to be opposed, even though it came in the guise of educational progress. Dr. Fraser's ideal for the Seminary embraced just the things upon which the school had long insisted:

May I tell you of my own personal dream that I have long cherished for the Seminary? It is that of thorough work in every department. Whether we rank as a preparatory school, a Junior College, or a full College, is of less importance than that we shall do with absolute honesty and thoroughness whatever we undertake to do, and claim in our catalogue that we are doing. Then along side of that, I should like to place a moral standard, an ideal of Christian womanliness, a certain culture, a certain dignity, and poise and modesty, a social and domestic resourcefulness and charm, a certain indefinable feminine superiority and exquisiteness. . . ¹⁰⁷

There was a fear of losing this dignity, this certain culture and charm in the changes of the day. Some of the *alumnæ* who had led the movement for the college in 1912 drew back when the final step, the transition to a senior college, was approached. One prominent *alumna*, secretary of the Graduates' Council in 1913, pronounced her change of view by 1921:

Some years ago a movement was launched in the *Alumnæ* Association to change this old school system to a "Class A" College, and a questionnaire was sent out far and wide. There was a decided interest taken and the majority of answers from the *Alumnæ* favored the change to a regular college curriculum, which I who sent out the questionnaire strongly advocated then. But if Henry James is right in saying "Education is a point of view," I am now educated—at any rate I've changed my point of view on this subject. With deeper experiences and fuller knowledge of present day conditions and needs, I am firmly convinced that there is a wide field of usefulness for this school to continue as it was begun, spe-

cializing in the great fundamentals of a good education, bringing out individual talents and strengthening the charm of personality while moulding the spiritual and moral character of the student. . . .

A Mary Baldwin girl, whether in a Governor's Mansion, an Ambassador's or Senator's wife, a missionary, nurse, Red Cross worker, or Sunday School teacher—whatever her social, political, religious or domestic activity in later life—bears an unmistakable stamp—a hallmark so to speak—which is far more desirable to us who have girls of our own than the average type of college graduate. . . .

So in closing I beg of you who now bear the responsibility of keeping up the name and fame of this old Southern school to uphold the standard of the past, without being tied down to tradition or method, to keep alive those ideals that the wise founders of this school saw were the highest and so, in the future as in the past, to wield an unmeasurable influence over future generations of Southern womanhood.¹⁰⁸

The old was giving place to the new. As these statements suggest, there were regrets, doubts, and fears on the part of some and opposition from the more determined. And there were to be other contests of opinion as further changes were suggested. Mary Baldwin was a small school, but her roots had gone deep, especially in the lives of the full graduates, and feelings and sentiment were strong. Fortunately, the devotion to the past did not prevent the majority from recognizing the demands of a new day in woman's education.

In this movement to standardize the preparatory work and the first two years of the college work, Miss Weimar had been the leader. In raising the academic level, she had had to contend against the policy of the Business Office and the Board of Trustees, more sensitive to the material needs of the school than to the academic, but she had won a considerable victory for her ideas. Another aspect of Miss Weimar's administration should be mentioned here, the social regime in the Seminary, although a full discussion of this is reserved for a later section. The Seminary retained its old codes and conventions in this field more fully than in the academic. Miss Weimar herself seemed to have seen little need for any considerable change, although there was some modification. Up to the end of her administration, it is true, women's schools generally were more conservative. It was the World War that brought a "new freedom" in colleges. The patrons of the school seemed to have approved the rigid control, restricted privi-



ELLA CLAIRE WEIMAR

leges, and strict chaperonage characteristic of the nineteenth century, although there are a few records expressing a contrary view. In the matter of the enforcement of rules, Miss Weimar was strict, conscientious, and uncompromising in what she held to be her duty. Hence, there were complaints and resentment on the part of some students, many of whom became good friends of Miss Weimar after they were out of school. At heart kind and generous, and proud of Mary Baldwin girls, as she frequently told the Board of Trustees, she did not always present these more attractive qualities. Abrupt in her manner of delivering reproof, absorbed in her problems, she might antagonize students or be misunderstood by patrons and visitors. As one student wrote later: "Miss Weimar succeeded Miss Baldwin as principal, which position she filled with rare ability for nearly twenty years. Do you remember the way she used to pass us by, never seeing us, as though we were dust beneath her feet? We learned to know that at those times her thought was on Mary Baldwin and could not come down to mere individuals."¹⁰⁹

Those who had an opportunity to know Miss Weimar best speak in high praise of her integrity, her generosity, and her complete devotion to Mary Baldwin. Mrs. Margaret (Peale) Wright, a prominent alumna, who had been a student under Miss Weimar, declared:

Those who have been fortunate enough to have been admitted into her inner life, know of her great generosity—her many gifts to friends and to those in need. They know of her tender heart, of her exacting conscience, of her wonderful will-power—how she would lie awake, night after night, pondering over the difficult problems in her administration, or grieving over the thoughtless act of some careless school girl. She never hesitated to do what she thought was right no matter how adverse was the criticism which she received nor to administer discipline where it was needed.¹¹⁰

Miss Higgins, who had taught for seven years under Miss Weimar and who understood the difficulties under which she had labored, paid tribute to her advancement of the Seminary academically, her complete loyalty to her faculty, and her continuing concern for students and alumnae, of whom she always insisted: "There is something different about the Mary Baldwin girls."¹¹¹

Miss Weimar resigned her position as Principal of the Seminary in November, 1915, the resignation to take effect the following July.¹¹² Her brief note of resignation suggests discouragement and defeat. The Board of Trustees, in resolutions adopted at its meeting in May, 1916, spoke of its indebtedness to her faithful and efficient management of the Seminary during her long term of service, declaring "that in the administration of her department she has exhibited fidelity, zeal, and marked executive ability; that the standing of the Seminary as one of the leading female schools of the South, has been maintained and advanced under her administration; and it is with pride the Board makes mention of Miss Weimar's record as a part of the history of the Mary Baldwin Seminary."¹¹³ The Trustees voted a special grant of \$1,000 to her. In reply to these resolutions, which seemed to have surprised Miss Weimar in their measure of praise, she declared: "They are so far beyond anything I could expect or imagine that I fear I have not come up to their full measure, but they most strongly and graphically express what it was my ambition and struggle to be."¹¹⁴ She declined the grant of money, saying that it would make her very unhappy to accept it. Characteristic of her kind thought of others, she suggested that it be granted to Miss Nannie Tate, who had just completed her fiftieth year of service to Mary Baldwin. The Board complied with this request.

Miss Weimar retired to her country home, "Green View," near Warrenton, Virginia, where she died on December 28, 1926. Her administration had been a difficult one and in many respects an unhappy one for her; for the Seminary it brought constructive academic changes, the importance of which can be more fully appreciated in looking back upon them from the viewpoint of the later evolution of the school than was possible at that time.

One incident of her administration that must have brought her much personal gratification was the visit of Woodrow Wilson, of whom she was a devoted disciple, to Staunton and to the Seminary on his birthday, December 28, in 1912.

AN INTERLUDE: THE BIRTHDAY VISIT OF WOODROW WILSON,
PRESIDENT-ELECT, TO STAUNTON AND MARY BALDWIN

Mary Baldwin has always treasured her associations with this renowned native son of Staunton. Today and in the future she will have, no doubt, even greater reason to cherish these traditions. The tragedy of a world again at war may raise his countrymen to the maturity of political wisdom exhibited by Woodrow Wilson two decades ago. Already another president of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, has said in dedicating Wilson's birthplace in Staunton as a national shrine: "He taught that democracy could not survive in isolation. We applaud his judgment and his faith."¹¹⁵ The spirit of Woodrow Wilson is indeed abroad in the land today as it never was in his lifetime. It should find special welcome within the precincts of Mary Baldwin, where he was baptized, where he played as a child, courted as a young man, and as a statesman and the nation's choice for President raised the banner for his "new freedom." The early associations of Wilson with Staunton and the Seminary have been related in preceding pages. The climax of these connections came when he spoke to the citizens of Staunton and Augusta County from the front porch of Main Building on his birthday, December 28, 1912.

Staunton, it is said, had begun talking about Wilson for President as early as 1901. In 1910, the first Wilson Club in the country was organized in Staunton.¹¹⁶ Wilson had visited the city in 1911, seeing old friends of his and of his father. During this visit, he spoke at Mary Baldwin.¹¹⁷ As soon as Wilson's election was known, the city sent a committee to Trenton to invite him to Staunton on his approaching birthday. Although the President-elect was refusing generally invitations to speak, he accepted this one. The Seminary expressed enthusiastic interest in the visit. In a special meeting of the Board of Trustees a contribution of \$500 was made to the Central Committee for the entertainment fund and the buildings and grounds were offered for use in the celebration.¹¹⁸ This offer was accepted for the purpose of the main event of the day—Wilson's speech to the citizens of Staunton and Augusta County.

The press of the country left no detail of this event, which

the *Baltimore Sun* called "the most remarkable birthday party ever given in the land," untold.¹¹⁹ The arrival of Governor and Mrs. Wilson; the torchlight procession, with the famous Stonewall Brigade Band playing "Home Sweet Home"; the night spent in the Manse as the guests of Dr. and Mrs. Fraser; young Jean Fraser's showing him to his room "in which we were born"; his Virginia breakfast of buckwheat cakes and sausage, and his morning comment that he was "feeling bully" in spite of a serious cold; the beautiful winter day; the military parades; the address at the Seminary, where the inspiration of the place and the occasion carried him beyond the intended five minutes to a discourse of thirty minutes; the great crowd that filled the trees, overflowed the lawn into the streets, and trampled down the prized box-wood hedge in front of Main Building; the reception in the Seminary, where for two hours Wilson shook hands with Stauntonians and Seminarians; the "little birthday party" at the Manse, with its cake with three candles to celebrate the three birthdays spent in the Manse; the "big party" with huge cake and fifty-six candles at the Staunton Military Academy; Staunton's birthday gift—miniatures of the President's father and mother done on ivory by Miss Ellie Stuart, daughter of General J. E. B. Stuart, and framed in solid gold; all were related with enthusiastic elaboration.¹²⁰ But perhaps the story as told in the *Mary Baldwin Miscellany* best preserves this event as a part of the history of Mary Baldwin. The following account of the Seminary interest in the election of Wilson with an announcement of the coming visit had appeared in the *Miscellany* in November.

The enthusiastic cheering of the Mary Baldwin girls on the sixth of November, the day after the election of Governor Woodrow Wilson for our next president showed their hearty approval of his success. Although Roosevelt and Taft received votes from a number of girls at the election held in the Chapel the night before, yet Wilson won by a large majority. Even those who did not vote for him felt a deep interest in him, as he was born in Staunton and christened in the Chapel of the school. Last year we had the honor of having him speak to us and this year we are looking forward to having him again. One of the greatest events of the year for us will be the state-wide celebration of his election which will take place in Staunton in the latter part of December. We are eager to extend welcome to the President-elect and his family, who have consented to be present.¹²¹

Incidentally the student vote had been Taft, 11; Roosevelt, 24; Wilson, 173. And as the November *Miscellany* in another section declared:

Therefore, the majority of the school standing for Wilson, the news of the morning brought great happiness which was expressed chiefly by long and ardent cheering—not only for Wilson, but also for Miss Weimar (to give us sufficient time to rejoice Miss Weimar very graciously gave us the day). The girls gathered on the front terrace and, forming a line, marched and cheered. The faculty were on the front veranda, but were a trifle calmer in their demonstrations.¹²²

The January issue of the *Miscellany* gave the history of the visit:

Staunton is only a small star on the map, but could that star have developed in size as much as Staunton has increased in importance since the nomination of Woodrow Wilson for President, we would have a comet of such proportions that nothing else on the map of the United States would be visible. A city that is the birthplace of a President must take itself seriously, and Staunton proceeded to do so as soon as the results of the Baltimore's convention were flashed over the wires. Virginia has come into her own again, and a celebration of welcome was planned that would show to the world Staunton's appreciation of the honor that had come to her and express to the President-elect enthusiasm for their Chief and personal interest and affection for the man who had spent the earliest years of his life among them.

Governor Wilson graciously accepted the invitation to be present and selected his birthday, December 28, as the date most convenient to him. It was a matter of great regret to the various schools that the time selected should be during the Christmas vacation, and it brought bitter disappointment to many who had looked forward to the event with joyful anticipation.

After weeks and months of committee meetings, planning, and doing, everything was ready, and the only thought that brought uneasiness was the weather; and that was all that could be desired, whether due to the prayers of the faithful or a watchful Providence over the future ruler of the nation, it matters not. The evening of the twenty-seventh, as the train bearing the distinguished visitors passed through the stations, torches blazed, bonfires gleamed on the hills, skyrockets enveloped the cars with showers of sparks, and it was indeed a triumphal entry. Governor Wilson and his wife were received by the Mayor and city officials, the band played Dixie, and the mounted police cleared the way, as the eager crowd pressed forward for a glimpse of their future President. Governor Wilson and his wife, escorted by the Mayor, were driven at once to the Manse, where

they were received by Dr. and Mrs. Fraser and spent a quiet evening in preparation for the arduous day to follow. If the dawn of the President-elect's birthday was a promise of the success of reform, progress, and union, that many look forward to with expectancy as the result of his administration, then surely the glad sunshine that wreathed the mountains in golden light suggested thoughts of success and achievement. An informal reception to the officials and the committee was held at the Manse in the morning, followed by a review of troops by Governor Wilson from a review stand on Main Street. He also made a short address.

The cavalry and artillery from Fort Myer, V. M. I. cadets, and numerous local companies made a fine showing in the parade, and none received a more cordial greeting from the admiring crowd than the "boys in blue" from Lexington. The special feature for those at Mary Baldwin was, of course, the speech and reception at the Seminary. The Chapel having once been the Church where Governor Wilson's father preached made it seem especially appropriate that some part of the day's exercises should take place there. The Seminary makes history sending out many distinguished daughters; but never before have so many distinguished sons been gathered at its portals; and the President-elect himself referred to former occasions when, as a University student, he had not been such a welcome visitor. Governor Wilson spoke from the Seminary porch, following a graceful address of welcome by Dr. Fraser. The silence and eager interest of the immense throng who listened to him was in itself a high tribute to the man and the principles he represented. The old Seminary with its high columns and gay flags, the spirit of Christmas suggested in the holly wreathes, and in the distance the snow-capped mountains cutting clear against the blue sky, all added to the impressiveness of the scene.

Immediately after the speech Governor Wilson, accompanied by Governor Mann and Mayor Wayt, moved back into the hall, where a reception was held that lasted nearly two hours and gave everyone the long wished for opportunity to meet the President-elect. After the public reception, Governor Wilson met informally in Miss Weimar's office the Trustees and their wives and some of the faculty and students who had remained during the vacation.

A reception was given at Stuart Hall to Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Mann by the D.A.R. the same afternoon, and the eventful day closed with a banquet at the Staunton Military Academy, which was attended by Governor Wilson, Governor Mann, Dr. Fraser and many distinguished guests, who again heard a forceful and prophetic speech from Governor Wilson in response to a toast. . . Staunton gave a sigh of contentment and satisfaction when, the celebration being over and Governor Wilson having returned to New Jersey, the newspapers all over the country proclaimed the celebration a success in every particular. The Mary Baldwin will feel in a peculiar way that Woodrow Wilson is indeed "our" president; and hopes that he may prove worthy of the beautiful tribute paid him by

Dr. Dabney of the University of Virginia, when he said: "You will swear into office on March 4 a man who in the highest degree and finest proportions represents the culture and ideals of the self-government of the Greeks, the Roman love of law, the Gothic love of individual liberty, and the faith of Christianity."¹²³

The wife of Governor Mann, mentioned above, is a Mary Baldwin graduate, Etta (Donnan) Mann. She has given interesting recollections of her school-day associations with Wilson and of this famous visit in her *Four Years in the Governor's Mansion, 1910-1914*. She described the city:

Staunton looked like a fairyland. White columns about forty feet apart, decorated with holly and cedar, were linked together with brilliant electric lights. The streets being narrow and Staunton so hilly, it was a beautiful spectacle to look from the top of one hill away up to a hill at the opposite side, through a path of light. Mrs. Wilson said it reminded her of an Eastern city.¹²⁴

She had looked forward to the speech and reception at the Seminary, her Alma Mater. "I was so delighted to find my old friend, Flora Miller, in the crowd; we stood together, holding each other's hands all during the speaking, and longed for our old friend, Hattie Woodrow; we were all students at the Seminary when the President was taking his law course at the University of Virginia."¹²⁵

All of these animated recitals of the events of this historic day by students and alumnae say little of the words spoken from the front porch of Mary Baldwin. Perhaps they belong properly only to the political history of the country and not in the history of Mary Baldwin. Nevertheless, what Wilson said from this place may have significance and should have interest for the institution as well as for the country in the present and in the future. The substance of his speech became a record of the school. Dr. Fraser, the President of the Board of Trustees, had been chosen to give the address of welcome. Ray Stanard Baker in his *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters* commented on the occasion, quoting from Dr. Fraser's address, which glowed with pride and devotion:

The celebration was marked by an outpouring of generous emotion: "He went out from us a little boy laden with the prayers and benedictions

of a small congregation of Christian people. He comes back to us today by the favor of an overruling Providence, a proven leader of men, wearing the plaudits of the whole civilized world, and chosen to fill the highest civil office ever given to a man by the suffrages of his fellowmen."¹²⁶

Wilson pleased his audience, and particularly his Seminary audience, by relating his early associations with the school:

You will readily believe that today my thoughts are more of the past than of the future. I have no vivid recollection of the first two years that I spent in Staunton. But I have some vivid recollections of the subsequent years when I was permitted to visit this, my birthplace. For I have visited here a number of times when you paid me no attention whatever. I stood in the place where I am now standing when I was a student of law at the University at Charlottesville. I had the very singular good fortune of having five cousins studying at the Seminary. I was very fond of those cousins; and I paid them many attentions, and there were a number of my confreres who accompanied me—out of courtesy—on my visits. And on one occasion when I brought a somewhat numerous company of friends to the spot upon which I am now standing, I remember the great embarrassment with which I submitted to the cross-examination which preceded my entrance at these portals. I have, therefore, not always been welcome to this spot with open arms. . . .¹²⁷

But Wilson soon turned from these recollections of the past to the objectives he intended to pursue as President. The international conflict was yet in the future. Wilson's thoughts were concerned primarily with domestic reform, his ideal of bringing a "new freedom," a social and economic justice, to the ordinary citizen of the United States. It might be noted, however, that his politics was oriented significantly toward "all the world," for the benefit of "humanity." His program was militant; his speech typically Wilsonian, the sort of pronouncement that made him enemies, and some in Virginia, before he ever reached the White House; and the sort of pronouncement that stamped him throughout his life, to Paris with its "covenant" and back, as the Scots-Irish Presbyterian schoolmaster in politics. Here in the shadow of the First Presbyterian Church and of the Chapel where he had been christened and of the Presbyterian Seminary his father had helped to build, the role was peculiarly fitting. The following is a part of what he said from the front steps of Main Building:

It is singular how the drama of the world is cast as if each century were an act in the drama, and in these early years of the twentieth century we are again assuming the attitude which we assumed in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century, with all its associations of the setting up of a free government in America, looked forward to an age in which humanity, the rank and file of men should be served and honestly served by the institutions of government. But we had set up this happy experiment in a country so abundantly furnished with wealth, so extraordinarily provided with opportunity for all sorts and conditions of men, that suddenly we got drunk with the mere wine of prosperity and for a little while forgot that our mission was not to pile up great wealth but to serve mankind in humanity and justice. But throughout this long century, during which it seemed from time to time as if we were forgetting what America was set up to do, the world has slowly come about to the point of view that the free men who set up the government of the United States had in the beginning. We are now aware that we are not going to be served by institutions, that merely finely conceived constitutions do not constitute the body of liberty; that the body of liberty can be had only in the use of institutions to serve the permanent needs of the rank and file of men.

So we are learning again that the service of humanity is the business of mankind and that the business of mankind must be set up in order that justice may be done and mercy not forgotten. All the world . . . is turning now as never before to this conception of the elevation of humanity, of men and women, I mean; not of the preferred few, not of those who can by superior wits or unusual opportunity struggle to the top, no matter whom they trample under foot, but the rights of men who cannot struggle to the top and who must, therefore, be looked to by the force of society, for they have no single force by which they can serve themselves. There must be more heart in the policies of government, and men must look to it that they do unto others as they would have others do unto them. This creed used to be and has long been the theme for the discourses of Christian ministers, but it has now come to be a part of the bounden duty of the ministers of state. . . .

In his insistence that business men must be taught that they "must give something to society," Wilson made use of some of those phrases, those "thrusters of the sword" that were to give him the reputation of an apt but dangerous phrase-maker—dangerous particularly for Wilson.

There are men who will have to be mastered before they can be made the instruments of justice and mercy. This is not a rosewater affair. This is an office in which a man must put on his war-paint. Fortunately I am not of such a visage as to mind marring it, and I do not care whether the

war-paint is becoming or not. And it need not be worn with truculence. A man can keep his manners and still fight. Indeed, I have found that he sometimes dismays his opponents by keeping his manners and fighting because they apparently do not know how to fight with affability. But the nice thrust that is delivered with a smile is more disconcerting than the thrust that is delivered with a scowl. And there must be some good hard fighting, not only in the next four years, but in the next generation, in order that we may achieve the things that we have set out to achieve. . .

It is interesting to observe how many of the aspects of Wilson's political faith and practice are suggested in this short address and how many of the targets for later attacks on him. Virginia-born, governor of a Northern state when chosen by the nation as the first Southern president since the Civil War, he expressed a hope that he might be the means of wiping out all sectional lines, certainly a popular policy in Virginia, if this meant restoring a proper balance of the sections in the government. He was to be accused later of overdoing this in favor of the South.

Wilson closed on a broader and higher note than war-paint and sectionalism—an appeal to the universal in Jefferson, which might suggest the international idealism in Wilson's later program:

Races are immortal in proportion as they think the thoughts of humanity, and until humanity ceases to exist, the world will be debtor to Virginia for the thoughts conceived at Monticello. And so that is one of the thrones of Virginia, where was set up one of the kings of mankind, kings who have won their own elevation to the throne by thinking for their fellowmen in terms of humanity and usefulness.

This day ended Mary Baldwin's associations with Wilson, the man. But the recollections of the historic day lived on through his battles for the "new freedom" and for international peace and justice, and incidentally for the "New South"; for in spite of its rather cosmopolitan student body, Mary Baldwin was still decidedly "southern." The Class of 1914 in its *Bluestocking* Class History said: "Foremost among the events of our Junior Year was the visit paid to the Seminary by the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, then President-elect of the United States. . . . We will never forget the sight of our Nation's chief delivering his inspiring address from the top step of the portico of Mary Baldwin Seminary."¹²⁸ In 1916, the Seminary rejoiced in the second

election of Wilson. The *Miscellany* of December, 1916, carried the following editorial:

Staunton was the birthplace of President Wilson and he has been quite closely connected with the Seminary at various times. It is our pleasure partly on account of these conditions and because our admiration for the man is unbounded and our delight at the success of his last campaign is keen to try as much as possible to classify this number a "Wilson one." We clap our hands and cheer when the band plays "Dixie" and, as loyal daughters of the South, we should be glad to applaud our loudest for the man who at the present time is foremost in encouraging the progress of the "lands below the line."¹²⁹

This issue contained also a long article by Jean Fraser, "Woodrow Wilson's Associations with Staunton."

The visit of Wilson to Staunton and the Seminary has been treated as an interlude; in the routine of school life it was such. But it served, no doubt, to intensify the interest of the students in the war emergency program of the first World War, and contributed to the broadening of their social and international outlook in the years that followed. In the tragic last years, the students were defenders of his League and his internationalism. The following appreciation of Wilson by an alumna, Roselle (Mercier) Montgomery, who attained some national recognition as a poet, appeared in the *Alumnæ Bulletin* upon his death in 1924:

The eagle has passed on . . . into the blue
And all the chattering of the sparrows dies.
They could not bear to see the eagle rise
Beyond the reaches that their small wings knew,
Above the housetops they could compass too—
But though they strove to blind the eagle's eyes
With bickering wings, to stay him with their cries,
He rose and passed, above, beyond, their view.

An eagle always is a lonely one—
The far heights call to him and he must go;
But little birds cannot look on the sun,
And what an eagle knows they cannot know.
When he is gone the small ones know at last
That there, above their heads, an eagle passed!¹³⁰

For the future the Wilson tradition bids fair to become an even more precious memory for Mary Baldwin and should be a vital inspiration.

AGAIN THE SEMINARY IN WAR TIME: WORLD WAR I

The nation has fought four wars, before the present one, during the history of Mary Baldwin. Records fail to tell the effect, if any, of the Mexican War on the Augusta Female Seminary. Perhaps there was feminine excitement, flag-waving, and possibly some tragedy. Men from Staunton and Augusta County had a prominent part in the War. Very likely, however, there was little effect on the routine of the school or the life of the students. The well-nigh disastrous effect of the Civil War on this Valley of Virginia school has been told, along with its struggles and its remarkable recovery under Miss Baldwin. The war entered the school in a physical sense and threatened its very existence. Apparently the Spanish-American war made hardly a ripple during the "Gay Nineties," or only a ripple, in the popular war tunes that invaded the Seminary, such as "There'll Be a Hot Time" and "Rastus on Parade."¹³¹ One does get, however, a suggestion of heightened interest in politics of an effervescent sort, perhaps, and with noticeable Southern features, and of some fears over sweethearts' volunteering, in the following comments on one of the popular clubs in the Seminary:

They (the F.F.F.) meet every Saturday night and discuss politics and love. The principal subject of conversation now is of course the War. Do they condemn the treachery of the Spaniard or weep for the suffering of the Cubans? Do they indignantly resent the insult paid to the United States by the destruction of the *Maine*? Or do they discuss the calmness with which McKinley has treated the proceedings, the fight in Congress, the courage of the Southerners, or the "regency" of Mark Hanna? No, they do not. Then I suppose you will ask why war is such an interesting subject? I will tell you. On one occasion Miss Riddle read to the News Class that 100,000 volunteers had been called for. . . . ¹³²

In the official records of the school the Spanish-American War was not even mentioned.

The first World War was to affect the Seminary much more deeply and permanently. In changing the life of the nation, it affected the entire program of education; although the war alone did not produce the changes, and it may be difficult to evaluate the extent of its influence in producing them. It changed the life, the routine of the school in less profound and permanent but

more obvious ways, too. It is the purpose here to describe these temporary changes due to the war and the permanent results so far as that is possible. Among the aspects of school life affected by the war were: financial policies, faculty turnover, the curriculum, general intellectual interests and outlook, health and physical education, and student participation in public causes. Among these activities the war work of the *alumnæ* may be included.

One might tarry, however, before attempting to analyze in sober fashion the effects of the war on the school, to describe the response of the Seminary to the declaration of war—a patriotic pageant on the front lawn on the evening of April 9, 1917. It was a pretty picture in the style of the life and traditions of the Seminary in its Golden Age with its fondness for spectacles, for tableaux, and its preference for "Dixie"; and it got the same romantic reception from the Staunton press that the performances of Miss Baldwin's "rose-bud garden of girls" always received. The pageant was described as follows:

At the Mary Baldwin Seminary the scene on the front lawn was wonderful. Here beneath the trees, strung with electric lights of the national colors, the students of the historic old School, dressed in white and waving flags, cheered and sang with the wildest enthusiasm, both as the parade passed and long after it had gone by.

At the top of the terrace, just to the right of the entrance, stood two dozen fair sailor lassies behind a large counter, in which was shown in electric lights, the words, "Men for the Navy." These dainty recruiting officers were captained by Miss Peery.

On the left of the entrance stood a row of nineteen girls; each bearing a large banner, on which was a single letter, the whole spelling, "Men Wanted for the Army." Surely they will need no second invitation from these dainty misses who have thus bid them serve their flag.

Miss Columbia, impersonated most effectively by Miss Brenda Macrae, stood on a flag-draped platform on the center walk, surrounded by her allied nations, Russia, Belgium, England, and France, as represented by Misses Josephine Adams, Bessie Browning, Virginia Mitchell, and Fan Lee.

Miss Mary Shuster as the bugler looked quite "soldier-like" and blew her trumpet with much vim and determination.

While the parade was passing, the young ladies sang patriotic airs, showing perhaps a slight favoritism for "Dixie," to an accompaniment by the M.B.S. orchestra, led by Prof. Wilmar Robert Schmidt, while across the street on the steps of the First Presbyterian Church and reaching past

the corners at either end of the block were hundreds of citizens, who joined in with their cheers.

Red lights burning as the parade passed greatly enhanced the general effect of this truly brilliant scene.

And as a silent witness to this inspiring demonstration, stood, in the Seminary yard, the old Chapel in which the father of the Nation's peerless leader taught his people to fear God and love their country. . . ¹³³

This was not war, as we know it today; nor even as we came to know World War I later. It seems to belong to a different world. But it must have been a pretty picture!

It was impossible to determine in advance what the effect of the entrance of the United States into the war against Germany on April 6, 1917, would be on student enrollment for the next September. The fact that the school depended upon students' fees to pay the salaries of teachers led the Board of Trustees to address a letter to the members of the faculty in May in which they pointed out the dependence of the Seminary on current income and asked the cooperation of the faculty in bearing any possible financial losses resulting from the war. The faculty were asked to sign conditional contracts, agreeing to a proportionate reduction of salaries to cover one-third of the possible loss of income, the Seminary to bear the other two-thirds.¹³⁴

The teachers all accepted these conditional contracts. The conditions were in part rescinded in September, 1917, and in February, 1918, the Board of Trustees resolved to make contracts for the following session subject to no war conditions.¹³⁵ The war had brought an increased enrollment; perhaps due to the confidence that parents had in the security of the girls, the strict discipline and "sheltered" life in the school, especially desirable in war times; perhaps to the belief that health was better secured here; and to an enlarged demand for the higher education of women produced by war-time needs. With reference to the latter point, however, the Seminary was at some disadvantage as compared with the colleges. For the session of 1917-18 many applications for places had to be refused and the upper floor of the Infirmary used for a dormitory.¹³⁶ In August, 1918, Mr. King reported that all places were filled for the next session and that many "old girls" and sisters of "old girls" who had not registered promptly had to be rejected. The Church Parlors were brought

into use for a residence for teachers and became the Teachers' Home. Mr. King seemed to regret that the Pancake House, which Miss Weimar had wanted for school purposes some years before, and for which her request had been rejected, was not now vacant for senior student rooms.¹³⁷ There were no further fears with respect to the effect of the war on enrollment.

Reference might be made incidentally to a suggested army measure that upset the minds of those in charge of the Seminary—the proposal to establish an army camp in the vicinity of Staunton in 1918. This suggestion brought forth from the Board of Trustees a long petition to be sent to the federal authorities, to the City Council of Staunton, and to the Board of Supervisors of Augusta County against the execution of such a plan. In the course of this petition, they declared that:

Whereas, the experience of military camp towns convinces us that the establishment of the proposed army camp in the environs of Staunton would so alter the character of the place as to destroy its advantages as a location for the Seminary, because of the fact that parents are unwilling to send their daughters to school in such close proximity to a military post; and

Whereas, with sincere and enthusiastic loyalty to our soldiers, hundreds of whom have gone from our city and county and many from our homes, we believe that the presence of so large a body of young men in proximity to a school for young ladies will increase the responsibilities of the school almost, if not quite, to a prohibitive degree; and

Whereas, our school would face the alternative of either changing its location at a considerable financial loss, or submitting to a heavy educational loss, and in either event the community as well as the school would lose heavily

they earnestly protested against the project, unless it were important to the interest of the government, in which case they would submit as a matter of patriotic duty.¹³⁸ It is easy to appreciate the consternation that officials of the Seminary, with its strict regulations about the visits of young men, would feel at the suggestion even of an army camp nearby. There was, even without such a danger, an uneasiness on the part of the Principal with respect to the supervision of the young ladies. She had reported in January, 1918, that early in the session she "deemed it necessary, on account of the unusual conditions in the town and the very large number of girls in the school, for her to ask Miss

Leftwich to do more chaperonage duty and hence to pay her more."¹³⁹ An army camp, Camp Coolidge, was established, however, a little later near Fort Defiance. Its relations with the Seminary are discussed below.

Although there was no loss of enrollment but rather an increase, the rise in prices of food, equipment, and labor affected the financial interests and policy of the school. The cost of coal in 1918 became a major concern of the Business Office, and it continued to advance. Mr. King reported in May, 1919, comparing the price situation with pre-war conditions:

Coal has also advanced and a stable price is uncertain. . . . It will be necessary to purchase quite a number of new bedspreads, blankets, and sheets, to replace those that are worn out. At least thirty per cent of our mattresses will have to be made over, and the cost will be around five dollars per mattress, just half the wholesale price of a good mattress five years. I have already placed an order for dishes and supplies which includes table linen for the dining-room. I used to pay one dollar a yard for Irish linen. This year it costs three dollars and is hard to get at that price.¹⁴⁰

To a school that lived close to the margin of income, these matters were of vital interest. Much credit is due Mr. King, no doubt, for wise foresight in buying and economy in the use of supplies in this war period and during its aftermath. The aftermath Mr. King dreaded even more than the war. "I feel that we should husband our resources carefully against the reconstruction days that will surely follow the culmination of the war," he declared.¹⁴¹ The building program and all major improvements ceased, and only essential repairs were made. It was difficult to get labor on satisfactory terms even for that work, he said.

The Seminary did not raise its rates in proportion to the rise of prices nor so soon. Fortunately, there had been an advancement to \$400 for board and tuition in 1916. No other advancement was made until 1919. Mr. King declared toward the end of the war: "I am truly glad that our charges were not advanced, as this will insure us against the finger of scorn that will be pointed at so many persons and corporations for profiteering."¹⁴² It would seem, however, that further advancement of rates was overdue. The institution had always maintained a very conservative policy in that respect. Institutional pride in self-

support at moderate rates embarrassed the school in its academic advancement.

The ultimate effect of the War on the academic life of the school will be discussed in connection with the transition to a four-year college. But there were immediate and temporary changes that should be noted here. The first to take place concerned the teaching of German. In January, 1918, the Executive Committee reported :

In September last, on account of the feeling toward Germans in general, it seemed inadvisable for the teacher of the German language, Madame Zeeck [she had been a teacher in the Seminary since 1912] to return to the Seminary, if it could be arranged to cancel the contract made with her. She made a proposition to the effect that if the Seminary would pay her \$100, she would give up all claims against it. . . . Madame Zeeck's offer was accepted, and the Business Manager was directed to send her the \$100.¹⁴³

Miss Higgins stated at the same meeting that the teacher of Spanish and English would take the six students of German. The enrollment in this study, which had increased in the earlier years of the twentieth century, had thus almost disappeared. In 1919, the Executive Committee recommended that "the course in the German language be omitted from the catalogue."¹⁴⁴ This recommendation was carried out. There were other teachers of German birth in the Seminary, Professors Eisenberg and Schmidt, of the Music Department. Both had been in the school for many years, Professor Eisenberg since 1885. Although their German sympathies were known, apparently there was no suggestion of their withdrawal. Incidentally, the German Club, one of the oldest and most popular organizations on the campus, saw fit to explain in 1916 in the *Miscellany* that it was not a society for the study of German, but a purely social organization, with dancing as a specialty.¹⁴⁵

As German dropped out temporarily (it was to be restored later), Spanish, just introduced in the fall of 1917, increased during the war years and in part perhaps due to the War, which brought greatly enlarged trade relations with Hispanic-America. The courses in business, generally very small in enrollment, also gained and were listed among the "emergency" or "efficiency" courses. The *Miscellany* of December, 1917, said :

The business courses have been greatly broadened this session. A number of new typewriters have been installed and everything which will in any way increase the advantages of the work has been adopted. The classes . . . are much larger than usual. This indicates that a great number of girls are awakening to the fact that there are hundreds of positions that have been vacated on account of the war and that these can be filled only by competent and well-trained women.¹⁴⁶

The department of domestic science and household arts responded to the emergency program by undertaking some experiments in foods that brought recognition from the National Food Administration, the National Biscuit Company, and other organizations for the very excellent work on breads. The *Miscellany* of April, 1918, gave the following account of this work:

Some of the most interesting war work has been done by the Senior Domestic Science Class, who have been working all winter on food conservation, and have made many excellent menus with no "meat," no "wheat," and no "sugar." They have found, tried out, and often originated many good "meat substitute" dishes and planned excellent and satisfactory vegetarian meals. Especially in the "war bread" work, have they been very successful. Through the courtesy of Miss Higgins sample loaves have been sent out to various members of the Board of Trustees, to Miss Weimar, and to other friends of the Seminary. Recently a request has come from the President of the National Biscuit Company of New York for the war recipes. Also another request has been received from Massachusetts, where the recipes are to be sold in a Food Conservation Exhibition, the proceeds of which will be used in Red Cross work.

The class also sent two loaves (one wheat and rye and the other corn and rye) to Mr. Hoover of the Food Administration in Washington . . .¹⁴⁷

Letters, published in the *Miscellany*, expressed the interest of the National Food Administration in their work and offered to send the class the "Hoover" uniform. And the *Miscellany* continued her report: "The class is now hard at work on the official uniforms which their patriotic efforts have entitled them to wear. They are also planning to don these on May Day as appropriate costumes for a May fete. . . ."¹⁴⁸

The academic life was affected by a large number of faculty changes during the war years. Members of the faculty left to take up war work. In February, 1918, Miss Higgins expressed her regret that four teachers would not return the next year, but would take up government work in Washington or Y. W. C. A.

work.¹⁴⁹ Before school opened in September, three others had resigned, two to take up Y. M. C. A. work, one of them in China.¹⁵⁰ During the fall Dr. Bradford entered United States service, and a college physician had to be secured.¹⁵¹ Three other resignations from the faculty were reported at the January meeting. A total of ten resignations in one school year would approach a turn-over in the small faculty; two of those who resigned in January, however, had been among the new members in September.

Not a part of, but closely related to, the academic changes resulting from the war was an enlarged program of lectures by outside speakers. A lecture and concert course had been initiated during the administration of Miss Weimar, but most of the programs had been in the field of music. In 1916, however, Miss Julia T. Sabine, recently returned from Serbia, where she had been engaged in relief work, spoke on Serbia.¹⁵² In 1917 and 1918, a number of addresses were made by such workers, usually in connection with the raising of money for various phases of relief work. In addition to these programs, which were outside the regular lecture series, there were others, among them a series of four lectures by Dr. Lindsay Rogers, professor in the University of Virginia and a notable national figure in recent years in the field of political science. He spoke on the United States and the War, and the Governments of Germany, England, and the United States. Dr. J. C. Metcalf, of the University of Virginia, gave a lecture on "War Poetry."¹⁵³ Incidentally these programs maintained the early tradition of close intellectual contacts with the University of Virginia. In 1919, Dr. H. L. Smith, President of Washington and Lee, spoke on "Women and the New Era."¹⁵⁴ The History Club sponsored lectures by professors from Columbia University and Barnard College in 1918.¹⁵⁵

But the War did not touch the administration, the faculty, and the academic life alone. It affected student attitudes and activities and in ways more profound and practical than patriotic pageants. No student newspaper was published at the time, but the magazine, the *Miscellany*, issued four times a year, furnished some excellent records of student life and interests. At the beginning of the session of 1917-18, the students decided, as a measure of war economy, not to publish the annual *Bluestocking*, but to give

instead more attention to the *Miscellany*. The policy of this publication appears in an editorial in the issue of December, 1917:

During the coming year the *Miscellany* wishes to publish a great deal of material about the War. We are living in the midst of the greatest upheaval which the world has ever experienced. Governments are being revolutionized, and powers are being overthrown. Principles which have been the very foundations of our social structure are being cast aside. Everywhere there is change.

We cannot afford to ignore the great events which are taking place about us. We could not even if we would. Although our school life is quiet and peaceful and the war sometimes seems far away from us, we are both consciously and unconsciously affected by it. The *Miscellany* attempts truthfully to present the life of our school as it is mirrored in our work.¹⁵⁶

Many phases of the student war program were the same as those of the program of World War II, among these the emphasis on economy and on care of health. In the fall of 1917 military drill was instituted as a part of the physical education work for the year. Captain Pitcher, of Staunton Military Academy, directed this work, and for a time, during a quarantine at this school, Captain Douglas Fraser of Augusta Military Academy. This became a very popular "sport" during the war. More attention was given to other sports as well. Although there had been a considerable change, even before the war, from the Victorian attitude to sports, the war effected a more rapid progress toward present day standards of physical education for women.

Related to the physical education program, although not a part of it, was the introduction of courses in "First Aid to the Injured." Twenty-five students could enroll for a six weeks' course taught by Dr. Kenneth Bradford, the Seminary physician, followed by another group of twenty-five. Miss Higgins reported in January, 1918, the enthusiastic interest of the girls in this study.¹⁵⁷ Interest in medicine and nursing had been aroused and exhibited by an extensive study of the History of Nursing begun by the History Club in 1916 and continued through the following year.¹⁵⁸

The war conditions in camps and among civilians, it will be recalled, brought a wave of epidemics, especially influenza. The Seminary had always dreaded epidemics and rumors of epidemics

from the very practical standpoint of the effect upon the enrollment. It had taken great pride in its health record and defended always the very special healthfulness of Staunton. But it was feared constantly that epidemics in "adjoining counties" might injure the school. The Board of Trustees regarded such a situation as one of the "calamities" for which it must keep a reserve fund. The following report of Mr. King in August, 1917, is quite typical of this state of mind:

There are health conditions in adjoining counties that necessarily make me apprehensive and should the health authorities not be able to gain control of the situation promptly the effect on the schools in this section will be harmful and the withdrawal of a number of students already enrolled may be expected, by nervous parents who are easily alarmed by published reports of contagious diseases in the state, although so far removed from our school that it would cause us little anxiety. The importance of safeguarding the health in our school is very great, and I feel that every effort should be put forth to that end. The good health of our students is the best asset our school could have.¹⁵⁹

Apparently the Seminary escaped epidemics and maintained its usual good health until the spring of 1919, after the war had closed. In the fall of 1918 not even Staunton escaped the influenza contagion from "adjoining counties and states"; and against it the Seminary had established a quarantine. The Executive Committee reported on health to the Board in January, 1919:

Since our last stated meeting the prevalence of "influenza" in the community has caused us some anxiety as to the effect upon the Seminary, and for a time we deemed it prudent to establish a strict quarantine, upon the suggestion of Dr. Rankin, the Seminary physician. During the period of the quarantine services were regularly held on Sabbath mornings for the scholars with preaching by Dr. Fraser, Gypsy Smith, and the Rev. Mr. Sprouse. Not a single case of influenza had occurred in the Seminary up to the time when it closed for the Christmas holidays. There were, however, six cases of typhoid fever of a light form, five of which were removed to the King's Daughters' Hospital. None of them proved serious.¹⁶⁰

But the students apparently brought the influenza to the Seminary from their vacation trips home. Miss Higgins reported in January that a number of cases had developed and four additional nurses had been employed but that none of the cases were serious. Mr. King stated at the meeting in July, 1919, that the epidemic had been over in ten days. As to the typhoid fever, Mr.

King felt a special concern, no doubt, for it might seem that his care of the Seminary sanitation was at fault. At this same meeting he reported that the Board of Health had made a thorough investigation and found everything satisfactory.¹⁶¹ Whether due to the emphasis on physical fitness, the military drill, and other exercises, less sweets and starches, the "proverbially healthful climate of Staunton," or the physical vigor of the girls selected, Mary Baldwin seems to have suffered less than most schools from war and post-war epidemics.

The World War broadened the field of philanthropic interest in Mary Baldwin. The Seminary had always encouraged generous giving by the students, but contributions had been confined primarily to certain local needs and to missionary enterprises. The contribution to special war relief funds and services enlarged the horizon and developed interests in new fields of social service that were to be maintained after the war. Cooperation in these causes did not wait upon the entrance of the United States into the war. Miss Higgins presented to the Board of Trustees a concise statement of the contributions in money and services made by the students of Mary Baldwin. The contributions in money for the various causes, which included Belgian, British, and French relief, the Red Cross, the fatherless children of France, the Y. W. C. A. United War Work Campaign, the Student Friendship War Fund, Syrian and Jewish Relief, and Serbian hospitalization, were approximately \$5,000. The largest amount, \$2,100, was given to the Y. W. C. A. United War Work. The Domestic Arts Classes gave considerable service from 1914 on in sewing for war and relief purposes. A school auxiliary of the Staunton Chapter of the Red Cross organized the entire student body under faculty supervision for sewing "bees" in the Art Studio on Saturday afternoons. "Some little girls knit a gay afghan." Two French orphans were adopted. A bed was established in the Serbian Hospital in memory of Miss Nannie Garrett, who had died recently.¹⁶²

Much of the money was raised through activities that maintained the morale of the students and cemented friendships and fellowship as well as achieving the practical objective of money. A Hallowe'en Tea was given for the Student Friendship Fund, which had had a special appeal for the students. A large part of

this fund, which was expended by the Y .M. C. A., went to the relief of war prisoners in Europe, both enemy and ally. In February, 1918, the Y. W. C. A. gave a "War Tea" for the benefit of the Red Cross. As the *Miscellany* reported it: "In strict observance of the rules and laws of Food Administrator Hoover, nothing was served containing those products, the conservation of which has been an important factor in the 'Help Win the War' movement of the past six months. . . ." Another form of benefit was the art exhibition, several of which were given. "On Saturday afternoon, April 27, the art students gave an exhibition of their composition studies for the benefit of the Red Cross. The admission of twenty-five cents entitled one to a cup of tea, two sandwiches, and a lollypop."¹⁶³ A "Wax Works" exhibition, modelled on "Mrs. Jarley's Wax Works," was given as a Red Cross benefit in 1917. School organizations as well as individuals contributed. The Dramatic Club "exhausted its treasury." The Cotillion Club gave up a dance to the cause of Serbian hospitalization. The Choral Club presented Gilbert and Sullivan's *H. M. S. Pinafore* in April, 1918, for the benefit of the Red Cross and the King's Daughters' Hospital.¹⁶⁴ Before the entrance of the United States into the War the History Club had devised means for raising funds for relief by sponsoring a debate on "Woman Suffrage."¹⁶⁵ Thus relief and interest in the "new woman" were going forward together.

One appeal to the students from the war zone is explained in the following letter addressed to Miss Higgins in 1918 and published in the *Miscellany*, April, 1918:

Dear Miss:

You will see from my address who I am. I am here interned since October, 1917, when our town of Antwerp fell into German hands. The reason why I write you is: wouldn't you ask your pupils if there isn't one among them, who would be a "marraine" and write to me? I am unmarried and twenty-five years of age. My parents live in occupied Belgium and I can get nothing, not even news, from them. So some friendly words would be very welcome.

I can, if desired, write in French. If some more particulars about myself or something else might be desired, I shall gladly give them.

May I hope, Dear Miss, you will do me that pleasure?

I thank you much beforehand.

Yours respectfully,
Omar Saveyn.¹⁶⁶

Whether there was a response to this appeal for aid or not, the writer does not know. Doubtless the author did not know the Seminary rules on "Correspondence." The *Miscellany* did not publish his address!

There seems to have been no united school program for the purchase of government bonds and savings stamps. The school itself put a considerable part of its surplus set aside for building into Liberty bonds.¹⁶⁷ The Alumnae Association invested \$800 from its small endowment fund and Scholarship Fund in Liberty bonds, and the Y. W. C. A. purchased two \$100 Victory bonds.¹⁶⁸ There was, no doubt, much further support from faculty, students, and employees. The *Miscellany* gave the following account of school cooperation in the movement for war loans: "The parades in Staunton advertising the third great Liberty loan . . . took place on April 15 at eleven o'clock and was participated in by the students and faculty of the Seminary. The students were under the instruction of Captain Pitcher of the Staunton Military Academy."¹⁶⁹ It might be observed that the war was invading the sanctity of the "sheltered life" in the Seminary; and it could no more be restored to its former seclusion than Humpty-Dumpty could be put back on the wall. In the Seminary, it happens, the "walls" themselves were falling, or at least beginning to crumble.

The Alumnae Association voted to print only a small bulletin in 1918, donating the \$100 they saved to the Red Cross. Other expenditures were cut down. Class reunions planned were not held and "an appropriate celebration [of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Seminary] was "postponed until after the War."¹⁷⁰ Many of the alumnae entered war service of various kinds. At this time the organization of the alumnae had been only slightly effected; the services of many perhaps never became a matter of record in the alumnae files, but even from this incomplete source one finds a record of a number who served as nurses, ambulance drivers, motor corps workers, entertainers in camps or with the Y. M. C. A. in France, canteen workers; and of others who worked in munition plants in the United States or in government service in Washington. Some who went to Europe remained for a number of years to assist in relief and reconstruction work. Miss Eugenia Bumgardner of Staunton worked first in the war

office in Paris; then entered Red Cross service in Serbia and later in the Near East, where she did special work among the Russian refugees, for which she was decorated by the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia.¹⁷¹ Out of her experiences there came an interesting and popular book, *Undaunted Exiles*, published in 1925; also a series of lectures in the United States. The following notice from the *Alumnæ Bulletin* explains a later service she and the students of Mary Baldwin rendered these Russian refugees:

Miss Eugenia Bumgardner, author of *Undaunted Exiles*, presented to the Mary Baldwin Alumnæ Association for the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Memorial, a portrait of Woodrow Wilson, sent to her by Russian Refugee children in a school at Shoumla, Bulgaria, in gratitude for funds and clothing secured by her for them from Mary Baldwin girls, Staunton Military Academy boys, and citizens of Staunton and of Beckley, West Virginia. . . .

Beneath the picture is this inscription: "From the young Undaunted Exiles to those who understood our grief. Russian College at Shoumla, Bulgaria, 1926."¹⁷²

The portrait was done by the students in the school.

Another alumna, Pauline Stewart-Crosley, '83, wife of the naval attaché of the American Embassy in Russia witnessed the Revolution of 1917 and wrote *Intimate Letters from Petrograd*, published in 1920.¹⁷³ Frances McQuaide, '98, spent eight years in war and reconstruction work. She was superintendent of the American Red Cross Hospital in Jerusalem under the Palestine Commission; then worked in Poland for a time. For several years she had charge of fourteen child welfare clinics in Constantinople for the Near East Relief, until she was transferred to a hospital in Athens.¹⁷⁴ Another alumna who became notable for Red Cross Relief work was Kate M. Powers, '85. After the War she became Field Director of the American Red Cross for the Army and Navy at the United States Naval Air Station at Pensacola.¹⁷⁵ Since most Mary Baldwin students become wives and mothers, their most important contributions to the nation in the war were their sons. The *Alumnæ Bulletins* made generous mention of them, some of whom won notable distinction in the war, some of whom gave their lives.

The students were very interested in the work of the alumnæ.

Like the visit of Wilson, this brought them into more intimate contact with the war. The *Miscellany* published articles: "Six Months with the A. E. F." by Dorothy Skinker; and "Washington in War Times" by Lucie F. Woodward, who was employed in the War Trade Bureau; and numerous news items about the alumnae in war service. The desire of the alumnae to enter government work or service in the war led to applications for transcripts of credits for work done at the Seminary. Perhaps many of these graduates had never before given a thought to credits as an objective in higher education; only those going on to college had needed them in earlier years. There arose now a more intelligent appreciation of the matters of standardization, of credits, and of degrees, which increased the interest in the advancement to a senior college after the war. The activity of the alumnae opened up and advertised many new fields of activity for women. Graduates in greater numbers began choosing medicine, nursing, child welfare, and other forms of social work in preference to teaching.

If the editorials in the *Miscellany* expressed the opinion of the student body, there had resulted from the war a more serious and mature attitude toward the responsibilities of citizenship not only in war times but in all times. The following editorial on "Patriotism and the Girl Today" appeared in this magazine in February, 1919: .

During the great war girls turned their attention to many subjects that in pre-war days had held no interest for them. They worked zealously for the Red Cross, they helped in Relief Work of various kinds. They began to take an interest in politics and history. . . They began to see that the principle for which we were fighting was the principle for which our ancestors had fought and that its overthrow would mean the end of liberty in America and in the World.

These new ideas and interests led to activities that were practical lessons in patriotism and invaluable training in citizenship. In the past patriotism had been to them more of an abstract sentiment than a living pulsing love of country. Now when girls in America began to learn of the sacrifices made by girls in France and Belgium, their sympathies were enlarged, and as they became familiar with the principles involved in the War, their thoughts took on a more serious cast. . . . They began to see that politics is not an abstraction, but something that touches the lives of people very intimately.

Why should not girls make this transient interest a permanent one? . .

The girl of today will be the woman of tomorrow, and whether she wills it or not the woman of tomorrow will be called upon to play a much more important part in the affairs of the world than she has ever done before. Suffrage for women is only a matter of a few years at the most, but it is incumbent upon girls to prepare themselves for citizenship whether they are ever called upon to exercise the franchise or not.

We all gloried in proving our devotion to our country and our cause during the War. There is still service to be rendered—community service in which girls may have a share. Shall we show our patriotism now by qualifying ourselves to be intelligent and useful citizens? . . . ¹⁷⁶

The literary efforts of the students in their early *Annual* and the later *Miscellany* had been earnest and praiseworthy, but they were of the "ivory tower" variety; they had never touched the contemporary political and social scene. There had been some study of current topics, but apparently they never became matters of student opinion and discussion. Their "sheltered life" had protected, or perhaps one should say excluded, them from the realities of life even in the United States. To be sure, many of their elders did not yet admit the existence of many unpleasant facts. The war developed some awareness at least of social and economic problems. " 'Liberty and the free development for all peoples' have been won on the battle field and in the trenches; it remains to be won in the workshops and council chambers," the *Miscellany* declared, and quoted Amy Lowell's, "The Night before the Parade," in criticism of the post-war attitude in the United States. "Labor troubles, social problems, and political bickerings continue to keep the world in constant strife—a sort of seething undercurrent. Perhaps such unrest has always been there, but the great shock of the war was necessary to reveal it to us." There was much interest in Wilson's League of Nations and criticism of the action of the American Congress on the Treaty and the League.¹⁷⁷ Contemporary European politics had had too little meaning for all Americans until World War I. It is not a matter of surprise that it received no mention in Seminary publications. Now the *Miscellany* included the Russian Revolution, post-war developments in the Near East, presidential elections in France, etc., within its range of interests, along with labor disputes and naval investigations in the United States. The History Club undertook a systematic study of the Russian Revolution and the League of Nations. Post-war developments in education,

especially the higher education of women, attracted discussion. The opening of the doors of Oxford University to women brought special editorial notice of "Oxford degrees for women!"¹⁷⁸

The World War enlarged student interest in contemporary literature. The Senior Literary Society began a study of Modern European poets, and included the Indian poet, Tagore. The contemporary drama attracted special notice, both dramatic and literary. It is true that even before the war contemporary literature had begun to attract some attention. During the war book reviews became a prominent feature of the *Miscellany*. To be sure, many of these were of war literature of doubtful permanent value. But they were not all such, and there was a realization, even during the war, that woman's education should emphasize the more permanent values in the history and literature of the past and present. The *Miscellany* gave as its commencement advice in the spring of 1918 the following suggestions for summer reading:

(In short) books have again proved their true worth as friends and masters, and now as we leave for the long summer holiday, let us not waive the stimulus for good reading that has been awakened in us as never before. It is true that we must acquaint ourselves more thoroughly with the best war literature of the day, yet let us occasionally turn the leaves of some volume of beautiful old poems and essays abounding in those tranquil thoughts that are so cool and refreshing in this heated time of strife and trial. It is by such reading that we shall gain the finer, more exquisite influences which must form a part of every practical and useful education. In this coming reconstruction period women are to be leaders in that refinement of thought which has ennobled womankind for centuries, and without which her present position cannot be truly called her own. It is she who must soften the shadows that will be left in the wake of the battles and who must keep the tone of purity and truth above the din of this world conflict.¹⁷⁹

Such a statement might suggest that the Mary Baldwin girl still lived a "sheltered life" aloof from the problems of her day; and this was probably true in part. But more correctly perhaps it describes her particular approach to these problems in the spirit of sane and constructive service rather than as an aggressive feminist reformer. There was still much of the lady about her. She preferred femininity to feminism.

By broadening her range of knowledge, especially of con-

temporary society, and by deepening her sense of social responsibility, the World War seems to have brought the Mary Baldwin girl somewhat nearer to woman's stature. The writer would not insist, however, that such a judgment would find universal application even in the college part of the student body. Nor would she insist that maturity of thought was a result solely of the war. Among the older students, those following the university course, there had always been a seriousness of purpose, a diligence, characteristic of more mature thinking. But it had taken place in a narrower range. At least, the War had enlarged the horizon of both opportunity and duty.

THE MOVEMENT FOR A PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE AND A WILSON MEMORIAL

The World War had accelerated the expansion of woman's place in affairs outside the home by opening new opportunities for service, public and private, and placing upon women new responsibilities. As a consequence, the demand for a college education increased at once. Young women had acquired, in the course of the war and the political and social disorders which followed it, a new seriousness with respect to their own responsibilities, and considered a college education a necessary preparation for their social and political obligations. Moreover, the college degree had come to be the prerequisite to entrance into many new fields of activity opened to women and, in addition, its social value in the narrower use of that term was enhanced. Very soon the Virginia Board of Education was to require four years of college work instead of two only for a certificate to teach in the high schools of the state. The result of this increased popularity of college education was immediately observable in the Seminary. For example, Miss Higgins reported in 1921 that a large number of students were taking the college work.¹⁸⁰ Miss Latané said in a statement to the Alumnæ Association in the same year that a committee appointed by the Principal to help the students returning in the fall to arrange their courses "was astonished to find what a number of girls want to go to college."¹⁸¹ And both the reports of Miss Higgins and the news items in the *Bulletins* of the

Alumnæ Association indicate that a larger number of graduates of the Seminary were going to colleges of senior grade.

The beginnings of the movement toward a standard college have been discussed above, and the recognition of the Seminary by the State Board of Education in 1916 as of junior college grade. The initiative in this effort, as indicated, was taken by the alumnæ, or the very small number of them who were organized and active. This group did not stop with that achievement, however. The annual *Bulletin* of 1916 in an editorial urged "old girls" to return to see the material improvements which made of Mary Baldwin "a thing of beauty," and insisted that the greatest need was an endowment for academic improvement.¹⁸² And the President of the Association closed her report for the year with an appeal to the members to work for an endowment adequate to raise the Seminary to senior college level. That even the small number of the alumnæ then organized were not entirely united in this ambition, however, is indicated in the following report from the New York Chapter:

On April 15 our Annual Luncheon was held at the Hotel Martinique, preceded by a business meeting. The subject of the Endowment Fund was freely discussed, and since our desire has already been accomplished and the Seminary is now a Junior College, it was thought that the original purpose of the Endowment Fund seemed lost. Many of our members expressed themselves as being loathe to see the Primary Department abolished and the school made a full college, it being their opinion that those desiring to take a more advanced course than the Seminary offers would prefer to spend those two years at a Northern College. It was, therefore, voted to hold in abeyance what small sums our young Chapter has been able to raise, and await further developments.¹⁸³

The Graduates' Council reported various suggestions as to methods of raising an endowment that had come from alumnæ in response to a request, among which the most practicable would seem to be the suggestion that an Endowment Fund Committee be appointed to locate and approach "those of the alumnæ who are sufficiently independent in a financial way to make large donations"; but no definite action was taken at this meeting on the matter of an endowment.

The endowment question continued to be the main interest in the Association from the meeting in May, 1916, until the entrance

of the United States into the World War. Several chapters devised plans, a card party, sale of framed pictures of the Seminary, and such to raise funds. The total amount reported by the Treasurer in 1917 was only \$124.57.¹⁸⁴ Of this amount, the Birmingham Chapter had contributed \$85. The World War ended temporarily the alumnæ efforts toward an endowment. At a meeting of representatives of the alumnæ with the Board of Trustees in May, 1917, the latter advised postponing any campaign efforts.¹⁸⁵ For the next year or so the Missionary Scholarship fund was to constitute the chief activity of the alumnæ. With respect to the endowment they still waited upon the Board of Trustees.

The alumnæ were apparently discouraged by the delay of the Trustees to take action on the matter of an endowment and perhaps, too, by the difficulty of arousing the effective interest of a large part of their own group in view of this delay and through other handicaps. In May, 1920, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board stated that he had a letter from Mrs. Chalenor, the President of the Alumnæ Association, in which she expressed great discouragement at the outlook for raising an endowment for the Seminary.¹⁸⁶ She thought it would give the alumnæ much pleasure if the Seminary, at their next meeting, would give them an outing through the country near Staunton and on their return have an address by the Honorable St. G. Tucker in the interest of the Seminary. These suggestions were approved and carried out. "The outing through the country near Staunton" is reminiscent of the days of Miss Baldwin. She had a custom of taking all the girls for a ride in carriages from time to time. Mr. King and Miss Higgins took this group for an automobile ride. A little group of the alumnæ had worked against great odds since 1912 to arouse interest in the academic advancement of the school. Sometimes they had to reconvert even the members of their small group to the college idea. Some who had been promoters of it in 1912 insisted in 1921 that the Seminary be kept as it was.¹⁸⁷ The organization of the larger group in an endowment campaign was to prove a difficult task.

The next steps toward a college and an endowment were taken by the Board of Trustees upon the initiative of its President, Dr. A. M. Fraser. Already, in 1917, the Board had made an appeal

to Mrs. McCormick, heir of the McCormick fortune, whose founder was a native of Augusta County, for a donation to the school, but the effort was unsuccessful.¹⁸⁸ Dr. Fraser declared later that he had done this "in reaction to the urgings of the *alumnæ*" that something be done about an endowment. In August, 1919, a committee was appointed with Dr. Fraser as chairman to investigate the possibility of getting aid from the Rockefeller General Education Board.¹⁸⁹ There was no further reference to this in the minutes.

In 1923, the Seminary made an agreement with the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia by which it surrendered control to the Synod in return for financial support. Dr. Fraser, the President of the Board of Trustees, was the leader in this action. In an address to the *alumnæ* in 1923, he explained his decision in the matter and gave chief credit to the *alumnæ* for awakening him to the advantage of raising the Seminary to a four-year college. Some statements from his address indicate the evolution of his opinion, what he called his "awakening to the significance of the facts about him."

First, I discovered there was a vast number of young women in the South demanding a college education, but with only a limited provision to meet that demand. . . .

Second, I saw in that vision the doubtful and even dangerous conditions in a large percentage of the colleges and universities to which our girls were going. And now I speak not from inference or speculation, nor from the testimony of others, but from my own personal knowledge of the facts, when I say that young women who ought to have been provided with greater college facilities of the right kind have gone to institutions where the foundations of true philosophy and religion are assailed. Some of these have become the victims of Roman Catholicism, Christian Science, materialistic philosophy and destructive teachings concerning the word of God. By our failure to provide for these, we are responsible for these appalling results.

Third, I saw in that vision the daring, dauntless spirit of aspiration and achievement which Miss Baldwin always displayed. She never allowed anything in the realm of education in the South to surpass what she offered. . . . Were she living today. . . , I think there could be no question that she would have made Mary Baldwin the commanding woman's college of the South.

Fourth, I waked up to a sense of my personal responsibility for the failure to develop more than we had done. For a long while, I thought of myself merely as one of the members of the Board of Trustees and

as its presiding officer. . . , but without any other influence or responsibility than that which all trustees share and share alike. But I came to realize that the school and the trustees were giving me a leadership that I had not suspected. If, therefore, the school had failed to retain its primacy, no one was so responsible for this failure as myself. I do not say this in the spirit of boasting, on the contrary with a profound sense of regret that I had let pass by so much of golden opportunity.

In the fifth place, the question of the source from which the necessary funds were to be derived for the conversion of the Seminary into a college had to be considered. The first of these is private donations.

Here he related the story of his appeal to the "venerable lady of large means" and its result. "Another source from which education funds are derived is the aid of the state. That, of course, was out of the question in this case," he declared.

The third source is the Church. I had always been opposed to the control of secular education by the Church. My opposition was based upon principle. But there are different kinds of principles. There are principles for which one should die, if necessary; and there are other principles for which one should fight, but for which he need not make any great sacrifices. It is this latter kind of principle involved in this case. I found that the whole Church was committing itself to Church control of education, and that the time had come when church people were wary of giving their money for institutions that were not under ecclesiastical control.¹⁹⁰

Thus Dr. Fraser had come to accept the college idea and to look to the Synod as a means of achieving that end. In May, 1921, a committee was appointed "to confer with a committee of the Synod touching closer relations." This committee reported in July, advocating that the Seminary be put under the control of the Synod.¹⁹¹ The committee was continued, with the President of the Board of Trustees added, to consider the terms on which a transfer might be made. The following report addressed to the Synod of Virginia was approved by the Board of Trustees at a meeting on November 3, 1921. This statement is given in full, since it contains an evaluation of the school at that time and a concise declaration of its policies, particularly with reference to religion:

The Board of Trustees of the Mary Baldwin Seminary in session November 3, 1921, hereby offers to transfer said Seminary to the control of a

Board of Trustees elected by the Synod of Virginia. This offer is subject to the following conditions:

1. That the Synod give assurance that it will convert the Seminary as soon as possible into a College of the "A" class according to the classification of the Bureau of Education of the United States. In order that the Synod may know exactly how much that involves we desire to make the following statements: (a) The entire property now owned by the Seminary is conservatively estimated to be worth \$667,715.54. Of this amount, \$155,215.54 is producing revenue at the present time. But new buildings imperatively needed will require the spending of not less than \$100,000. (b) The revenues from school charges amount to an average in normal times of \$137,952.72 per annum, and we have been able to save an average of \$12,623.56 per annum, which sums have been used for increased equipment and the betterment of the property. (c) We have at present two teachers giving full time to college work besides three others giving the major part of their time to college work. (d) We have a Library of more than 6,000 volumes, which probably could not be replaced for less than \$25,000. (e) The school is classified by the State Board of Education as a Junior College, which means that it gives the Freshman and Sophomore courses of a standard college. There are really three years of college work, but none of it rises above the Sophomore grade.

2. That a majority of the Board of Trustees shall be members of the First Presbyterian Church of Staunton, Virginia. The reason for this condition is that a most valuable part of the real estate owned by the Seminary was given to the school by the First Church and was given on condition that a majority of the Trustees should always be members of that church. We assume that it will be the policy of the Synod in any event to select a large number of the Trustees from the vicinity of the school in order to insure the presence of an effective majority at every meeting of the Board, so that the Synod, having the ability of choosing what members of the First Church should serve as Trustees would not be at a disadvantage in this particular.

3. That the Synod agree to give the College full moral and financial support, using its influence in securing students; engaging to raise a permanent interest-bearing endowment of not less than \$500,000 in money or good subscriptions within a period of five years from the date of the transition of the Seminary to a College; and, until the endowment fund is furnished, placing the college on the budget of its churches for an annual contribution of not less than \$30,000 to the support fund; but the revenue to be derived from this source may be reduced from time to time in proportion to such part of the endowment fund as may be raised before the whole amount is raised.

The Board wishes further to lay before the Synod certain facts which go to show the advantages that the ownership of this institution would entail:

1. The school is now and has always been throughout its seventy-nine

years of continuous service a religious school and distinctly Presbyterian. It is not sectarian in the sense that any effort is made to change any of the pupils from other Christian denominations to the Presbyterian faith. Whilst a large proportion of the students have been for many years from other denominations no influence has been intentionally used to divert them from their own denomination. But the school is Presbyterian in the sense that it was organized by ministers and members of the Presbyterian Church in Staunton and Augusta County; with rare exceptions the Trustees have been Presbyterian; we have made every effort to secure as teachers persons of positive Christian convictions and influences and, other things being equal, preference is given to Presbyterians; the literature of our church is used in the Sabbath school conducted in the Seminary; the Bible course is always taught by a Presbyterian; the students worship regularly in the Presbyterian Church twice a day on the Sabbath, though students of other denominations have the privilege of attending their own churches two Sabbath mornings out of each month. Few institutions connected with our church have as many of its former students engaged in foreign mission work, and a host of its students are Christian leaders in the communities where they live.

2. The school property is conveniently adapted to such a division as may become necessary in the future to the separation of the preparatory from the college work. The school plant is situated in Staunton, occupying two-thirds of one of the largest city blocks. We have also a tract of land on the edge of town, twenty-six acres, now used as a garden. This would prove a most excellent site for the erection of a new plant to be used either for the college or a preparatory school as the Board may deem best when the occasion arises for a separation of the departments.¹⁹²

This report was referred by the Synod to its General Education Committee. In July, 1922, this committee met the Board, members of the Chamber of Commerce, and representatives of various business and social organizations in Staunton to discuss the matter. The Synod committee asked for two changes in the proposal of the Board of Trustees: (1) That the condition that a majority of the Board of Trustees be chosen from the membership of the First Presbyterian Church of Staunton be removed; (2) That the \$500,000 asked from the Synod be used, at the discretion of the Board of Trustees, either for building or endowment purposes. These amendments were accepted by the Board of Trustees.¹⁹³ At the meeting of the Synod in September, 1922, the President of the Board of Trustees presented an official amendment on these points and a written obligation from the Chamber of Commerce of Staunton and Augusta County to raise

\$100,000 if the Synod should accept the offer of the Seminary. The Synod accepted the offer and authorized the new Board of Trustees appointed at this meeting to take the necessary legal steps to effect the transfer of the property to the Synod and to have the necessary changes made in the charter.¹⁹⁴ The Board of Trustees, under the Synod agreement, was to contain at least one member from each of the eight presbyteries of the Synod.

On October 26, 1922, a meeting of the old Board and the new (the new Board of fifteen members contained seven members of the old Board) was held "for the purpose of a full discussion between that Board and the trustees-elect of all matters pertaining to the transfer of the Seminary to the new trustees." As the report of this meeting stated:

Attention was called to the fact that, while one of the conditions on which the Seminary had been given to the Synod was the furnishing of the \$30,000 a year pending the raising of the \$500,000 and while the Synod had accepted the gift upon that condition, no provision had been made by the Synod for the raising of the sum of \$30,000 for the scholastic year of 1923-24. Inasmuch as the process of converting a Junior College, which the Seminary had been, into a full college, involved a great deal of expense, the question was raised whether the transfer should be made at once or deferred until the Synod could have an opportunity to arrange the payment of the money. After a long and frank discussion, the trustees-elect assured the Seminary Board that the failure of the Synod to provide the money was an oversight and requested the Board to proceed at once with such changes in the charter as were necessary to transfer the institution to the ownership and control of the Board appointed by the Synod and to make possible the organization of a college.¹⁹⁵

The failure of the Synod later to meet the full payment of the \$30,000 or to raise an endowment gave justification, after the fact, to the hesitation of the Board to transfer the property. There is little recorded expression of opinion with regard to the transfer of the Seminary to the control of the Synod. There seems no doubt that Dr. Fraser was the moving force behind the idea. There was division in the Board; several opposed the change. Mr. H. D. Peck, who had been a member of the Board since 1886 and had served for years as Treasurer, resigned from the new Board, to which he was appointed, because he did not approve the change.¹⁹⁶ Members of the faculty, it is said, did not favor the change. Even Dr. Fraser approved this step apparently

only because it appeared to be the sole means of securing the financial support necessary to raise the Seminary to a college. Members of the *alumnæ* no doubt accepted it for the same reason. Their earlier discussions of a standard college and an endowment contained no suggestion of support from the Synod. The business interests of Staunton naturally favored an expansion of the school; and as long as the plan looked to the building of a college apart from the Seminary, such an expansion would result. Even so, some feared the possible narrowing influences of a control by the Church. The Seminary had always had generous patronage from people of various religious denominations. When the plans for a separate college failed and the Seminary had to be discontinued to give place to the College, many Stauntonians objected. They preferred the Seminary above the public school for the preparatory instruction of their children.

At a meeting of the old Board of Trustees on October 30, 1922, a resolution was passed that the Board proceed to have the charter amended "with a view of converting the Seminary into a college under the control of the Synod of Virginia." At this meeting it was voted that a committee be appointed to consist of Dr. Fraser, three members of the faculty, and Dr. J. A. Burruss, President of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, whose services were to be secured, to suggest changes in the curriculum necessary to raise it to the four-year college. In 1923, Dr. Burruss became a member of the Board of Trustees, a position he has held up to the present. Several meetings were held in December to work out the necessary changes in the charter and to take steps to remove the requirement of a majority membership on the Board from the First Presbyterian Church. The first official meeting of the new Board of Trustees was held January 16, 1923. Dr. Fraser was elected President of the Board and President of the College. The progress of the transition to the college status is concisely stated in the first report of the College to the Synod at its meeting in 1923:

Accordingly (in agreement with the new charter), the Board has established both a college to be called Mary Baldwin College and a Seminary to be called Mary Baldwin Seminary. The two together will be known as "The Mary Baldwin System." Until an arrangement can be effected for separating the two, both will be conducted in the same plant and will

use the same equipment. The two institutions will be opened on the 6th of September. The College will be ready at once to offer a full four-year college course. . . .

As soon as funds will permit, the College may be removed to a new site outside the city limits, while the Seminary may occupy the same plant so long used by the Mary Baldwin Seminary. A site for the College has been bought. It is situated on the Valley Turnpike about a mile and a half north of Staunton. This property contains a little more than two hundred acres. . . . Much of it slopes to the east and commands beautiful views of the Valley and of the Blue Ridge Mountains beyond. The land extends to within a quarter of a mile of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at a point where there is now a siding. That road has expressed much interest in the College and has offered to discuss with us the question of additional facilities if and when they may be needed. . . .¹⁹⁷

This college site was purchased from Dr. R. P. Bell and his wife for \$60,000 and with the endowment left to the College by Miss Baldwin. This inheritance with interest amounted to \$59,790.35 in January, 1923.¹⁹⁸ To secure a better defined site for the College, the Board of Trustees purchased for \$3,000 five acres adjoining this property.¹⁹⁹

In its report to the Synod in 1923, the Board also announced the removal of the requirement that a majority of the Board be members of the First Presbyterian Church of Staunton. A friendly suit in chancery "had been brought by the Trustees of the College against the Trustees of the Church and by order of the court agreed to by both parties, a deed had been made in which the clause was omitted."²⁰⁰

The College had now met all conditions required by the Synod and was anxious to secure the money promised in order to begin the buildings on the college site. The problems of conducting the college and preparatory divisions in the severely limited space increased; also it was impossible to secure accreditation for the College from the State Board of Education until the schools were separated. In his report in January, 1924, Dr. Fraser declared:

At the outset many problems and uncertainties beset the effort to organize and conduct the College in the same plant in which we were also conducting a preparatory school; such as the rooming of students; the arrangement of them in the dining hall; the granting of privileges to college students which discriminate them from Seminary students; the application of church attendance rules to the two bodies; the use of the academic and library equipment by the two sets of students; the wise

handling of the overlapping of the Junior College upon the College proper; such a regulation of the comparative number of College and Seminary students as to avoid a crippling of the revenues. . . .

The whole situation emphasizes the need for getting the funds to be provided for by the Synod just as soon as practicable, in order that sufficient buildings may be erected on the college grounds to accommodate the college department separate from the Seminary. I suggest that whatever the Board can do to expedite the Synod's campaign for \$500,000 be done at this meeting. A communication to the Synod's Committee that will have control of that campaign would probably be the best way to begin. I believe that it would be the best policy to have the Staunton Campaign for \$100,000 and the Synod's campaign for \$500,000 conducted simultaneously, so that both could get the benefit of the same publicity and each would profit by the enthusiasm which the other might create. I understand that the Chamber of Commerce is ready to begin whenever the Board indicates that it wishes to do so.²⁰¹

Dr. Fraser's proposal was carried out. A communication suggesting that a campaign be put on was sent to the Synod Committee.²⁰² Dr. Fraser had proposed also at the January meeting that an Alumnæ Endowment Campaign be begun. "In conversation with the officers of the Alumnæ Association, I have found them eager to do some substantial part," he stated.

The death of Woodrow Wilson on February 3, 1924, suggested the combining of a Wilson Memorial with the college plan and the institution of a national campaign for this purpose. A committee of the Board was appointed to confer with the Synod, the Chamber of Commerce, and the alumnæ about the matter. This committee presented the following report in August, without making a recommendation:

1. That a campaign be inaugurated at the earliest date practicable with a view to raising \$500,000 through the alumnæ, and \$1,000,000 through others, not including the amounts promised by the Chamber of Commerce of Staunton and the Synod of Virginia.

2. That a firm of financial specialists be asked to conduct this campaign on terms mutually agreed on.

3. That the Chamber of Commerce of Staunton be invited to join in the campaign adding its amount to the amounts raised through the alumnæ and others and bearing its proper proportion of responsibility for and expense of the campaign.

4. That in view of the status of the former educational campaign conducted by the Synod of Virginia the amount promised by that body not be included in this proposed campaign.

5. That it be understood that one fourth of the net amount realized from this campaign be used for permanent endowment and the remainder for physical plant, including buildings and equipment, unless otherwise designated by the subscribers.

6. That the campaign for the million dollars to be raised from others than alumnæ be based on a plan to establish in the college an appropriate memorial to Woodrow Wilson and that the Board seriously consider the form of this memorial, particularly the advisability of changing the name of the college (not of the Seminary) to Woodrow Wilson College.²⁰³

The Board of Trustees adopted this report with some modifications. They voted against a change of name; they resolved that some kind of memorial to Wilson be established, the form to be determined later; that a fund of \$500,000 (instead of \$1,000,000) be raised for the college to provide the memorial; that the Board cooperate with the alumnæ to raise their \$500,000, employ specialists, and pay the expenses; and that the three campaigns, as suggested above, be conducted together. At a later meeting it was voted that the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Fund be used for three purposes: (1) to purchase the Manse, his birthplace, and provide an endowment for its maintenance as a shrine; (2) to restore the Chapel, where he was baptized, to its original form; (3) to provide and equip an administration and academic building on the college campus to be dedicated as the Woodrow Wilson Hall; that the alumnæ fund be used to erect and equip a group of buildings for dormitories and a dining hall on the college campus, the principal one of these to be designated the William Wayt King Building, according to the request of the alumnæ; and that the Chamber of Commerce fund be used for improving the grounds of the college campus, for providing utilities, and for erecting a president's home.²⁰⁴ The Synod fund, raised in a separate campaign, would be used for permanent endowment.

The Chamber of Commerce Campaign was conducted in the spring of 1925, under the direction of General Hierome Opie, President of the Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. W. A. Pratt, Chairman of the Campaign Committee. At the meeting of the Board of Trustees in July, the Executive Committee stated that \$108,897.05 had been raised in ten days.²⁰⁵ "This was more than double the amount of any previous popular subscription raised in Staunton for any altruistic cause. The occasion was characterized by a spirit of cooperation and enthusiasm never before

surpassed in the community. All classes of citizens, many business firms, civic organizations, churches, church societies, and faculty and students of other schools participated in the effort," Dr. Fraser had reported to the press.

The Alumnæ Campaign, financed by the College and carried on under the management of Mr. Bayard M. Hedrick, of Ward, Wells, Dresham, and Gates of New York, was launched in June, 1925. Mrs. Benton McMillin, a prominent alumna, served as General Chairman of the Alumnæ Campaign. The Executive Committee of the Board reported in July that sixty alumnæ chapters were organized, but that only \$26,702.60 had been raised thus far and at a large cost, which was paid by the College. Dr. Fraser had recognized the special difficulties to be expected in this campaign and had said to the alumnæ in May:

Our former students are widely scattered. Many of them were short-term students, who came here for preparation and went elsewhere for college degrees, which we have not until recently been in a position to offer. No attempt has ever before been made on a large scale to organize our alumnæ, to create an esprit de corps, or to bring them into sympathetic cooperation in any common cause. No appeal has ever been made to them for financial help in maintaining or expanding the Alma Mater. The task the alumnæ set themselves, therefore, was not merely the raising of a sum of money, but the creation of an organization. . . . One of the greatest benefits of the campaign will be the organization it will leave behind and the spirit of loyalty and cooperation aroused. These will be an immense moral support to Mary Baldwin College and Mary Baldwin Seminary throughout their future.²⁰⁶

By May, 1928, the alumnæ had subscribed \$37,523.20 and paid \$24,100.00.

The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Campaign was postponed until the fall of 1925, in order that it not coincide with another national campaign still in progress, that of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, which was attempting to raise \$1,000,000, the income from which was to be used to grant awards "to the individual or group that has rendered within a specific period meritorious service to democracy, public welfare, liberal thought, or peace through justice."²⁰⁷ To this fund the students of Mary Baldwin had contributed \$240.²⁰⁸ But the time was not opportune for memorials to Wilson. There were, however, high hopes for the Wilson Memorial for a time. An impressive list of men and women of

national note made up the National Advisory Committee, with President E. A. Alderman of the University of Virginia as Chairman. The difficulty of getting workers to give active service to the cause, Dr. Fraser reported to the Board in January, 1926, and in the following year the hopes for the success of this campaign were about gone. Dr. Fraser announced to the Board in May, 1927, the status of the campaign:

I regret to report to you that the effort to raise a fund for the Birth-place Memorial to Mr. Wilson is discouraging and places our Board in an embarrassing dilemma. Only about \$26,000 has been contributed. Very few states have made any effort. It seems almost impossible to get a number of men who are capable of conducting a campaign to devote their time gratuitously to this work. . . Even in Virginia the organization of Congressional Districts has failed in more than half the state.²⁰⁹

That this campaign had not only failed but left the Board with obligations and liabilities beyond the returns, his report made clear:

The dilemma is this: it is impossible to abandon the effort because the money could not be redistributed. . . . In the State of Louisiana, for example, which has made the largest contribution, the money has nearly all come from children in the public schools in small amounts, some of them being as small as one penny. Yet the money received is not sufficient to purchase the Manse, even though the Church has offered to transfer the property upon the modest condition of its being replaced by another residence equally suitable for the minister's home. . . . The Board of Trustees has already expended more money in the effort to organize this campaign than the total amount of the proceeds. . . .

In January, 1928, Dr. Fraser stated that members of the National Advisory Committee, to which the Board looked for counsel, had recommended giving up all objectives except the Manse.²¹⁰ Ray Stannard Baker had suggested, however, that the matter be held in abeyance for a time and an entirely new effort made. He looked no doubt to a revival of interest in Wilson and his policies. The Board decided to act upon the former suggestion. In 1929, it purchased the Manse from the Church for \$30,000.²¹¹ At this time the Wilson Fund was \$31,796.82. The Board of Trustees had borrowed up to January 18, 1927, the sum of \$33,000 for the Woodrow Wilson Memorial; and the cost of

the Alumnae Campaign to the College brought the total expense to \$56,000.

In its report to the Synod in 1928 the Board of Trustees stated that since the college features had been eliminated from the Memorial, it would seek to sever its connections with it by placing it on an independent basis. This plan was not to be realized until 1938. It might be mentioned here that the Church had provided in its sale of the property to the College that Mary Baldwin might have the right to convey it to a society for the perpetuation of the name and fame of Woodrow Wilson, "the matter of conditions, restrictions, etc., to be incorporated in the deed from the College to such a memorial society to be left to the discretion of the Board of Trustees, except that the congregation specifically directs that a provision be incorporated in said deed that the Manse property shall not be open to the public on Sunday."²¹² This limitation was removed, however, when the property was transferred by the College to the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation in 1938.

In the course of the campaign, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson offered to give to the Birthplace Memorial Wilson's automobile. In her letter to Dr. Alderman, the Chairman, she explained the gift.

I am writing you in regard to the old Pierce-Arrow Limousine which Mr. Wilson used on so many historic days; for instance, he rode from the Peace Conference in it and it was the car in which he rode from the Capitol after leaving office to his own home, and in which he took all of his rides for several years.

I did not feel, in view of all these associations, that I could sell it . . . and it has occurred to me that perhaps the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Memorial might like to have it, because of this association. . . .²¹³

The car was accepted and is among the possessions of the Woodrow Wilson Shrine today.

In the meantime, the Synod had taken no steps toward raising the \$500,000 endowment promised upon the transfer of the College to its control; and the College became more and more urgent in its desire that something be done. The Synod's attitude from the beginning was discouraging. In 1924, its Committee on Education

had congratulated the school upon the inauguration of the college department and approved the plans for an *alumnæ* campaign in connection with that of the Chamber of Commerce. But it added: "We would advise the College that the Synod does not believe the time is opportune to launch a Synod-wide campaign to raise the \$500,000, by reason of the large amount still to be paid on the Million Dollar Education Fund" (in which Mary Baldwin College did not share).²¹⁴ In 1923-24, the first year under Synod control, of the \$30,000 to be paid the College annually until the endowment was raised, only \$1,594.75 was paid. In its report to the Synod the Board protested that this item was different from other items in the Synod's budget for benevolences, which were voluntary, depending upon the wishes or ability of the churches of the Synod to contribute; but that this was a financial obligation, a condition upon which the property was accepted. It continued, emphasizing what had been Dr. Fraser's reason for raising Mary Baldwin Seminary to the college level:

The question has been raised whether the Synod of Virginia has ever been aroused to the importance of a college for women. Young women in large numbers, many of them Presbyterian women of Virginia, are demanding a college education, and they are getting it. Numerous and powerful institutions for the education of women are supplying the demand, and, for lack of a college of our own, our women are attending the others. In many of these institutions dangerous theories of Science, Philosophy, and Religion are sown in the minds of the students and are scattered broadcast among our youth, and their faith is seriously threatened. To meet this menace all orthodox denominations are conducting their own colleges and expending great sums of money on them. All the stronger Synods in our church, possibly all Synods, have their colleges for women. Some of them have several women's colleges. Other denominations in Virginia are equipped with women's colleges. The Synod of Virginia has only recently undertaken to found such a college and has only one. Should it spare money or lose time in putting it on the safest foundation financially and morally?²¹⁵

In 1925, the Board reported to the Synod that the Chamber of Commerce had raised \$108,000, a sum larger than that promised, and stressed the increasing need for separation of the College and Seminary as the college department grew. By 1926, the Board was seriously embarrassed by the impatience of Staunton

to see some evidence of the new college. As it stated to the Synod:

As the end of the four years approaches, and the Synod has not taken any steps toward the fulfillment of its promise, very great and growing discouragement is felt in Staunton and vicinity. The question is continually asked: "When are you going to start your college building?" When the question is answered, "As soon as the Synod gives us the money," it is extremely embarrassing to the Board and not satisfactory to the questioner. We are in serious danger of losing local confidence in the college and loyalty to it, and we are also in danger of losing the unpaid part of the local subscription.²¹⁶

At this meeting the Synod instructed its Ways and Means Committee on Christian Education to proceed with the matter of raising the endowment.

In 1927, the Synod met in Staunton. The Ways and Means Committee reviewed the whole history of the relations of the Synod and Mary Baldwin, declaring that the Synod's failure had brought reproach upon it and mortification to the local friends of the College, and recommended that the \$500,000 be asked from the presbyteries of Virginia payable in three years from 1928, the money to be raised through existing machinery. In case this recommendation or an equivalent substitute should not be adopted, the Committee recommended that Mary Baldwin be deeded back to the Board of Trustees who made the transfer, or to a Board acceptable to them, that the Synod maintain Mary Baldwin on its budget until it had met its part of any financial loss incurred by the Seminary, and "that the Synod express to the original Board of Trustees its willingness and desire to retain an interest in Mary Baldwin Seminary and invite the Board of Trustees to state to the Synod the conditions under which this privilege and right might be given."²¹⁷

The Synod adopted a substitute plan, which embraced the first recommendation of the Committee:

1. The Synod of Virginia in session at Staunton, Virginia, September 14, 1927, recognizes its obligations to Mary Baldwin College assumed in 1922.

2. We request our churches to meet the assessment of \$30,000 on this and succeeding years until the obligation is met. [Up to this date \$41,396.33 of the \$90,000 due had been paid.]

3. We instruct the Board of Trustees of Mary Baldwin College to select as soon as possible a representative who will give his entire time to rais-

ing the \$500,000 for Mary Baldwin College, the Synod financing the movement.

4. The Synod approves of any of its presbyteries assuming the amount suggested by the Ways and Means Committee as indicated in proposition I of their report.²¹⁸

The Synod set aside no fund to finance this endowment movement. In its report to the Synod in 1928, the Board of Trustees declared that it had referred the matter to its Executive Committee, who reported that it met two obstacles in the plan of the Synod: (1) that men of experience thought an organization better than one man; and (2) that the Synod had provided no funds to finance its campaign and the College had just incurred such expenses in campaigns that it was out of the question to put any more of its funds in jeopardy. The report stated, however, that the Board had instructed its Executive Committee to employ some one to lay the matter before the larger churches, using a sum not to exceed \$2,000. Dr. Fraser, making this report, stated that he had agreed to do this and had secured several others to help. Some churches had been visited and a number of letters written in an effort to lay the matter before them. No money had been yet asked. Up to this date \$1,000 had been subscribed voluntarily to the \$500,000.²¹⁹

At its meeting in 1928, the Synod reaffirmed its interest in and obligation to Mary Baldwin and recommended that the Board of Trustees "elect as soon as possible a full-time officer to initiate and direct this work since it can best be done under the supervision of the College."²²⁰ (The Synod had suggested "president." Dr. Fraser advised the change of term to "full-time officer," in order to leave the Board more freedom in defining his functions.) It rejoiced with the Trustees that the recognition of Mary Baldwin by the State Board of Education as an "A" grade college was in sight and commended highly the zeal and work of Dr. Fraser. It appears that the failure of the Synod to meet its obligation was due in no sense to friction with the officials of the College or criticism of its administration, but to neglect to provide a means for fulfilling its obligation. It looked to the College to take the initiative, without providing it with funds, however. Its procrastination would seem to indicate the absence of any general enthusiasm for a Presbyterian college for women. Dr. Fraser

made the following statement with reference to the Synod's failure, which offers, however, little clarification of its causes:

There is a good deal of comment becoming more current to the effect that the failure of the Synod to raise its \$500,000 is the result of a lack of leadership. To a considerable extent this is true. To a larger extent, it is not sustained by the facts. It is perfectly useless to attempt to place the blame for past mistakes. We are concerned about the present and the future. If that opinion exists to any extent, it would be unwise to antagonize it, whether true or false.²²¹

The failure of the Synod to raise the \$500,000 in the five years left to the Board the matter of liquidating the Chamber of Commerce contributions. The Synod advised, "or if necessary authorized," the Board of Trustees to return the money raised by the Staunton Chamber of Commerce and to cancel all unpaid subscriptions.²²² At a meeting of the Board of Trustees on October 9, 1928, it was resolved

that in pursuance of this authority given this Board by the Synod of Virginia, a letter be sent to each of the subscribers to the Chamber of Commerce campaign for \$100,000, setting forth the present status of the College, its progress and purposes, offering to return to such subscribers as desire it their pledges, together with such amounts as have been paid thereon.²²³

Some members of the Board had approved returning the money and pledges without waiting for a request. Considerable feeling existed in Staunton upon the matter. Mr. King reported in January, 1929, that one hundred fifty-one subscribers had asked for a refund of the money paid and the cancellation of their pledges; sixty-eight had asked only for the cancellation of the amount unpaid; some asked for a refund of one-half of the amount paid and the cancellation of that not paid.²²⁴ In the report of the Board to the Synod in 1929, it was stated that \$13,002.21 had been returned and pledges cancelled up to \$34,956.71.²²⁵ Although the Alumnae Campaign subscriptions had not been conditioned upon the results of the Synod Campaign, its failure affected the payments on these subscriptions. The rumor got abroad that the plan to make a college of Mary Baldwin had been abandoned and some alumnae requested that their contributions be returned.²²⁶ In July, 1929, Mr. King reported that

since it had become generally known among the *alumnæ* that the new college plant would not be built in the near future, the collections on the pledges had been more difficult. At least seventy-five subscribers had quit paying, he stated, and some were asking for a refund of the money paid.²²⁷

In the meantime, the Board of Trustees had decided to discontinue the Seminary, since funds had not been secured for a separate college.²²⁸ Its action, necessary to secure the accreditation of the College, was explained in a detailed public announcement made more than a year before the closing of the Seminary.²²⁹ This decision of the Board of Trustees displeased further local patrons of the school. There were some Stauntonians certainly who valued the school as a Seminary above its use as a college, since they sought a select preparatory school. These were indeed not happy years for Mary Baldwin.

The Board of Trustees had decided to drop the prosecution of the campaign for the Synod's \$500,000 until it found the "full time officer" suggested by the Synod. Dr. Fraser resigned as president of the College in October, 1928, his resignation to take effect as soon as a successor could be found.²³⁰ A committee was appointed to find a successor and to consider the matter of the campaign. This committee recommended Dr. L. Wilson Jarman, who was elected president in May, 1929. The administration of Dr. Jarman as president is the subject of the final chapter of this history.

PROBLEMS OF SEMINARY AND COLLEGE: THE END OF THE SEMINARY, 1916-1929

In this difficult period of transition from Seminary to College, important contributions were made to the evolution by the *alumnæ*, by the faculty, and by others. But the two whose work counted most heavily toward this achievement were Dr. Fraser and Miss Higgins. To Dr. Fraser belongs the credit for the final decision of the Board of Trustees to raise the Seminary and Junior College to a four-year college in 1923 and for the maintenance of the public relations of the school to the citizens of Staunton, to the *alumnæ*, and to the Church in a time of uncertainty and friction when its standing and patronage were threatened. As President of the College and also of the Board

of Trustees, he smoothed the way for Miss Higgins and the faculty in making the internal changes necessary to the establishment of a senior college. Upon Miss Higgins, as principal of the Seminary and dean of the College, rested the responsibility for the academic evolution.

Dr. Abel McIver Fraser was born June 14, 1856, in Sumter, South Carolina, of two notable South Carolinian families. Aside from some members of the faculty and many students, the South Carolinian connections of the school have thus been represented in two heads. It will be recalled that the founder, Dr. Bailey, had received his orientation in the Southern traditions by a long residence in that state. Dr. Fraser's father, known as the "just judge" of Sumter, had given a long life of service to his state as legislator, constitution maker, and judge, during which he played a leading part in the recovery of South Carolina from corrupt "Reconstruction" government. Dr. Fraser was a graduate of Davidson College, North Carolina, where he was a classmate of Woodrow Wilson, and of the Columbia Theological Seminary. After thirteen years of service as pastor in Kentucky, he came to the First Presbyterian Church of Staunton in 1893. Here he was to remain the beloved pastor until 1932, when his health made necessary his retirement. He died in Staunton in 1934.

Dr. Fraser's services to Mary Baldwin were varied and long continued. He had become a member of the Board of Trustees during the lifetime of Miss Baldwin, in 1893. Although he came to know her only late in her life, Dr. Fraser had a profound appreciation of Miss Baldwin's work. He was the chief speaker at the unveiling of the memorial window to Miss Baldwin in 1901. In an article published in the *Union Theological Seminary Review* in 1899 he paid a beautiful tribute to her and insisted that some one should write her biography. To that thought he returned in later years and after the Seminary became a college. It will be recalled that he regretted that he had not promoted the advancement to a college earlier, because he felt that Miss Baldwin would have wished that.

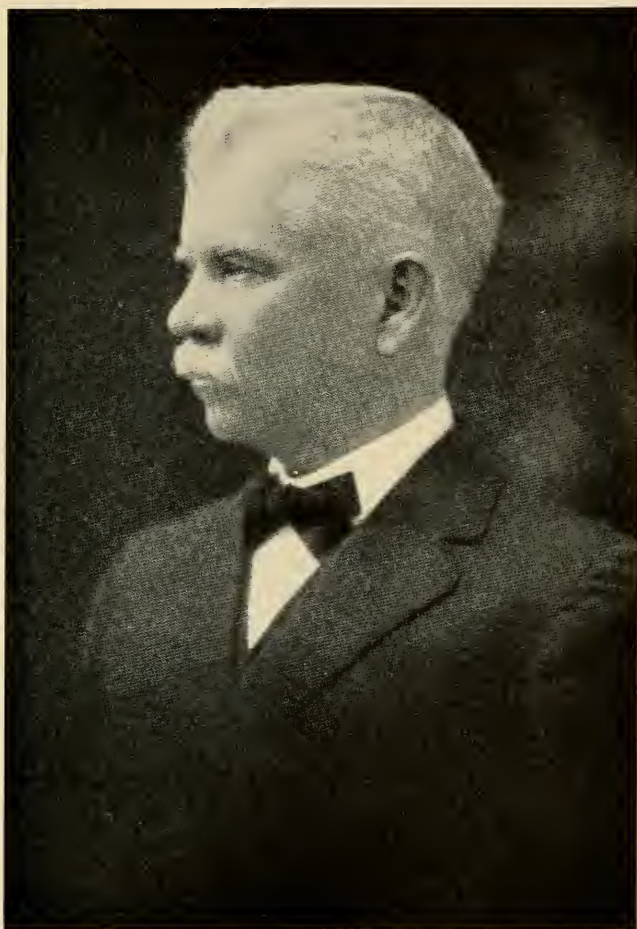
Upon the death of Professor John Murray in the fall of 1897, Dr. Fraser was chosen as chaplain of the Seminary to conduct the daily chapel exercises. This brought him added contact with and influence over the students, all of whom attended his church

at least once on Sunday. At teas in the church parlors, as sponsor of the first organized college class, that of 1912, in contacts with the alumnæ, Dr. Fraser exerted an influence greater perhaps than was apparent at the time. He was quiet, somewhat shy and retiring, gentle, and unassuming, not the sort of dominant personality that would arouse at once the enthusiasm of young girls. But he won their respect and devotion. When he went as a delegate to the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, the *Miscellany* rejoiced that "our 'Little Minister' will have a rest amid the classic scenes of the old world."²³¹ He was, it might be said, quite literally the "Little Minister," being small and slight in physique. His influence depended entirely on his moral stature. The frequent and required church-going of the students was not conducive to close attention to sermons. The following statement from an essay of a student of 1923 on "Air Castles" reflects, nevertheless, the general reputation of Dr. Fraser as a preacher as well as a characteristic diversion of girls in church:

There is one time when I find it most convenient to build these castles in the air, and that is during our Sunday sojourns to the church across the street. I have heard that there are splendid sermons delivered from that pulpit, but so far I have heard it indirectly. Every Sunday it is the same. I seriously intend to listen and hear those sermons, but I never get any further than hearing that pleasant voice reading from Isaiah or Hebrews and before it is finished, I have started the foundation of an air castle. . . . ²³²

As preacher and spiritual guide, Dr. Fraser was trusted and revered for his unquestioned integrity and sincerity, his courageous adherence to principle, his absolute lack of personal ambition, his deep spirituality, his saintliness. He was old-fashioned in some of his notions as to the church service. He objected to women speaking in the church, even in the young peoples' meetings, and to the use of flowers. But after his retirement as pastor he made no criticism as pastor emeritus of the church to the changes made by his successor.

Dr. Fraser's worth as a religious and educational leader was widely recognized and many important positions in the field of religion and education were offered him. He refused to leave the First Church, but served both church and the cause of edu-



ABEL MCIVER FRASER

cation in many ways that did not necessitate such a withdrawal. Besides his services to Mary Baldwin, he was a trustee of Hampden-Sydney and Washington and Lee; and was prominent throughout his life in presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies of his church. He was a member of six general assemblies and a moderator of the assembly in New Orleans in 1919. Three times he was elected president of the Columbia Theological Seminary, from which he was graduated, but he refused to leave his pastorate.²³³

Dr. Fraser was appointed a member of the first Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees upon the reorganization of the Board after the death of Miss Baldwin. Upon the death of the Reverend George W. Finley in 1909, he was elected president of the Board of Trustees.²³⁴ Of his work in that position much has been said in the preceding pages. Dr. Fraser blamed himself later that he had not taken the initiative much earlier in raising the level of the school. The acceptance by the Board of Trustees of the Seminary as it was is at least understandable. Dr. Fraser was the first to respond to the petition of some of the alumnae to make it a college, post-war conditions in colleges and universities finally deciding him for this change. Once convinced of the wisdom of this step, he did not spare himself before the Board and the Synod in trying to carry it to a conclusion. Looking back one might question the wisdom of his methods, but one cannot be sure that another approach would have succeeded better.

Upon the establishment of Mary Baldwin College in 1923, Dr. Fraser was chosen as its first president. He agreed to accept the presidency with reluctance and only temporarily, and was paid only a nominal salary for such a position, \$1,000 a year.²³⁵ As it happened he was to remain as president for more than five years, although he had sought several times to be released. Dr. Fraser considered his relationship to the internal administration of the school as advisory only. The efforts to raise an endowment had come to take much of his time, however, and both his health and his church demanded his resignation from the presidency of the College. When he resigned in October, 1928, he declared that his duties in connection with the College had come to occupy one-fourth of his time, whereas at first they had been negligible.

His church had become restless because of this encroachment on his time and energies.²³⁶

In a declaration made to the Board of Trustees in January, 1928, Dr. Fraser had explained at some length the considerations that led him to accept the presidency and the difficulties and misgivings he had experienced in that office. His statement indicates his appreciation of the problems created by the peculiar organization and administration of the school inherited from the past and by the conflict of Seminary and College interests, problems which he had thought might better be met by one long acquainted with the "spirit and methods" of the institution:

Throughout the whole conduct of the College it has suffered from the lack of an actual head who is familiar with business and also with college organization and administration. In my first speech to the Synod on the subject of a college, I assured that body that there was no purpose to provide a place for a super-annuated minister, but that the College should secure as its President the best college man in the South. When the time came to elect a President, I was elected over my protest, and I felt obliged to decline. Later I agreed to be President temporarily and nominally because I saw the danger of complications so long as the College and preparatory school were conducted in the same plant, if one unfamiliar with the operations of the school should be placed in charge and all the former officers were placed under his jurisdiction. It was my thought at that time that in five years at the outside the College and Seminary would be separated. When the campaign began, I confidently expected that it would be under control of an agency of Synod like that which controlled the Million Dollar Campaign. Had it been done it would have obviated the embarrassment which has arisen from having one in the lead whose whole life has been specialized in a radically different sphere of service. Today the situation demands a man of vigorous constitution and a familiarity with the work required. At the same time, there still exists the danger that would come from introducing into the management of the double institution one who is unfamiliar with its traditions and internal operations. I have no suggestion to offer, and, if I did, it would not be proper for me to make it.

I trust the Board will consider the last problem without the slightest embarrassment on account of personal considerations. It would be the greatest possible relief to me if I could transfer this responsibility to someone else. I profoundly deplore the weakness of our efforts traceable to my own lack of experience. On the other hand, I wish it distinctly understood that I do not shirk any duty. Any expenditure of my own vitality in the cause would be a joy to me, if it were not attended by a detriment to our college and the blighting of our hopes.²³⁷

Whatever the justice of his judgment of the situation and of his responsibility for it, one cannot but admire Dr. Fraser's fine spirit both in assuming the presidency and in seeking to be relieved of it. And certainly his fine spirit had been a primary factor in maintaining the integrity of the institution. Upon the election of Dr. Jarman in May, 1929, Dr. Fraser retired from the presidency, from which he had resigned the preceding October. He continued to serve as president of the Board of Trustees until 1932 and as a member of the Board until his death in 1934. To it he had given a service of forty-one years.

Aside from his services to church and Seminary, Dr. Fraser contributed much as a foremost citizen of Staunton. And his position in the city was, of course, a great asset to the school. In 1914, he was chairman of the Citizens' Committee that raised \$100,000 to erect the present Y. M. C. A. building. Dr. Fraser had been chosen to introduce President-elect Wilson upon his visit to the city in 1912, the highest honor certainly that Staunton could bestow. His services to the people of Staunton were innumerable as a speaker, a writer, a counsellor. Dr. Fraser held rigidly to his belief in the separation of church and state, however, and did not attempt to intervene in municipal politics, nor did he discuss public questions in the pulpit. The following comment by one well-acquainted with his work suggests the esteem in which he was held:

The hill town of the Shenandoah Valley is no mean city. To be prominent where dwell able jurists, proficient physicians, large-visioned business men, and celebrated educators is a distinction worthy of note. . . . However, if it were put to a vote of his fellow-citizens, there is little doubt that the one they would crown as the First Citizen would be the modest man who lives in "The Little White House" where Woodrow Wilson was born.²³⁸

Mary Baldwin was fortunate to have had his devoted services and his fine example of Christian living.

In the President's office at Mary Baldwin College hangs a portrait of Dr. Fraser copied by Mr. Bjorn Egeli, who became a sort of "court painter" for the school, from a photograph of Dr. Fraser. This portrait, a gift of the artist, was unveiled on February 21, 1935. The presentation was made to the Board of Trustees by Dr. Jarman and accepted by Dr. Hunter B. Blakely,

then chairman of the Board and successor to Dr. Fraser as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church.

The internal administration of Mary Baldwin from 1916 to 1929 fell to Miss Higgins, first as Principal to 1923, then as Dean of the College and Principal of the Seminary to 1929. And she was to continue for a part of one year, 1929-30, as Academic Dean of the College after the Seminary was closed. Miss Marianna Parramore Higgins had come to Mary Baldwin in 1908. She was a native of Virginia, born at Accomac, where she received her early instruction. Later she attended the Farmville Normal School and took special courses at Harvard and Columbia Universities. Before coming to the Seminary she had taught in Fredericksburg College, Virginia, and Columbia Woman's College, South Carolina. Her selection as teacher of English in 1908 is interesting. Miss Weimar reported to the Board of Trustees that Miss Long, who had served as a substitute in this position for a time, was quite satisfactory and would have been retained but for the fact that she had an opportunity to secure Miss Higgins, "a Southern lady and a Presbyterian."²³⁹

Miss Higgins had taken an active part in the reorganization of the curriculum under Miss Weimar. As a teacher of preparatory English, she reorganized that work and "made the four years of High School English fall into line with the (entrance) requirements of the colleges and therefore correspond with the courses in the best preparatory schools."²⁴⁰ Miss Latané, a colleague of Miss Higgins at a later date, gave her the credit for initiating the reorganization of the entire preparatory course, the other departments following her lead.²⁴¹ In 1915, she was chosen as a member of the committee from the faculty to make the changes necessary for recognition as a junior college.²⁴² Miss Higgins had certain qualifications for this work of reorganization. Coming from the outside with no special attachments to Mary Baldwin's peculiar system, she was better able to see its shortcomings than those who had lived with them for years. Moreover, she was a woman of considerable force who would not hesitate to tackle difficult administrative problems. Her energy and inclination to administrative leadership probably determined her choice as head of the school upon the resignation of Miss Weimar in 1916. By this date, it will be recalled, all the pre-

paratory work and the first two years of college work had been recognized by the State Board of Education of Virginia.

There was relatively little change in the curriculum from 1916 to 1923, except the changes incident to the World War mentioned above. Courses in the German language and literature were not restored to the curriculum until 1928. Spanish, introduced in 1917, was continued, and in 1918, Italian was added, primarily for voice pupils, the catalogue stated. In 1919, a special teacher of physical education was employed and the work expanded. Up to this time the teacher of expression had also been the director of physical education. In 1920, a third course in collegiate history was added, the history of Europe, 1789-1920, an addition due no doubt to the demand for more special attention to modern Europe and the background of the World War. In her first report to the Board of Trustees in January, 1917, Miss Higgins said she wished to expand the curriculum but so far had made no radical changes. "My aim has been to maintain and perfect what I found in discipline and scholarship."²⁴³ In her reports in the following years, Miss Higgins insisted that good students did not select Mary Baldwin, since it was now easier to find standard colleges granting degrees. Her emphasis on this conclusion must have had something to do with the movement for a college. By 1921, however, Miss Higgins was able to report an increased number in the collegiate classes. She had made a special effort to arouse an interest in the college courses and to encourage girls to go on to senior colleges.²⁴⁴ As to special departments, she stated that the college English, history, and Latin departments were large, and the Spanish and Italian growing. She encouraged the classical tradition, and expressed her gratification that Latin was one of the most popular subjects in school and that, by special request, the senior Latin class was being given some instruction in Greek. This subject did not appear in the catalogue, however, until 1928.

The following summary made by Miss Higgins describes the academic status on the eve of the transition to the college:

The total number of students enrolled for the session 1922-23 is three hundred and forty-four, showing an increase in the enrollment of nearly thirty-three and one-third per cent since the close of the session of 1915-16. Exclusive of the Graded Department about one-third of the new students . . . are high school graduates. . . Many of the high school

graduates are poorly prepared in Latin and the Modern Languages, and for this reason, they are making up conditions in preparatory work at the same time that they are doing collegiate work. Other high school graduates did not apply for the Junior College diploma, but came here for the specific purpose of taking courses in Music, Art, Expression, Physical Education, or Domestic Science. A large percentage of the students enrolled for this year are taking a preponderance of college work. The collegiate students in English number ninety-eight; collegiate history, sixty-seven; the Latin department numbers one-hundred and twenty-six, twenty-four taking collegiate Latin; the French department, one-hundred fifty-three; the Spanish and Italian departments total twenty-six. The Mathematics department includes one hundred twenty-four, thirty-one taking college mathematics; the Science department, consisting of Physics and Chemistry, is filled, many students having been refused admission to that department on account of limited space; the Domestic Science, Voice, and Commercial departments have a capacity enrollment; the Piano department shows a distinct loss. As the number enrolled for literary work increases, the number for special work naturally decreases.²⁴⁵

The work of reorganizing and expanding the curriculum for the college program initiated in the fall of 1923 and the problems involved in its institution were left to the direction of Miss Higgins. Dr. Fraser, now President of the College, declared to the Board in his report in January, 1924:

When you kindly elected me a year ago President of the College, I accepted the position with the understanding that I would not give my full time to its duties, but continue my relation to the First Presbyterian Church as its pastor. Accordingly, nearly all the practical work of the administration of the college has been in the hands of the Dean and the Business Manager. These two officers have conducted the college very much as they had always conducted Mary Baldwin Seminary. My own connection with the actual administration has been largely of an advisory nature.²⁴⁶

Some of the problems, both instructional and social, involved in conducting the College and Seminary in the same buildings he suggested in the same report:

At the outset many problems and uncertainties beset the efforts to organize and conduct the college in the same plant in which we were also conducting a preparatory school, such as the rooming of students, the arrangement of them in the dining hall, the granting of privileges to college students which discriminate them from Seminary students, the application of church attendance rules to the two bodies, the use of the

academic and library equipment by the two sets of students, the wise handling of the overlapping of the Junior College upon the college proper, such a regulation of the comparative number of College and Seminary as to avoid the crippling of revenues. . . . In all of this I have been a deeply interested spectator and have been in frequent consultation with the Dean. The successful manner in which these difficult problems have been met and solved has excited my admiration, and I commend it to yours.

The Board of Trustees had approved in October, 1922, the appointment of a committee of three from the faculty to act with Dr. Fraser and Dr. J. A. Burruss, President of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, in the reorganization of the curriculum. The actual work on the curriculum was done, it seems, largely by the faculty committee consisting of Miss Higgins, Miss Nancy McFarland, Head of the Latin Department, and Miss Edith Latané, Head of the History Department.²⁴⁷

The first step in the provision for a four-year college that aimed at standardization was the fixing of more rigid entrance requirements. Some advancement had been made in this direction under Miss Weimar's administration. A standard high school course was provided for those who wanted to qualify for entrance to a Class A college. But there remained many features of the old elastic system by which any one could enter and could take preparatory and college work in variable combinations. The College and Seminary, although still in the same buildings, were now separated to the extent that separate catalogues were issued, the Seminary catalogue issued in the traditional white and gold, that of the College in a "severe academic grey." The college catalogue of 1923 stated as requirements for admission that the applicant be sixteen years of age and that she present a record of sixteen units of high school work.²⁴⁸ The distribution of the prescribed courses is interesting. The student must have four units in English, one in history, three in mathematics, three or four in Latin (if the student had only three, she must take an extra year of college Latin), and two in a modern language. The three (or four) elective credits might be from a considerable range of subjects. The emphasis on mathematics and Latin indicates the strongly classical tradition. A student might enter as a conditioned freshman with fourteen units and make up the two

remaining ones in the freshman and sophomore years. Or a student who fulfilled all the entrance requirements might be admitted to the college department as a special student with the understanding that she take a minimum of twelve hours of college work.

For the Bachelor of Arts degree thirty-two session hours (sixty-four semester hours) were required courses, the remaining twenty-eight might be elected. There was yet no provision as to majors and minors. The prescribed courses were: English, six hours; history, three; Latin, three (if four units were offered for entrance); modern language, three (or six if no units were offered for entrance); psychology, three; science, three (or six if none were offered for entrance); mathematics, three; Bible, six; hygiene, two. For the first time the study of Bible was a required subject.²⁴⁹

There had been only twenty-one collegiate courses before the session of 1923-24. The number was increased now to forty-nine. Most of these were courses extended throughout the year, making them equivalent to twice the number of semester courses. The distribution of courses was as follows: art history, one; Bible, four; hygiene, one; economics, two; English, seven; French, four; history, six; Latin, seven; mathematics, seven; psychology and philosophy, two; physics, three; chemistry, two; Spanish, three. Among these courses one finds the following new courses: in the field of economics, introduced for the first time, an introduction to economics, and the economic history of England; in the field of English, American poetry, drama, and the novel; and in history, a course in American foreign relations and two full-year courses in United States history, to which only one year had been devoted before. Before 1928, considerable change and expansion took place in the curriculum. Some changes emphasized the past traditions of the school; some looked to the future. For example, a course in Old English, which had been dropped from the English course, reappeared, reminiscent of Miss Baldwin's day. Courses in Latin and mathematics increased from seven each to ten each, the former course especially emphasizing the traditional element. On the other hand, an education department appeared in 1924, with two courses; philosophy and psychology were increased from two courses to five; and American govern-

ment, a new course, was added to the economics curriculum. The field of the social sciences was to receive even more stress in the considerably enlarged curriculum of 1928-29.

Up to 1928, the objective had been to so maintain the work of Seminary and College that upon the separation of the two, there would be a patronage for each. Indeed, there was an effort to strengthen the primary courses in order that the patronage for the Seminary might be increased in that direction.²⁵⁰ As it became apparent, however, that separate buildings for a college could not be hoped for in the immediate future and since the new ruling of the Virginia Board of Education was that "on and after September 1, 1929, the minimum qualification for those persons beginning to teach in an accredited high school in Virginia shall be the baccalaureate degree from a standard college," the Board of Trustees decided to discontinue the Seminary work after the session of 1928-29 in order that the College be able to secure recognition by the State Board of Education. This event marked the end of an era in the history of Mary Baldwin. One part of "Miss Baldwin's School" had been lopped off; of necessity, it is true, in order that the other part should go on. After all, Miss Baldwin's objective had been the "higher education of women." But some now deplored the discontinuance of the Seminary, insisting that she "had loved to gather all the little children around her." Even those who approved the plan could but regret the necessity for the closing of the preparatory department, which had constituted an important part of the Seminary. The discontinuance of the Seminary meant a temporary loss of patronage to Mary Baldwin. Naturally this loss began in the last year of the Seminary, since its close had already been announced. Mr. King said in July that a number of preparatory students did not return because they could not complete the work in one year, and others failed to enter for the same reason.²⁵¹

Considerable changes were made in the academic work for the session of 1929-30. At its meeting on January 22, 1929, the Board of Trustees had approved the granting of the Bachelor of Science degree. Miss Higgins declared that this change "was welcomed particularly by that ever increasing group of girls who have had poor preparation in Latin or no preparation in Latin, and who do not care for Latin."²⁵² For the Bachelor of Science

degree, no Latin was required for admission, but one unit of science and three or four units of a foreign language (instead of the two required for the Bachelor of Arts degree) were prescribed.²⁵³ For securing the Bachelor of Arts degree, the required courses remained the same. For the Bachelor of Science degree Latin was omitted; otherwise, the required courses were the same as those for the Bachelor of Arts degree. Majors and minors were introduced for the first time, a major to consist of fifteen session hours, a minor of nine.

The new course of study contained interesting additions. The history of art now contained three courses, among them a course in contemporary art and artists, including American art. Bible had been expanded to eight courses. The department of biology appeared for the first time with four session courses; economics was the same, with three; education contained eight courses, five of them historical and theoretical, three in methods. English included twelve courses. French contained seven session courses; history was the same, except for the fact that American foreign policy was replaced by a course in international relations. German appeared again with five session courses; six were offered in Greek; hygiene and physical education contained eleven; in Italian two session courses were given; Latin, ten courses; mathematics, ten courses; philosophy, two; psychology, which now listed such new courses as experimental psychology, the psychology of adolescence, educational psychology, and social psychology, included five courses; physics remained the same with three courses; chemistry had advanced from two to three, with quantitative analysis. Sociology was introduced for the first time, with three courses. These were the introduction to sociology, educational sociology, and social psychology. Spanish had been increased to six courses. In comparison with the curriculum of 1923 with forty-nine courses, one hundred were now offered, more than half of them being session courses, with six semester (or three session) hours' credit. English led the list, offering thirty-six hours, or seventy-two semester hours; the next in line was Latin, with twenty-eight session hours; the last on the list was sociology with only four and one-half session hours. It is obvious from this summary, however, that the natural sciences, with biology added and an additional course in chemistry and

the social sciences, with much expansion in education and psychology and the introduction of sociology, had grown more in proportion than the traditional "schools." Whether this growth was good or bad might be left to the philosopher. It appeared to meet the demands of the time at least.

In 1927-28, the college enrollment in the various departments was as follows: Bible, 132; French, 98; Spanish, 38; Latin, 54; science, 45; psychology, 15; economics, 8; mathematics, 67; history of art, 37; history, 81; English, 179; hygiene and health education, 35; education, 15; sociology, 28.²⁵⁴ The number of full graduates from the literary department of Mary Baldwin Seminary from 1866 to 1923 was 157.²⁵⁵ In the first five years of the college, 1923-1928, the number was 50.²⁵⁶

The fine arts—piano, voice, elocution, drawing and painting—had been one of the outstanding features of "Miss Baldwin's School." This high status of the fine arts departments was maintained after the death of Miss Baldwin. Indeed, there was considerable expansion, especially in group singing, choral and glee club work, violin, orchestration, and organ. When the standardization of the school began to be discussed, a primary concern was the loss of income that might be expected in these departments. If the young lady sought a degree she would have to give more time to literary studies. Moreover, the application of entrance requirements would cut off many students of irregular literary preparation who might have come for work in these special subjects. Without an endowment, it was feared that the school would not be able to stand the loss of income in these departments. Mr. King was particularly concerned about this condition. In his report of 1929, he gave a comparison of the numbers in the special courses in 1922-23 and 1928-29. It was as follows: 1922-23, music, 125; voice, 43; art, 25; domestic science, 37. In 1928-29, the figures were: music, 71; voice, 34; art, 15; and domestic science, 9. The loss in these departments was 42 in 1928-29 as compared with 1927-28.²⁵⁷ In part, of course, this loss is explained by the loss of general enrollment in 1928-29, but it is greater in proportion than that loss. Miss Higgins' reports for some years had emphasized the fact that as the literary work was expanded the special departments suffered. She accepted this fact as a natural consequence. Since her main interest was

in attaining the standard college level, she was less concerned about it than Mr. King. However, she reported the following significant changes she had made in these departments to give them a better academic rating and thus to maintain the patronage:

1. Changing the requirements for graduation from the special departments. This change will decrease the number of special graduates for a while, but we hope it will result in turning out a finer type of graduate from those departments.

2. Offering a college certificate for the completion of a three-year course in special subjects, such as music, art, etc., so as to encourage the high school graduate to come to Mary Baldwin, even though they are not candidates for the A. B. degree. For economic reasons we are compelled to maintain our special departments at this time.

3. Allowing credit for music to candidates for the A. B. degree. If a student wishes to pursue the music course and at the same time receive the A.B. degree, we require forty-eight hours of literary work and twelve hours of music during the four years, the emphasis being laid on the theoretical studies in music. This has meant additional courses in Harmony and the History of Music.²⁵⁸

The catalogue of 1925-26 announced these additional courses, including also a course in music appreciation. For a number of years, there had been courses in the history of art. In fact, in Miss Baldwin's day, there had also been a course in the history of music. After 1925-26, the diploma for graduation in special subjects was replaced by a certificate only. In this year, "Expression" became "Spoken English." The glamour of "Elocution" thus evolved in a more realistic practical age into simple "Spoken English."

Domestic science had been a very popular subject for a number of years, with a capacity enrollment. From Mr. King's figures, quoted above, the enrollment dropped to nine in 1928-29. It had been twenty-two the year before. This drop is explained, no doubt, by the fact that the announcement had been made that it would be discontinued after 1929-30. Thus another feature of the old elastic curriculum made way for the standard college course. The business subjects were continued, however, but carried no credit towards a degree. A certificate was granted for the completion of the course. A more complete study of the physical education curriculum is given below in the section on "Health and Physical Education."

Another change that came in 1925-26 was the discontinuance of the granting of medals and prizes. The awarding of medals had been a prominent feature of the commencements from Miss Baldwin's day; in fact, from Dr. Bailey's day. But Miss Baldwin had greatly increased the awards. Her excellent business judgment, no doubt, led her to emphasize this feature; they possessed great advertising value. A suggestion of the value attached to these is found in the request made by an "old girl" who had lost her medal. In May, 1919, the Executive Committee stated to the Board of Trustees:

The Principal handed to the Executive Committee a letter from Mrs. Sallie Girdwood, a former pupil, stating that at the close of the session of 1874-75 she received a gold medal for proficiency on the organ, that she had lost it, and being very highly prized, she asks that the Seminary give her another in place of it, she paying the costs of the same. We recommend that the request be granted.²⁵⁹

The awarding of prizes had another value aside from attracting patronage; it kept pupils at school through commencement. All prizes were awarded on the last commencement program; they had to be received in person. The reports of the Principals from year to year indicate how difficult it was to keep the girls from leaving before the commencement programs began; indeed, since many did not seek "credits" or graduation, they often left before examinations. For example, Miss Weimar declared to the Board of Trustees in May, 1906: "As usual near the close of the session many pupils not willing to stand final examinations have departed to their respective homes."²⁶⁰ The number of boarding students, she said, had already dropped from 180 to 150. But rare the girl, no doubt, who would leave if she were likely to receive an award. "Practicing for receiving medals" was a favorite preparation for commencement, just as "bleaching" was. So the more prizes, the more chances that each individual felt she might have, the more pretty girls in white dresses to display on "circus benches" at commencement. But the college catalogue of 1924-25 carried the last announcement of these old-time awards. With the discontinuance of medals another feature of the old-time private academy had passed away. Although more is said about commencements later, another change that occurred in

1925 might be mentioned here. This year recorded the first graduation from the four-year college. The old ceremonials, white dresses, flowers, etc., were retained for the Seminary commencement, but for the separate college program there was the formal procession in cap and gown. There was one graduate, Miss Elsie Jones. Much was made at the time of the "first graduate" of the Seminary, Miss Nannie Tate, class of 1865, still living and present, and Miss Jones, first graduate of the College. There was, it must be said, an historical inaccuracy in this statement. There were graduates of the Seminary before Miss Tate. Miss Baldwin herself was a graduate and recipient of the white satin diploma.

Library and laboratory facilities increased considerably during this generation, although the expansion may appear relatively small. Soon after Miss Baldwin's death, the library contained 3,300 books. It was located in the small room (for a library) where the administrative offices are now. For some years the expenditure was small; in 1906-1907, for example, \$107.25 was spent. With the effort to raise the academic level of the Seminary after 1910, the amount increased to three or four hundred dollars a year. After the construction of Academic in 1907, the library secured a more commodious location on the second floor of that building, with the pleasant southeast exposure looking toward Betsy Bell. When the school sought recognition from the State Board of Education in 1916, the increase in the number of books was such that Mr. King reported that more space would have to be given to the library. The catalogue of 1915-16 stated that the library contained 5,180 volumes. Because of the small funds available for the library, books were selected, no doubt, with exceptional care. In 1920, the portrait of Mr. Waddell was donated to the Seminary and hung in the library and a collection of one hundred thirty-three books from his private collection was added to it.²⁶¹

Up to 1920, the library had not been catalogued. The only catalogue existing was a ledger with a list of accessions, from which a printed pamphlet was published, perhaps from time to time. The writer has seen the printed "catalogue" of 1891. The books, a well-selected lot, were listed according to their location in certain bookcases. Blank pages in the pamphlet gave room for new accessions. There was no system of numbering the books;

only the cases were numbered. In 1920, Miss Higgins stated to the Board of Trustees that she had decided the library should be catalogued and had selected the Library of Congress system. Her report of 1923 gives a concise statement of the condition of the library on the eve of the establishment of the College. The cataloguing had been completed by Miss Abbie McFarland, the librarian. The library contained 6,532 volumes.²⁶² By 1929, it had been increased to 8,755 books and had forty-six subscriptions to magazines and newspapers.²⁶³

The laboratories had possessed very meager equipment during Miss Baldwin's day; the sciences were not one of the major emphases nor a popular choice. Since experiments were performed by the professor in the presence of the class, the school could escape some of the cost in equipment and materials. From 1900, however, the catalogues announced that students were expected to perform the experiments. Perhaps the new science teacher, Miss Chatterton, graduate of Mount Holyoke, which had been rather exceptional in its stress on science, was responsible for this change. There was no separate item in the budget on laboratories in these years. It is safe to say that during the period of expansion in buildings up to 1910, little was spent. In July, 1915, Mr. King stated to the Board that the equipment would have to be increased and a new room fitted up, at a cost of \$600, in order to meet the requirement of the State Board of Education for recognition as a junior college.²⁶⁴ Another increase was made at a cost of \$1,000, when the Seminary was advanced to the senior college level. The Business Manager was authorized in the same year to purchase equipment for a psychological laboratory.²⁶⁵ With the introduction of biology in 1928-29, a biological laboratory was established.²⁶⁶ Up to the end of this era the chief emphasis in the field of college science was in chemistry. The improvement, made with very meager funds, owed much to the industry and scholarship of Miss Hurlburt, a Master of Arts graduate of Wellesley, who was head of the department for twenty years.

With the assistance of her faculty, Miss Higgins had done some very hard work under considerable restraints and limitations in raising Mary Baldwin to the senior college level. Much remained to be done indeed before it could secure the approval of

regional and national standardizing agencies. She had taken the first steps in that direction, however, in securing the approval of the Virginia State Board of Education. In 1925, Hampden-Sydney College conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters upon Miss Higgins in recognition of her work at Mary Baldwin, a distinction never before granted to a woman by this Presbyterian college for men. Miss Higgins appeared to enjoy the exercise of executive and administrative power, presenting a great contrast to Miss Weimar in this respect. Also she seemed to relish to the fullest extent the social obligations and privileges of her position in the associations with alumnae, patrons, and the public in general. She was a handsome woman, tall, imposing, always well-groomed, who satisfied in these particulars the demands of her office. She had worked hard to rise to the varied duties placed upon her in this period of transition.

Although Miss Higgins' name will appear in the later pages of this chapter in connection with the physical, social, and religious life of the school, and it will be found that she made considerable contributions in those fields, a word might be said here about her later years. She remained as academic dean of the College for the greater part of a year after Dr. Jarman became president. After a year as principal of Beverley Hall, a school for girls she established at Staunton, and several years of school work in Richmond and elsewhere, she retired to her home at Accomac, Virginia. Here she died on March 6, 1938. Memorial exercises were held in the Mary Baldwin Chapel on March 8 in recognition of her work for the school.

THE FACULTY OF THREE DECADES

Mary Baldwin might serve as an example of the Mark Hopkins system of education. These pages have certainly made clear the financial limitation under which the school was conducted. To an unusual degree the reputation of the school for high scholastic attainment had rested upon its teachers. The Executive Committee recognized this fact in its declaration in 1901 that the faculty "was keeping up its deserved reputation that has so long made the school what it is."²⁶⁷ The smallness of this home-school, the close association of students and faculty,

and the slight penetration of any outside distractions within the walls of the Seminary naturally gave the faculty larger opportunities to influence student thought and action than would have been possible under a different set of circumstances. Apparently the teachers enjoyed complete freedom as to the conduct of their classes, and as to methods and content of teaching. Mr. Murray was free to relate reminiscences of the Civil War in his geometry or natural science classes. But his cultured mind and gentle spirit gave educative value to whatever he might have chosen to discuss. On the whole, the recollections and records left emphasize the general severity of the standards that the teachers applied within the range of the course of studies. Miss Riddle was noted for long assignments in history and for demanding thoroughness in the preparation of them; under Miss Strickler one had to learn even the footnotes in Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar. At the same time the records repeat the tribute of succeeding groups of students to many of these teachers that they taught much beyond the scope of the courses; and, particularly, the fine art of noble living by their example. It is impossible to give a personal history of the members of these faculties of three decades; only a few individuals can be mentioned; but certain general observations about the faculty as a whole might first be made.

One finds in the study of the faculty, as in other aspects of the Seminary, the old and the new tendencies in education, interestingly combined. The fact that several members of Miss Baldwin's faculty continued their work for many years under Miss Higgins gave a continuity of ideals and practice. Later several graduates of the Seminary under Miss Baldwin were added to the faculty. Thus it constituted a vital link with the past and preserved the "personality" of the school. Around the devotion to certain teachers, the loyalty of the *alumnæ* could be more effectively organized than around material foundations or intangible ideals and memories. Sufficient new members were brought into the faculty, however, to prevent the viewpoint from being too narrowly parochial. Nevertheless, there were at times perhaps a preponderance of *alumnæ* on the faculty, sufficient that a charge of "inbreeding" might have been brought. In 1919-1920, for example, there were nine *alumnæ* on the faculty and two on the administrative staff or about one-third of

the entire personnel.²⁶⁸ And the number of "Virginia ladies" might have produced the criticism that it was parochial.

The increase in the size of the faculty was relatively small until the organization of the senior college in 1923. In 1897-98, the faculty numbered eighteen, in 1907-08, twenty-three; in 1917-18, twenty-five. These figures may not exactly represent the comparative teaching force. Some of the members of the faculty did not have a full teaching load, and it is not possible to determine just what the teaching load was. The figures may be taken, however, as a fairly accurate index. With the establishment of senior college work in 1923, the faculty was increased to thirty; with the closing of the Seminary in 1929 the number dropped to twenty-one. In proportion to the number of students the faculty was not, perhaps, below the normal size. In 1917-18, with twenty-five faculty members, there was a student body of 298.²⁶⁹ But ten of the twenty-five teachers were in special fields of music, art, etc. Several were used exclusively for primary and preparatory work. In 1925, two years after the establishment of senior college work, only eight teachers were engaged exclusively in college teaching.²⁷⁰

During Miss Baldwin's administration the practice had been to have men as teachers of instrumental music. In addition, she had chosen a man always as the teacher of natural science and mental and moral philosophy, and at first for the business subjects. All the other teachers were women. This practice was continued for a time under Miss Weimar. In 1902, however, a woman was employed for the natural sciences and mental and moral philosophy.²⁷¹ And the year before Miss Weimar had reported to the Board of Trustees that she had made a "new departure in the employment at a salary of a female teacher of instrumental music" and that it had proved entirely satisfactory.²⁷² Thus the tendency was toward the more exclusive use of women. Indeed, not until the session of 1930-31 and under Dr. Jarman's administration, were men employed again for teaching in the literary departments.

Although one can note in these years some tendency to choose "Southern ladies of Presbyterian faith," there was no narrow adherence to either sectionalism or Presbyterianism. There has never been a requirement that the members of the faculty be

Presbyterian. Catholics, Jews, Quakers, and Christian Scientists appeared in the faculties of these years.²⁷³ In 1928, Miss Higgins stated that the new members of the faculty for the following year were a Congregationalist from Connecticut, a Presbyterian from Missouri, an Episcopalian from West Virginia, and a Methodist from Louisiana.²⁷⁴ As to geographical distribution, the practice of selecting Europeans as teachers of foreign languages, of instrumental music, and sometimes of voice, was continued. There were in the course of years a number of teachers from the Northeast and several from the Middle West. The large number were Southern, however, and of these the majority were Virginian.

Considerable advancement was made in the academic standing of the faculty during this period, although it continued to fall short of college requirements. At the beginning of Miss Weimar's administration only two members of the faculty held degrees: one the Bachelor of Arts, the other a Master of Arts. In 1917-18, the faculty contained a Doctor of Philosophy from Cornell, Masters of Arts from Barnard, Wellesley, and Peabody, a Bachelor of Arts from Smith, two from Goucher, one from the University of Nebraska, and a Bachelor of Science from the Académie de Paris. Of the fifteen teachers in the literary departments, nine held degrees and four, higher degrees. In 1924-25, fourteen held degrees. In the meantime, some of the older teachers, Miss Riddle and Miss Strickler, for example, who began to teach before degrees were common, did special study in the University of Chicago. It is interesting to see the extent to which Mary Baldwin drew her teachers during this period from the graduates of the prominent women's colleges: Wellesley, Vassar, Smith, Mount Holyoke, Goucher, Barnard, Wells, and Elmira. On the other hand, there were graduates of Cornell, Chicago, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Syracuse, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Kentucky, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and a number of other universities, representing a nation-wide selection, as to the training of its teachers.

The salaries of teachers appear very small in comparison to those of the present day. There was no classification of teachers as professors, instructors, etc., and the salary scale showed considerable variation. In 1898-99, the salaries ranged from \$500 to

\$650 a year in addition to board and room.²⁷⁵ There were several salaries much below this level, and two above, at \$1,000. One finds on comparison with Mount Holyoke, for example, that these figures were not abnormally low. In 1900, the average salary there with home furnished was \$1,000 for a full professor and \$800 for an assistant professor.²⁷⁶ But this level at Mount Holyoke was recognized as low compared to that of other colleges and was raised by the end of the decade to \$1,600 for a professor, with proportionate raises for lower ranks. Salaries advanced slowly at Mary Baldwin. In 1914-15, they ranged from \$500 to \$900, with very few as high as \$900.²⁷⁷ The World War opened new opportunities to women and brought demands for higher salaries. Mr. King complained in 1919 that all new teachers wanted more money than their predecessors. Upon the establishment of the college, the heads of departments, now designated as professors, generally received \$1,300 and home, but a few fell below this and one received only \$850.²⁷⁸ Miss Higgins said to the Board of Trustees in 1926 that she was having unusual difficulties in securing suitable teachers at the salaries paid.²⁷⁹

The men teachers of instrumental music were paid a percentage of the tuition fees and a part or all the profits from the sale of sheet music. All women teachers of fine arts were paid salaries. In 1898-99, the three men in the department of music received two-thirds of the tuition receipts from their pupils and all the profits from music sales. In 1914-15 and afterwards, they were paid on this same basis, but were guaranteed a salary of \$2,000. The teacher of business subjects also received a part of the returns from the tuition fees. Like many other features of the financial administration, this system harks back to the old private school.

There was no plan of teachers' retirement pensions or annuities during this period. Occasional gifts were made to teachers who had served many years or rendered unusual service. In one instance a monthly pension of twenty-five dollars was granted to a retired teacher who needed assistance.²⁸⁰

Teachers were employed by the year, at first by Miss Weimar, later by the Board of Trustees. Apparently the tenure was secure, if reasonable satisfaction was given. There are few notices of teachers not being asked to return. Many taught for

a long period of years, some for a lifetime. There was, however, considerable change in the faculty. After the World War, particularly, it was hard to secure teachers who were willing to assume disciplinary duties. In 1925, Miss Higgins reported her difficulties both with respect to salaries and chaperonage:

The increase in the number of college activities, the multiplication of classes, and the constant demand made upon the teachers' time have caused some of the college teachers to feel that they must have college salaries. It is with reluctance that new college teachers undertake any governess duties as they consider that a college organization should relieve them of such responsibilities. The ladies who have been here for years are always ready to assist.²⁸¹

This was one of the many difficult problems of internal and social administration consequent upon the maintenance of College and Seminary in one group of buildings and upon the retention of the strict disciplinary methods of the girls' boarding-school.

As to faculty organization, there is little documentary evidence. If the minutes were kept, they have not been preserved. The reports of Miss Higgins to the Board of Trustees indicate that regular faculty meetings were held in her administration, and they probably were in Miss Weimar's. After the senior college work was added in 1923, Miss Higgins burdened herself with additional meetings. She had three separate meetings on successive Thursdays for college, preparatory, and special teachers, and sometimes a meeting of the entire faculty on the fourth Thursday.²⁸² How much influence the faculty had in determining the policy of the school along academic and social lines the writer would not venture to say. Even the Principal at first felt restrained apparently by the traditions of the school and the attitude of the Board of Trustees and the Business Manager. Some teachers of dominant personality, such as Miss Strickler, no doubt exerted much influence over internal policy. The old academic building was called commonly "Miss Strickler's Building." Whether the faculty was organized with a system of permanent committees the writer does not know. There were special committees on the reorganization of the curriculum for junior college recognition and later when the course of study was being raised to the senior college level. Other committees are mentioned,

especially a student program and classification committee, and in later years there were faculty advisers for small groups of students.²⁸³ No doubt, the highly personal character of relationships, the idea of a "family group" inherited from Miss Baldwin's day, and the relatively small size of the faculty made progress in formal organization and procedure slow.

The fact that for some time after Miss Baldwin's death the Seminary made no effort to meet outside academic standards reduced the necessary formalities in the keeping of records to a minimum. This made possible a more restricted administrative organization. Even so, one cannot fail to be surprised at the very limited force maintained. Miss Baldwin had employed an assistant principal and a secretary only eight years before her death. Upon her death Miss Weimar and Mr. King became Principal and Business Manager respectively. Until 1911, they served without assistants or secretaries. In that year a secretary was employed for each. Miss Jennie Riddle, who had taught English and later business subjects in the Seminary for about ten years, became Miss Weimar's secretary, although she was continued as teacher of stenography and typewriting. The faculty was called upon for disciplinary duties and perhaps also for administrative services. Other members of the staff in 1911 were a matron, a housekeeper, an assistant housekeeper, a librarian, an intendant of the infirmary, and the physician, who did not live in the College. Thus the organization continued until the end of Miss Weimar's administration. When Miss Higgins became principal, an assistant principal was employed in addition to the secretary, but the former office was discontinued in 1919. In the meantime, an additional assistant housekeeper, a supervisor of practice, and a "presiding teacher" for study hall had been employed. Faculty members still had to assist in the keeping of study hall, however. The supervisor of practice must have been a much needed officer in view of the large number of music pupils. Most of the practice rooms were located above the library in Academic. Student publications mention Miss Streit's (the librarian's) coming up to stop their playing "ragtime" when they were supposed to be practicing. The establishment of the College in 1923 enlarged the work of record keeping, and in the later 1920's two

stenographers were added to the administrative force. There was no registrar.

One must be satisfied by paying tribute to these teachers of three decades as a group. Nevertheless, one is tempted to mention some by name even though such a selection is open to question unless all, or many more at least, could be mentioned. About some who stayed only a short time there is little documentary record at hand. There was, for example, Miss Frances Bates, "a Presbyterian lady of elegant acquirements," who had soon to give up her work as teacher of literature, much to the regret of Miss Weimar;²⁸⁴ and Miss Klara Leeb, the first "lady teacher of instrumental music" in the Seminary, who left after three years "to go to her home in Sweden and then to Munich, Germany, where she will marry Mr. Richard Klyanie, the German consul to Roumania," the *Miscellany* recorded.²⁸⁵ And there was Mademoiselle Elizabeth Auguste K. DeReichard, of the University of Dorpat, teacher of French and German, who had to return to her home in Russia, and whose place was filled by a German lady, Mademoiselle Marie Emmerich, who "has proven a most admirable teacher," Miss Weimar stated;²⁸⁶ and Miss Minnie Chatterton, "a dainty lady clad in scarlet red," who taught science well, requiring the students for the first time to perform the experiments, but who did not like to take the girls out walking in procession, nor to keep study hall. About these, and many others, one would like to know more and write more if there were records and time and space. For all of these are a part of the history of Mary Baldwin. Perhaps in various corners of the world today they retain memories of their life here. When one contemplates the long procession of teachers and students and administrators and employees that make a school through a hundred years, one realizes the impossibility of writing a complete history of such an institution.

After the death of Professor Murray, Captain William Kable, graduate of the University of Virginia with a Master of Arts degree and founder of Staunton Military Academy, known for many years as the Kable School, became the teacher of mental and moral philosophy. He was the only man on the literary faculty. Professor Kable was much interested in the new movement for the standardization of schools and reorganized his own school

in keeping with it. Perhaps he planted the idea in the minds of the faculty at Mary Baldwin that bore fruit in the later effort at standardization of the Seminary. Captain Kable undertook the teaching at Mary Baldwin temporarily only and in addition to his duties at his own school, but his connection with the Seminary established a personal bond with the Staunton Military Academy, whose students, the "Kableites" or "Kable Lights" as the Seminary girls called them, were long denied admittance behind the walls of Mary Baldwin except on very rigid and strictly enforced conditions.

In 1902, Miss Weimar had an opportunity to employ Miss Mary Mattoon, one of the teachers of Miss Baldwin's day, for the department of mental and moral philosophy. When the study of Bible was introduced as a regular course, she was given this work, too. She remained in the Seminary until 1917, having spent the greater part of the period from 1877 to 1917 in its service. She was gratefully remembered by the students of the early twentieth century for her work as faculty adviser of the Y.W.C.A. and the founder of the first Student Association and of Association Day as a feature of the commencement program.²⁸⁷ She was a tall, handsome woman, with a lively interest in the world about her. It might be noted that she was an aunt of Norman Thomas and had much to do with his upbringing and education.

Mention should be made again of certain others of the "old guard," who have been discussed in the preceding chapter. Miss Strickler did not round out her "fifty years as teacher of Latin" until 1915. Then poor health made necessary her resignation. She died on January 12, 1918, and was buried near Miss Baldwin in Thornrose Cemetery. Before her death the New York Chapter of the *alumnæ* raised a fund among the *alumnæ* generally for a silver loving cup, presented to her during her last long illness. The *Alumnæ* Association also established a Latin prize in her memory.²⁸⁸ Among the distinct personalities that had made the reputation of Mary Baldwin for thoroughness in teaching and learning none surpassed Miss Strickler. Whether there was special motive in the selection of the severe granite, rough-hewn and lettered, for her tombstone, it seems particularly appropriate.

Among the most beloved, as well as most revered, teachers

who have graced the halls and classrooms of Mary Baldwin was Miss Martha Riddle, whose memory is honored in the Martha Riddle School of China and the Martha Riddle Residence Hall at Mary Baldwin, as well as in the lives of numerous students who pay tribute to her as their greatest teacher. In 1913, Miss Riddle resigned as instructor of the advanced college history, "because she felt a college graduate should fill this position."²⁸⁹ Miss Edith Timberlake, '25, a graduate of Goucher and Columbia University, took the advanced history courses for several years; in 1916, Miss Latané came as teacher of advanced history. Miss Riddle continued, however, as a teacher of history until the spring of 1919. The only criticism ever recorded of her was her too great "Southernness" and devotion to all Confederate veterans. She was admonished by the *Bluestocking* to "read a page [about the Civil War] written from the Northern standpoint."²⁹⁰ She continued to maintain Miss Baldwin's enthusiasm for foreign missions and for years was the teacher of a foreign mission study class in the Seminary, which always attracted a large number of girls. The Board of Trustees declared her service in the Seminary "a real ministry of religion."²⁹¹ Miss Riddle died on November 23, of the year of her retirement. Her life had been a benediction in two trying decades of Seminary history. Two sisters of Miss Riddle, Miss Anne and Miss Jennie Riddle, taught for a number of years in Mary Baldwin, too.

On the same day that Miss Riddle resigned, the Board of Trustees received the resignations of Miss Nannie Tate and Miss Anna Streit, the latter the faithful librarian of many years' service under three administrations. In reply to her letter of resignation the Board of Trustees commented on the "interesting but saddening coincidence" that the three persons who had been longest in connection with the Seminary should have sent in their resignations on the same day. Of the three, Miss Nannie's period of service had been much the longest; she was also the only one of the three who was an alumna of Mary Baldwin. As the Board of Trustees said: "It is a rare thing in the history of education that one person should teach in one institution for half a century, and it is rarer still that one should have as pupil and teacher a continuous connection with one school for sixty years."²⁹² The only other person whose connection with Mary Baldwin had

approached in length that of Miss Tate was her uncle, Mr. Waddell, who had been a member of the Board of Trustees from 1855 to 1914. As it happened, Miss Tate did not leave at this time. She was retained for the following year for limited work, at a nominal salary and a home. Miss Tate died at her home near Staunton on March 29, 1932. As head of the Primary Department, she had loved teaching the successive generations of little girls who came to Mary Baldwin and brought to her work a rare zest and enthusiasm. Her sister, Miss Annie Tate, has made the following interesting comment in a recent biographical sketch:

Miss Nannie would never have been called a conceited person, but she did think that her teaching was the best that could be done. . . . One year she and Miss Riddle together visited some of the famous schools in the North. Miss Riddle may have acquired many fresh ideas and new methods of teaching, but Miss Nannie came back more firmly convinced than ever that the best teaching in this country was being done in the Mary Baldwin Seminary. But she was always eager to try any new method that appealed to her and delighted in the latest textbooks.²⁹³

Two teachers in the fine arts department, who had taught many years under Miss Baldwin, continued well into the twentieth century—Professor Hamer and Professor Eisenberg. Professor Hamer, a native of Germany, born in 1843, had come as professor of music to Mary Baldwin in 1873. He was later given the title of director of the school of music, which he held until his death. Professor Hamer was a quiet, modest person, not the sort about whom legends gather. His solid worth to Mary Baldwin was outstanding, however, and was appreciated; likewise his worth to his church, the Lutheran, where he served as organist, and to the community of Staunton.²⁹⁴ He died in May, 1912. It was under Professor Hamer's direction that the school of music attained its great fame as a fine conservatory, to which the popularity and hence the financial success of Mary Baldwin for many years was due. He had brought his nephew, Professor Eisenberg, to the Seminary in 1885. The latter continued as professor of instrumental music until 1930. His large family of daughters furnished students to Mary Baldwin, and two of his daughters, Misses Luise and Mary Eisenberg, were teachers for a time. Mary Baldwin has indeed been much indebted to many notable

German men and some women, teachers of piano and voice and of the German language, who have had an important part since 1865 in making her what she is.

Another notable German teacher in the school of music was Professor W. R. Schmidt, now professor emeritus and still a teacher of music in Staunton. Professor Schmidt came to the Seminary in 1908, upon the request of Professor Hamer for another man to take over some of his work. He immediately became a popular teacher, and his public performances as a concert pianist and organist were enthusiastically received in Staunton. His first organ recital, a Wagner program given in 1916, called forth the old-time fervor of the Staunton press in praise of Seminary performances. It was declared "the most tremendous and sublime musical program ever rendered on the pipe organ in Staunton," one which "filled with ecstasy" his hearers.²⁹⁵ Professor Schmidt has continued his annual organ recitals at the First Presbyterian Church up to this centennial year, the latest, and he says, the last, having been given in March, 1942. He was active professor of music in Mary Baldwin College until 1936. In addition to his teaching piano and organ, Professor Schmidt, along with an earlier conductor, Professor Thomas Beardsworth, had done much to build up the orchestra, which was a prominent feature in the school of music for a number of years. After the First World War, he spent several summers abroad in concert tours in Germany and Austria, and, incidentally, in demonstrating the merits of the "Janko" keyboard, in which he had an interest of long standing.

In spite of more entertainments, music, drama, etc. from New York in the "Gay Nineties" and afterwards and the later attraction of motion pictures, the fine arts faculty of Mary Baldwin maintained great popularity before Staunton audiences through their own concerts and through the performances of their pupils. Among these, Miss Sara Greenleaf Frost, teacher of elocution from 1901 to 1910, drew overflowing houses, equal to those of Miss Baldwin's day, for her dramatic productions. She was highly appreciated in the school for the generous giving of her time and talents to both town and Seminary. She continued a work begun by Miss Wright in the 1890's in taking Mary Baldwin students abroad.²⁹⁶ She returned to Staunton in the

spring of 1911 to lecture on the Passion Play, which she had seen in Oberammergau the preceding summer.²⁹⁷ Another very popular teacher of expression was Miss Alice May Hamlin, who succeeded Miss Frost. The Art Exhibitions of the Seminary, continued as a part of the commencement program, brought notice and praise from Staunton to teachers of art, among them Miss Sarah Meetze, niece of Miss Weimar and a former student in the Seminary, who was head of the school of art from 1901 to 1915. Miss Meetze had an exhibition of the work of her department at the Jamestown Exposition of 1907.²⁹⁸ A later teacher of voice, better known, perhaps, for her thorough and conscientious teaching than for public performances was Miss Norma Schoolar, teacher of voice from 1918 to the later 1920's.

A member of the faculty and administrative staff of Mary Baldwin for many years, one who served in various capacities and performed ungratifying duties of discipline, such as supervising study hall and delivering the mail at a time when it was subject to close inspection, was Miss Helen Williamson, popularly known in her day as "Miss Priss." She had been graduated from the Augusta Female Seminary in 1894 in the school of elocution and had begun teaching as an assistant in the primary department while Miss Baldwin yet lived. Later she was an assistant in the English and elocution departments. After an absence of several years in the early 1900's, she returned in 1908 and remained until 1930, as assistant teacher, "presiding teacher," and assistant librarian. Although Miss Williamson often provoked the young ladies sorely in the performance of her disciplinary functions, her innumerable services to them were appreciated, as the following comment in the *Miscellany* of April, 1924, indicates. This was written just after Miss Williamson had been away in Washington recovering from a fall:

During that time . . . we had a tiny glimpse of Mary Baldwin without Miss Williamson and that one glimpse was enough. It wasn't Mary Baldwin at all. She wasn't here to care for our mail; to order our flowers; to arrange our dinners and lunches at the tea shop. We missed her at every turn, missed the thousands of things she did for us; but most of all we missed her. We've tried Mary Baldwin with her, and we've tried it without her, and we know which one we prefer.²⁹⁹

The teacher of natural sciences in Mary Baldwin from 1907 to 1927, Miss Mary Hurlburt, had the hard task of raising those neglected studies to the level, first of junior and then of senior college courses, a task made harder by shortness of funds. The popularity of these subjects increased so that the department was usually reported to have capacity enrollment. Student comments on Miss Hurlburt reflected always sincere admiration for her scholarship. Her special interest seems to have been chemistry, and it was declared that she could always be found in the chemistry laboratory. Another teacher who contributed much to the work of the reorganization of the curriculum for junior and senior college recognition was Miss Edith Latané, graduate of Goucher, and sister of the late well-known historian and teacher of history in the Johns Hopkins University, Dr. John H. Latané. Miss Latané was teacher of history and psychology for several years, then of history and economics. Upon her request in the spring of 1926 for a year's leave of absence, because of poor health (she did not return), Miss Higgins declared to the Board of Trustees that her "ability and sane advice during these trying years of transition have been of inestimable value to Mary Baldwin and to me personally."³⁰⁰ Two things of unique interest Miss Latané did, incidentally; one to write and present in April, 1916, with the assistance of the expression teacher, Miss Marjorie Day, a masque on the three hundredth anniversary of the death of Shakespeare; the other to assist in the organization of the first chapter of the American Association of University Women in Staunton and Augusta County in 1925³⁰¹ Unfortunately this organization did not attain permanency, and a new beginning had to be made later. Another teacher whose able services had helped in raising the academic level of Mary Baldwin to that of a senior college was Miss Flora Stuart, Master of Arts graduate of Columbia University. Miss Stuart was the niece of General J. E. B. Stuart. As head of the department of English from 1921 to 1929, she exemplified the finest traditions of Mary Baldwin in the fine art of teaching.

A teacher of the last of these three decades who continues into the present was Miss Fannie Strauss, generally known as "Miss Fannie." She was a full graduate of the Seminary in the class of 1912. In later years, after she began her teaching, she

received the Bachelor of Arts and the Master of Arts degrees from the University of Virginia and has done graduate work in the University of Chicago. Miss Strauss began her work at Mary Baldwin as a teacher of Latin in 1918. She has taught also in the mathematics department; but when the German language was restored to the curriculum in 1928, she took over that instruction, which she has maintained until the present day. Miss Strauss' home near the college campus became a popular resort a number of years ago for hungry schoolgirls. The *Miscellany* praised the "good eats" always anticipated and enjoyed. Also she is known to new students for her rides in her old-fashioned horse-drawn buggy. She has been the faculty adviser for the *Bluestocking* for a number of years. No member of the alumnae has given more freely of her time and energy to her Alma Mater.

Three alumnae of Mary Baldwin who were teachers in the period of transition to the College, Miss Nancy McFarland, Miss Nora Fraser, and Miss Virginia Switzer, present an interesting parallel in that all three took the Bachelor's degree from Cornell University after graduation at the Seminary and all won admission to Phi Beta Kappa, at one time being the only members of the faculty to have that honor. Naturally Mary Baldwin took special pride in the success of her own daughters. Miss Higgins declared in 1922: "The ladies of the faculty who were Mary Baldwin students lead in efficiency."³⁰² Miss Nora Fraser, daughter of Dr. Fraser, had been graduated from Mary Baldwin Seminary in 1901, after which she took the postgraduate course in Latin. After several years of teaching she entered Cornell University and received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1905. For nine years she was teacher of Latin in Sweet Briar College. Upon the resignation of Miss Riddle in 1919, Miss Fraser took her place as teacher of history. Here she remained until her death in 1927. Miss Switzer, the second member of this trio, was teacher of mathematics in the Seminary from 1919 to 1922.

There remain the McFarlands. They are still a part of the Mary Baldwin faculty and the vital link between the traditions of the past, the constructive work of the present, and the ideals of the future. Their father, Dr. D. K. McFarland, had been one of the most beloved pastors of the First Presbyterian Church of Staunton, although his ministry was cut short by an early death

in 1892. With a father born in Mississippi, a mother of South Carolina, and being natives themselves of South Carolina and residents from early childhood of Virginia, the McFarlands can claim the best of the Southern traditions, a claim which their lives fully justify. One is tempted to digress to mention the historical connections that happened to bring the McFarlands to Staunton. General Echols, resident of Staunton, Vice-President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, Trustee of the Seminary, had heard Dr. McFarland preach at one of the Virginia springs, and he recommended him as pastor to the First Presbyterian Church. This might be recorded among the other services that the Chesapeake and Ohio have rendered the College.

Miss Nancy and Miss Abbie, who came as little girls to study under Miss Nannie Tate, became full graduates of the Seminary. After graduation Miss Nancy went on to Cornell for the Bachelor of Arts degree and to Columbia University, from which she received the Master of Arts degree. Since then she has done graduate study in history at the Johns Hopkins University. Miss Abbie chose the field of library science and administration, which she studied in Columbia University. But her first connection with Mary Baldwin was as teacher of mathematics. Upon the retirement of Miss Streit in 1919, she became librarian, in which position she has rendered invaluable service in the standardization of the College and in the maintenance of standards. Miss Nancy, after several years of teaching in New York, came back to the Seminary as teacher of Latin in 1919. One of her early services was her work on the committee on the organization of the college curriculum in 1923. She maintained for a number of years at a high level the classical traditions of the Seminary, teaching large classes in Latin and introducing the study of Greek. The invading forces of the twentieth century have reduced the numbers in Latin, but the study still survives. In recent years Miss Nancy has taught also in the history department. But Miss Nancy and Miss Abbie render a distinctive service beyond and above their work in the classroom and library. As the Seminary of Miss Baldwin's day was perpetuated through the work of Miss Riddle and Miss Strickler, so its traditions and ideals have been continued into the present by the McFarlands. In recognition of

their service and their devotion to Mary Baldwin, they were given the Sullivan Award in 1939.

TOWARD A NEW PROGRAM IN HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION

"Miss Baldwin's School" had met acceptably the later nineteenth century standards with respect to health and physical education. A good climate, simple, regular living, and plenty of sleep had made up perhaps for deficiencies in accommodations and sanitary arrangements. The generation following her death brought a revolution in standards of living, however, and put upon schools for women new demands. Public opinion had been aroused and informed by national crusades against the methods of the meat-packing industries, the handling of dairy products, bad housing conditions in cities, and the use of contaminated water supply. Pure food laws and other sanitary regulations, national, state, and municipal, followed. Developments in science and medicine made possible the application of more exacting standards. Individualistic methods had to give way before social pressure and legal requirements. Mention has been made of the changes introduced to meet state and municipal regulations with respect to fire protection. The separation of the students in relatively small residences, the provision of the two-girl rooms, better plumbing, and the increase in water supply for the dormitories, the provision of more bathrooms, and the removal of matting carpets were in large part in answer to a demand for more healthful living. Mr. King regarded the fresh vegetables and milk from the farm as a valuable advertisement in view of the public interest in pure foods. All of these features were emphasized in the catalogue from year to year, and for many years it carried a report from the *United States Health Bulletin* highly commending the physical regime. In 1912, Mr. King related to the Board that the Director of Sanitary Inspection of the State Health Department had congratulated the Board on the "splendid work they were doing in the interest of pure food and sanitation" and had declared that "he would hold our school as a model."³⁰³

For the protection of health the rules of the school retained the request that parents not send boxes of food, other than fruits, except on Thanksgiving and at Christmas time; and that they

not send rich foods. Canned meats were prohibited. These rules were constantly disregarded. Slim lines and consequent dieting had not yet become the fashion. Girls lived in anticipation of the next feast or the next box from home. "We used to measure our very existence by those nocturnal feasts," they declared.³⁰⁴ Food was also brought in from Staunton. One student wrote to a girl friend in 1907 that although students were allowed to order food on Saturday only (and with a limit of fifty cents), they got one of the maids to bring things during the week.³⁰⁵

Although "prohibited food" was introduced, Miss Weimar, through the conscientious policing of Miss Williamson, was apparently more strict in the enforcement of these rules than Miss Baldwin had been. Further regulations were placed in the catalogue. In addition to requesting parents that boxes not be sent other than at Christmas time, it was announced:

To have these boxes in the young ladies' rooms is neither conducive to good health nor neatness; therefore, on reaching the Seminary, they will be placed in a room set apart for that purpose, and at stated times the pupils may have access to them. . . . No article of food is allowed in bedrooms except fruit. All sociables and entertainments must be in the rooms set apart for the purpose and not in the bedrooms.³⁰⁶

The *Bluestocking* retrospect of 1910 recorded under the events of the Thanksgiving season:

Boxes and still more boxes arrived, and in the lock-up where they were being opened, shouts of delight could be heard mingled occasionally with one of anger, which told that someone was being deprived of all the canned goods and meats which forgetful friends had sent.

While food was secured surreptitiously and eaten irregularly, Miss Weimar felt that she had been relatively successful in her policy of restriction and stated to the Board of Trustees that she and Dr. Henkel, the college physician, attributed the improvement in health to fewer boxes of food.³⁰⁷

Rules of dress were based on considerations of health as well as of modesty and propriety. High necks, long sleeves, high shoes, or spats, were requirements for winter, even for soirees. The catalogue ceased to mention winter flannels, but dresses had to be lined. "Each pupil for everyday wear must have a flannel or woolen waist, lined, for cold weather. White waists are not

allowed in the winter.”³⁰⁸ The *Bluestocking* calender of 1910 recorded: “November saw us all putting away our white waists in camphor balls and donning our woollen ones lest we should catch cold.”

There was no resident physician in the school during this period. A Staunton physician was always employed to serve the school in cooperation with a resident nurse. The tenure of most of these physicians has been remarkably long. With the exception of a substitute for a short time during the World War, there have been only six since the Civil War and only two since 1898, Dr. H. H. Henkel and Dr. Kenneth Bradford. At the time of Miss Baldwin's death, Dr. St. Pierre Gibson, a charming old gentleman with snow-white hair and beard, still affectionately remembered by some of the alumnæ, was the Seminary physician. He was succeeded in 1898 by Dr. Henkel. Upon Dr. Henkel's retirement in 1917, he wrote the Principal:

In giving up the practice of medicine there is no part of my business that I leave with as much reluctance as that at the Seminary, for it has always been a positive pleasure to me to see after the health of the young ladies there, and I have met with kindness and courtesy on all occasions.³⁰⁹

It might be said incidentally that Staunton enjoys and has enjoyed for years an unusual distinction in the excellence of its medical fraternity. Mary Baldwin has been fortunate in this service as well as through the healthful location.

The infirmary remained in charge of a graduate nurse always “well qualified intellectually and morally.” The nurse changed more frequently than the physician. Among the nurses of this period, Miss Nannie Garrett had the longest period of service, 1908-1919, and one of the most difficult, in that it included the epidemic of influenza of 1918-1919. Miss Garrett died in service. She was gratefully remembered by the students, not only as nurse but as friend and adviser; and they dedicated the bed they contributed to the Serbian hospital to her memory.³¹⁰ Thus one finds nurse and doctor an integral part of this “home school” for young ladies.

In the material accommodations for the care of the sick, the new infirmary of 1907 was a great improvement, with its separate

bed-rooms, diet kitchen, and new furniture. A student, describing it in the *Miscellany*, concluded:

So complete, in fact, is the Infirmary equipment, that the proud Business Manager has been heard to boast that it is only necessary to "press the button" and whatever you need—from doctor to dinner—will come trundling in—only give it time! Add to these conveniences the sun parlor with its lounging chairs and books that are not textbooks, tempting one to follow Walt Whitman's example—loaf and invite the soul—and it is not hard to understand the popularity of the Infirmary this year. Indeed, it has been found necessary to give out a public notice, defining the true purpose of the retreat and barring such contagious diseases as homesickness, lovesickness, or temporary "grouchiness" due to misunderstandings with roommates, best friends, or teachers.³¹¹

The only faults the writer could find were "separate bed-rooms, interfering with the social possibilities of the old dormitory system" and "the easy access to classrooms." When pressed for dormitory space, the upper floor of the Infirmary was used as a residence for faculty and students, one of the many compromises the Seminary had to make between standards and the force of circumstances.

Beginning in 1916, or perhaps earlier, a health record of every student was kept in the nurse's office; and after 1923 health certificates were required for admission. Physical tests were given to all students upon entrance. All this represented a considerable change from Miss Baldwin's day. Then the only precaution had been the admonition to parents through the catalogue not to send "*extremely delicate girls*" or those affected with chronic diseases away from their care. Apparently, no attention was given to the health of the individual student unless she were actually ill. Whether the multiplication of tests and records brought any appreciable change in the health level one might wonder. At any rate, Mary Baldwin maintained a rather enviable record with regard to the health of the students. The very fact that a small infirmary could spare the greater part of its bedroom space for dormitory use would seem to indicate the relatively small demand for hospital space.

There was no required course in health education until the session of 1923-1924. For a while in Miss Baldwin's day a course in physiology and hygiene had been given as a part of the work

of the school of natural science, but it was discontinued. A course in physiology formed a part of the science curriculum of the preparatory course. In 1923-1924, a two-hour session course in hygiene and sanitation, personal, domestic, and public, became a required course in the college department. In the following year, a two-year special course in physical education, leading to a certificate, was offered. It contained further work in hygiene and health as well as practical work in physical training.³¹² Miss Higgins reported in 1927 that in addition to the required work in hygiene, twenty-five were taking health education once a week, twenty-four twice a week, and five were specializing in this department.³¹³ In 1926-27, physical training was made a required course for all first and second year students.

Progress in sports, or the practical side of health education, was negligible for more than a decade after Miss Baldwin's death. This fact might have been, and was, explained by the lack of space and equipment; and certainly these lacks were obstacles. But the main cause of this failure to promote sports seems to have been lack of interest on the part of both administration and students. Miss Baldwin had built a bowling alley, tennis courts, and a croquet ground, and later a gymnasium and swimming pool in response to the general demand for the better care of health and physical welfare in women's schools in the later nineteenth century. It is to be doubted, however, that she had any great enthusiasm for the use of these. The bowling alley was soon turned into a classroom, rather suggestive of her primary interest. So much conscious, organized attention to health and physical welfare has been indeed largely a twentieth century movement, product of urbanization in the United States. In the simple life of rural America one was expected to get his exercise through the day's tasks. Miss Baldwin herself is pictured by many as appearing to sail along over the campus in her hoop skirts, so fast did she move in her numerous duties of supervision. Apparently, the young ladies preferred walking on the terrace with their "darlings" to any vigorous exercise. "Promenading" at least was a fashionable activity. "There are walks in which the young ladies promenade," the catalogue stated for many years. The styles in dress did not encourage sports, other than croquet, perhaps, a ladylike game. Mary Baldwin was to

tarry in nineteenth century customs with respect to physical education just as she did in her academic program longer than her sister schools for the higher education of women. Intellectual, moral, and religious development along with social refinement were the aims of the positive efforts. The following letter, signed "An Observer," to the Staunton *Leader* reflects the attitude apparently common to the public and patrons as well as to the administration:

Among the various female Seminaries of the South, the Mary Baldwin Seminary of Staunton is the most celebrated and popular. It is here that every attainment is acquired which adorns the mind and equips the young woman for the duties and responsibilities of life.

Besides the usual curriculum, modesty, refinement, gentleness, and the beauty of simplicity together with ethics, the amenities and proprieties are taught, cultivated, and practiced. The young ladies are taught to abhor masculinity.

The men of the South, in fact of the whole country, admire and revere a modest, refined and gentle woman; Amazonian charms are never attractive to men. . . . Virginia is justly proud of the Mary Baldwin Seminary, the Alma Mater of so many loyal wives and noble mothers.³¹⁴

Perceval Reniers in his recent charming book, *The Springs of Virginia*, points out the conflict of the "belle," the ideal of the nineteenth century, and the sports woman of the present day. When horseback riding, tennis, golf, and other sports for women began to appear, the day of the "Southern belle" was doomed.³¹⁵ But this change came only around the turn of the century. Although Mary Baldwin was not a "society" school, the social conventions for women in Virginia and the South were set by these famous springs where the first families met, among them the first families of Staunton, which is in the center of the region of the springs and very near the most notable of them, White Sulphur.

The ideal of the refined lady was thus to die rather hard in the Seminary and was to be the most serious obstacle to an effective physical education program. Miss Weimar, summarizing the year's work to the Board of Trustees in 1901, said: "The behavior of the young ladies is exceedingly gratifying, being gentle, industrious, and ladylike in every particular."³¹⁶ In answer to a criticism of the New York Chapter of the alumnae in 1921, one point of which insisted upon more athletics, Miss Latané attempted to

show how far the school had progressed in that respect. "It is incredible now, but literally true, that on this campus six or seven years ago basket-ball was looked upon as rather rough, school cheers as unladylike, and bloomers were never seen outside of the gymnasium," she declared.³¹⁷ "And we still like for bloomers and stockings to meet," she insisted.

The administration maintained, nevertheless, the established program of "physical culture," which had long been offered. Until 1919, "elocution," or "expression," and physical culture were taught by the same instructor, with no assistant. Instruction in physical culture contained no theoretical courses, only practical work in gymnastics and swimming. The objectives sought in the gymnastic exercises are suggestive of the ideals of the era. "These exercises are adapted to the development of girls and their peculiar needs and are also designed to give ease and grace of motion. . . ."³¹⁸ Although "walking in line" each day was required, unless one were clever enough to evade it, the work in physical culture was optional. It is rather surprising in view of the lack of evidence of interest in athletics that something like one-third of the students were usually listed in the catalogue under this subject.

If one searches the files of the student publications, one finds little mention of sports before 1910, and not much before the World War. The *Bluestocking* contained pictures of a Golf Club and a Ball and Racquet Club and in 1903 of two basketball teams, but the news section of the *Miscellany* and the survey of the year in the *Bluestocking* contained little mention of athletic activity. Apparently golf ceased to be played, because it later had to be "revived" and a course set aside at the farm. In 1909, however, the *Miscellany* made special appeal for more organized athletics:

A motion is hereby made that a real live tennis club be organized at once. . . . Let us be up and doing . . . and have a tennis club that will show for something more interesting than a page in the annual.³¹⁹

The success of this appeal was reported the following April:

The charge that Mary Baldwin has no athletics can no longer be brought against our school. Although for several reasons we cannot enter the lists against other schools, we may enjoy many a sport at home. A vigorous tennis club has been formed which is planning a tournament. . .

We hope to have a track meet this spring; a track has been promised us. The tramping club also is doing good work. Every day a party goes out for a tramp. . . . The golfers are quite enthusiastic about their sport; and the archers look very attractive in white with their bows and arrows. In fact each athletic club promises so much sport and fun that we should like to become members of them all. So here's a hearty good cheer, long life, and success to the Athletic Association.³²⁰

The *Bluestocking* of this year (1910) contained a special section on *Athletics*, which had not appeared before. There was an Athletic Association with a full set of officers, including a faculty advisory committee. The tennis and tramping clubs and the track team were large. The following fall, however, a discouraged note appeared with reference to the ambitious program of the preceding year: "There has always been a lack of school spirit at Mary Baldwin; and it is one of the most essential things for a school to possess. Athletics usually serves to stimulate school spirit, but unfortunately the Seminary is so situated that any form of athletics except tennis is rather impossible."³²¹ There was no further mention of an Athletic Association for some years, nor of athletics at all in the *Bluestocking*. Even the usual "page in the Annual" that the tennis and golf clubs had had disappeared. They reappeared only in 1913.

The first recommendation by the administration for more attention to physical education and sports appeared in the report of Mr. King in 1912. The Board of Trustees, at the May meeting, had requested Mr. King to look into the matter of athletics, especially with the view of "reviving basketball and golf for the students." Perhaps this request was due to the suggestion of Miss Weimar or of the Alumnae Association. It seems unlikely that the Board of Trustees would have issued it upon its own initiative. In the following January meeting of the Board of Trustees, the Executive Committee read a letter from Miss Weimar, in which she recommended a new building on the site of Sky High with the first floor to be used as a gymnasium. The Committee reported at the same time that a golf course and tennis courts had been set apart at the farm and that the students were delighted with them.³²² This step marks the beginning of the continuous use of the farm as an athletic field; but as long as Mr. King was Business Manager it continued to be called the

Farm. Both Mr. King and Miss Weimar continued to emphasize the need for more attention to athletics. In 1915, Miss Weimar recommended the separation of physical culture from elocution and increased space for basketball and tennis.³²³ During the summer of this year the gymnasium was enlarged to double its former size.

The catalogue of 1915-16 contained an amplified statement on physical education under gymnastics and swimming. Instruction in swimming was now to include diving and life-saving and, advertising the new pool, it was declared that "aquatic sports are now enjoyed in a white tiled tank, which has all the modern equipment of heating and shower apparatus."³²⁴ In view of the size of the pool, "tank" seems appropriate. The sports program was not mentioned in connection with the course in physical training. The *Miscellany* reported, however, a new interest in sports:

Athletics are beginning to have a more prominent place in our school life this year, due to the interest and enthusiasm of our new gymnasium teacher, Miss Day, as well as to our greatly enlarged gymnasium and swimming pool, which are the delight of all our hearts. We even call it *the new gym*. Early in October, at the suggestion of Miss Day, the girls not taking gymnastics were given an opportunity to form basketball teams. About forty girls met and an Athletic Association was formed. . .³²⁵

The First World War with its emphasis on physical fitness brought a new interest in and attention to physical education, which have continued to the present day. Mention has been made of the military drill instituted during the war years; but both the administration and the students began to show more interest in athletics generally. In a report to the Board of Trustees during the War, the Principal said:

One of our greatest limitations is the lack of sufficient space for out-of-door exercise. It has been extremely inconvenient to send the girls to the farm for golf and military drill. And the space we now have is entirely inadequate even for tennis, not to mention other games which would add very materially to the girls' pleasure and benefit and at the same time eliminate causes of friction.³²⁶

And one recalls that for many years the Seminary had featured in its notices the spacious grounds that furnished "every facility and inducement for outdoor exercise."

To the greater emphasis on athletics the Alumnæ Association had contributed. In a report of a special meeting of the national president of the Association and the president of the New York Chapter with the Board of Trustees in May, 1917, the *Alumnæ Bulletin* said:

The athletic development of the School was, one of the alumnæ representatives felt, most urgent, as the lack of grounds and out-of-door life is the greatest source of complaint against the school. The purchase of property back of the school, thus giving basketball and more tennis grounds, and the development of the farm were discussed. An attractive tea room at the farm, to which the teachers and girls could go for their Monday holiday and leisure afternoon hours, having automobile service at a nominal fare, was recommended as a restful and luxurious innovation, which would prove a great drawing card to the school. The golf links, under those conditions, would become immediately popular. . . .³²⁷

In 1921, the New York Chapter presented a number of proposals for improvement in the Seminary—among them enlarged grounds, more attention to athletics, and athletic contests with other schools. In Miss Latané's reply to this statement, she indicated the position of the administration with respect to these proposals and the changes that had already taken place with respect to athletics:

The first suggestion, then, is for "enlarged grounds." Amen and amen, echo the faculty. It is a serious matter. I believe Miss Higgins rarely ever walks up the Green Hill or New Street without breaking the tenth commandment and coveting her neighbor's house or lot for the Seminary. How can such good men as our trustees refrain from buying those lots and saving us from the sin of covetousness!

"More athletics for the girls." Again we say amen. But do you realize how much has been achieved in recent years? Do you recall that in 1919 Miss Higgins succeeded in dividing the old Department of Expression and Physical Training and acquired a Physical Director to devote her whole time and strength to developing athletics? Did you read in the last year's *Alumnæ Bulletin* that a new event at commencement was the award of cups in tennis, baseball, basketball, and hockey? Do you know about the Athletic Association, whose membership comprises most of the student body, and which demands a strict standard of scholarship and character for all the members of the various teams? Did you ever see our hikers go out on a Saturday morning, sixty strong, to walk five or ten miles, have dinner in the country, and get home in the late afternoon, tired but happy?³²⁸

The administration questioned the advisability of athletic contests with other schools, Miss Latané stated, but favored intramural contests: "Our Athletic Association has a device for getting 'pep' into games. In the fall all the members are divided into two classes for the year. Instead of one team playing outsiders, we have two teams who play each other, and so each game includes twice as many of our girls."

The Athletic Association, formed again in 1919 "to stimulate an interest in athletics and to promote school spirit," has had a continuous existence to the present. It became at once a prominent force in campus life, in the organization and expression of student opinion, and as forerunner of student government. From 1920 to 1924, when *Campus Comments* appeared, it published a bi-monthly paper, *The Athletic Spirit*, of general campus interest. In keeping with the traditional emphasis on intellectual and moral development, "scholarship and deportment" were made conditions for membership. The Athletic Council was chosen by the Principal (later Dean) and Physical Director until 1926; later they were "approved" by the Dean and Physical Director.³²⁹ The awarding of cups to winning teams and letters and other prizes to individual students was instituted in 1920. The Athletic Association enthusiastically sponsored the activities of National Health Week. Athletic Association parties became a prominent feature of the social life of the school.

In December, 1919, there appeared for the first time a special section in the *Miscellany* devoted to athletics. The account given in this section in the following fall indicates the expansion which had taken place under the new physical director and the Athletic Association:

Soon after school opened, the Athletic Association was reorganized, and new members taken in. Everyone has shown a lively interest in going out to the Farm and there playing basketball, baseball, hockey, golf, volley ball, doing track and archery. There are many new recruits for golf, which is more popular this year. A clock golf set has been placed between Memorial and Hill Top for days we cannot go to the farm. To track, besides running broad and high jumps, have been added pole vaulting, quoits, discus and javelin throwing. In the spring a special day will be set aside for a track meet. Volley ball and archery are new this year. First and second teams for basketball have been chosen, and are working hard for the match games which will be played the Friday and Saturday

after Thanksgiving. [The Thanksgiving games had come to be a big athletic event of the year.] During the year the Athletic Association gives several parties. . . . This year the first party will be given the Saturday night following Thanksgiving. . . . The selling of films and developing of kodak pictures have been taken over by the Athletic Association. An enlargement of the best kodak picture taken each two weeks has been offered as a prize. . . .³³⁰

Miss Higgins continued to urge the construction of a new gymnasium. The purchase of some new equipment in 1927 gave added impetus to indoor work, she declared, but there was increasing need of a larger gymnasium for social as well as for physical purposes. In 1929, additional facilities for sports were made available through an arrangement made by the College for the use of the Gypsy Hill golf course and the Y. M. C. A. bowling alley. In 1874, Miss Baldwin built a bowling alley—perhaps the first in Staunton. Lack of use for bowling soon turned it into a classroom. Now a half-century later demand led to the search for one outside. The day of the Victorian lady had passed and sports had come to stay. Nevertheless, athletics still did not have the place that it had in some women's colleges. The administration now advocated increased facilities, but one has a feeling that this position was rather forced upon it by circumstances and that real enthusiasm for a sports program was absent. The lack of a traditional interest may have had its part in preventing sports from occupying as large a place as in some schools; and physical limitations were an obstacle. Nevertheless, considerable progress had been made.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN SEMINARY AND COLLEGE

The emphasis of the Seminary on religion continued unabated after Miss Baldwin's death. Although the school had had no official church connection beyond the fact that a majority of the Board had to be members of the First Presbyterian Church, this tradition had been deeply rooted. In no respect was Miss Baldwin's memory more respected nor her influence more pervading. The most common recollections of her by the *alumnæ* are of her as Sunday School teacher, of her Sunday afternoon talks, and the power and beauty of her prayers. In the twentieth century, especially after the First World War, when the criticism

of traditional religious beliefs and practices had become common in schools either through honest doubt or a desire to appear smart and sophisticated, there was apparently no spirit of irreverence toward religious practices nor skepticism concerning its teachings in Mary Baldwin. There may have been an occasional student holding "advanced" views on religion, but the records, official and student, bear no suggestion of such. Perhaps most of the students were too immature to have thought critically of religion, but they were not too mature to want to be up-to-date. The religious attitude of the Seminary, as well as that of the homes from which most of them came, no doubt preserved the respect for its religious program. During this generation the main developments with respect to religious life appear to have been the greater insistence of students for the privilege to attend other churches than the First Presbyterian; a little more outspoken criticism of required attendance upon so many services on Sunday; and, in a different direction, a more general participation of students in organized religious activities within the Seminary, larger student contributions to religious and philanthropic causes outside the Seminary, and greater emphasis on the study of the Bible.

Throughout this generation to 1929, all students were required to attend Sunday School and both morning and evening preaching services. Dr. Fraser, the chaplain, presided over the daily chapel, at least a part of which was a religious service. Attendance at chapel was required. There were also devotional services in the Seminary after dinner, which all attended. In the later years of Miss Baldwin's administration, the practice was begun of allowing non-Presbyterians to attend their own churches one Sunday morning a month. In 1915, such students were permitted to attend also special services—Christmas, Easter, Confirmation, and others—at their own churches. In the following year they were permitted to attend their churches twice a month on Sunday morning and on all special occasions.³³¹ All students continued to attend Sunday evening services at the First Presbyterian Church and Sunday School in the Seminary.

In 1923, a request came to the Board of Trustees through Reverend W. E. Davis, the pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Staunton and a member of the Board of Trustees, that a part of the Presbyterian students be allowed to attend that

church. This request was referred to the Executive Committee. In May, the Committee stated to the Board that since all its members were of the First Church, it preferred that the Board as a whole should decide the question. However, it proceeded to present certain reasons for continuing the existing rule. The decided conservatism of the school is suggested in the Committee's statement, especially when one remembers that the Second Presbyterian Church is only three short blocks from the College and this was the year 1924.

When the students are sent through the streets for any distance to another church, complications arise which are difficult to control. There are always problems of discipline and chaperonage. Until the building of the present house of worship by the First Church, the place of worship was on the same premises with the school itself. When a new house of worship had to be erected, Miss Baldwin bought a building site as near the school as possible for the express purpose of avoiding the difficulty of sending the girls through the town.

As the school grew a number of students from other denominations began to come in. Out of courtesy to the local churches of those denominations and as an act of consideration for patrons and students, it was arranged to send the students on certain Sabbaths to the church of their own denomination. This was granted as a privilege and not recognized as a right of the students, because the school is Presbyterian [not officially until 1923, the year before this report was made] and when patrons send their daughters to it they are supposed to be willing to conform to the Presbyterian character of the institution. But the difficulties mentioned above existed, and they had to be met with tact and firmness. It would add to this difficulty to send out an additional group every Sabbath to some other church at a distance.

When it comes to dividing students into two bodies to attend two churches of the same denomination, the problem becomes more involved. There would be all sorts of demands for an endless variety of reasons to be transferred from one body to the other. Some who are scheduled to go to the neighboring church would wish the novelty of a longer walk. Some who were to attend the more distant church would complain of being compelled to take the walk. Some would find the services of the church to which they are assigned uncongenial to their taste, and there would be constant request for moving back and forth.³³²

The Board of Trustees did not grant the request of the Second Presbyterian Church.

As to the denominational affiliation of the students, usually about one-third were Presbyterian. The Episcopalian and the

Methodist came next. Of the more prominent Protestant groups of the country, the Baptist had the smallest representation. Other denominations usually represented in the student body were: Lutheran, Christian, Reformed Church, Congregationalist, Catholic, Hebrew, and sometimes Christian Scientist, Quaker, and Universalist. It might be noted that the connection of the College with the Synod after 1923 did not affect apparently its religious policy. Compared with most colleges of its day, its emphasis on religion was already pronounced. The reports of Principal and President included more religious data after it came under the control of the Synod, but indicate no change of policy.

Without any criticism of religious beliefs or observances, there was more or less continuous expression of, or at least allusion to, the burdensomeness of so much church-going, even though "building air castles" might relieve the monotony to some extent. One student, in retrospect, declared: "Sunday comes before me. Even now I feel the hard backs of the Presbyterian pews as we sat for what seemed to us a never-ending period. I remember we then thought the Sabbath anything but a day of rest, with prayers, Sunday School, and twice to church. . . ." ³³³ But another girl found at least some compensations in the observance of the Sabbath day in the Seminary, which she set forth in a more detailed description of its conventions:

Sunday was indeed a sweet and welcome day after all the trials of the week. The continual din, din of the pianos ceased and everything was peaceful. We always attended Church twice a day and if, for any reason, we did not do so, the penalty paid was to spend the day in the Infirmary [and miss the Sunday dinner]. We were marched to Church in sections, every section being guarded by a teacher, and John Smith, the watchman, always stood just before the door to protect us from the boys, who collected on each side to see us pass. We were taken to the very front seats, as many as possible sitting in the "Amen" corner. After service, we all had to keep our places until everybody had left the church and then we were taken back in the same way we came. ³³⁴

One smiles at Dr. Fraser's statement to the Synod: "The students are given the choice seats in the Church, being grouped in a body in the front pews around the pulpit." ³³⁵ Perhaps students would have found church attendance less burdensome if they had not

been required to wear the black uniform and grey hat and could have displayed their new clothes.

The religious sentiment of the students found freer and more natural expression in the voluntary student religious organizations, particularly in the Young Women's Christian Association. This is the oldest student organization in Mary Baldwin, dating from 1894. The *Mary Baldwin Souvenir* of 1899 said of its progress to that date:

The growth of this society in numbers and in interest has been most encouraging. Starting with but a few members, its roll has lengthened till it now includes over half the girls of the Seminary. . . . The Y.W.C.A. has been rightly called "The Christian Sorority."³³⁶

At the time this statement was made, there were sororities in Mary Baldwin. The Y. W. C. A. and the Literary Society, begun in 1898, were for many years the organizations that sponsored the interest of the student body as a whole, and of the two the Y. W. C. A. had the wider appeal. Together with the Athletic Association it formed the background of and furnished the training for student government. It was the first organization that participated in activities beyond the Seminary. Practically from its beginning, it sent delegates to the regional conventions of the Y. W. C. A., to the Student Conference at Asheville, North Carolina, and to the Student Volunteer Conferences. In 1902, a Y. W. C. A. convention of the Virginias was held at the Seminary and a new impetus was given to the work.³³⁷ At this meeting the colleges resolved to employ a state secretary. Miss Mattoon, as Faculty Adviser, and Miss Sarah Meetze, through her talks on settlement work in New York, contributed much to the growth of interest in the Y. W. C. A.

The wide-spread interest of the later nineteenth century in Protestant missions had found a devoted patron in Miss Baldwin. Although the later principals and members of the faculty contributed to the perpetuation of this interest of Miss Baldwin, her mantle seems to have fallen especially upon Miss Riddle and Miss Mattoon. Missionaries on furlough frequently visited the school. The Seminary had made special provisions for the education of the daughters of missionaries, a matter discussed later. These personal contacts thus gave a more intimate acquaintance

with the mission fields. In 1924, the venerable Miss Charlotte Kemper came for her last visit to Mary Baldwin and talked to the girls. Of her the *Miscellany* said: "To us it is a miracle that a woman of Miss Kemper's age can be so wonderful!"³³⁸ Mrs. Libby Alby Bull, a graduate of the Seminary and founder of the Mary Baldwin School in Korea, came in the same year. Her daughter, Virginia Bull, was then a student in the school, having held for five years the *alumnæ* missionary scholarship, established in 1919 in memory of Miss Baldwin. The Class of 1914 contained two daughters of missionaries, Agnes and Lily Woods, who were to return to the mission field. Mary Baldwin continued to add steadily to the roster of her daughters in foreign mission service. Three schools had a particularly close relationship with Mary Baldwin. The Mary Baldwin School for Girls in Kunsan, Korea, established in 1912, had been primarily the work of Mrs. Libby Alby Bull, with the support of Mary Baldwin alumnae and students. The Martha Riddle School in Hwaiianfu, China, established in 1916 with Miss Lily Woods in charge, and the Charlotte Kemper Seminary at Lavras, Brazil, were special interests of Mary Baldwin. Miss Kemper's mantle fell upon Miss Ruth See, an alumna of Mary Baldwin still in Brazil. The "family" interest that Mary Baldwin students had in these schools gave reality and personality to their work for missions. It was not just a "cause."

Aside from its contributions to foreign mission work, the Y. W. C. A. contributed to other causes at home and abroad. It continued its contributions after the World War to the European Student Fellowship Fund and to the Near East Relief. Among the causes supported at home were a scholarship for a girl in the Crossnore Home Mission School in North Carolina, the Richmond Orphanage, the Queen E. Miller Negro Orphanage in Staunton, the King's Daughters' Hospital in Staunton, and Christmas boxes for certain poor families in Staunton. The annual contributions of the Y. W. C. A. in the 1920's were usually about \$1,000 and sometimes much more—in 1926 the total was \$1,390.25.³³⁹

The Y. W. C. A. early assumed responsibility for fostering a more democratic social life in the Seminary, for building school spirit and school morale, and for furnishing entertainment. From 1900, if not before, the Y. W. C. A. reception to new girls became an established feature on the September calendar of the Seminary.

The Hallowe'en party of the Association also became a regular event on the social calendar. In raising funds for its special contributions it furnished entertainment. "Large pledges to the American and State Conventions have been redeemed, even though recourse had to be had to street fairs and strawberry suppers as of yore," the *Bluestocking* of 1905 stated.³⁴⁰ Of a Y. W. C. A. bazaar in 1910 a student declared: "We bought everything from stick candy to Presbyterian punch."³⁴¹ And so its parties continued—from the strawberry supper, which had been a popular custom of the "Gay Nineties" and the turn of the century, to the teas of the World War period and after.

In 1920, the Y.W.C.A. achieved a one hundred per cent membership of the students and continued to maintain that record.³⁴² According to the reports of the Principal, the presidency of the Association was valued as the highest honor that could be won by a student. The student report to the *Bluestocking* of 1927 indicates its activities within the school:

The needs of the students for "good times" and "daily bread," for friendship, worship, power, vision, prayer, and song, . . . all these things the Y.W.C.A. strives to meet in the best possible way. And so there are welcoming dances and "big sisters" for the new girls, magazines and flowers for the sick, the cake store for the hungry, teas and garden parties for the sociable, informal dances and Saturday night entertainments for the work-weary, and attractive posters for all those who would like to know what is going to happen next. Brief "morning watch" services are held in the girls' parlor every Thursday morning to "start the day aright," pageants and interesting speakers serve to inculcate a stronger, more sympathetic sense of world fellowship, and every Sunday evening, the Y.W.C.A. meets in the Chapel or out on the hillside to worship through music and prayer. . . .³⁴³

In this same year the popular "Peanut Party" was instituted to improve morale in the post-Christmas slump.

Under Miss Norma Schoolar, the Y. W. C. A. choir became a popular organization. It instituted the present custom of singing Christmas carols in Staunton on the last night before the Christmas holidays. Even Staunton Military Academy was visited by the girls in these nocturnal visits. But the "best part of the night came about twelve-thirty, when tired, cold, and hungry, the carolers met again in the Girls' Parlor, and were served delicious

hot chocolate and accessories. . . ."³⁴⁴ Exchange vesper programs with the military academies brought other contacts with these neighboring schools. "We can't imagine Mary Baldwin without the Y. W. C. A.," a student declared in 1924. "We feel sorry for all who went to school before this organization was alive."³⁴⁵

Student attitudes and opinions on religious beliefs and observances contrary to the expressions found in student publications very likely existed. Nevertheless, it seems probable that these represent the larger majority. To judge by all student statements there existed a sincere respect for religious principles and practices, a generous support of religious causes, and a wholesome religious spirit, tolerant, free from excess zeal, finding expression in social service at home and abroad.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

A significant change in Seminary life appeared around the turn of the century in the formation of "clubs" and "societies." Mary Baldwin was beginning to catch up with the current in college life in this respect, if not in her social and educational program. In Miss Baldwin's day there were apparently no organizations of sufficient permanence to get recognition except the Y. W. C. A., formed in 1894. Classes were not organized. "Student life" as it is known today existed only in an amorphous state. But in 1897 organizations began to appear, and in the following years their numbers increased continuously. These organizations represent in general two opposing tendencies, the centripetal and the centrifugal. Representative of the former were the Y. W. C. A., the Literary Society, and two organizations appearing only some years later, the Student Association and the Athletic Association. The centrifugal tendency is observable in the sororities and in other "letter" societies, and as these gave way to pressure, in the state and sectional clubs. In addition to these two types, there were organizations based on special intellectual or athletic interests, such as the History Club or the Golf and Tennis Clubs; or those arising from Seminary contacts, like the Sky High or Hill Top Clubs. Only in 1910 did academic classification result in the formation of organized classes. Some

clubs perhaps existed primarily only in the pictures in the Annual; many of them were active organizations, however, as the records of the *Miscellany* and *Bluestocking* indicate. The woman's club movement outside as well as the trend in colleges perhaps encouraged the movement in Mary Baldwin. Many of the alumnæ were already active in Chautauqua study circles and other community clubs. Through the exchanges which the *Miscellany* received from other colleges, the Mary Baldwin student was kept informed of college activities and made a conscious effort to be "collegiate," so far as the rules and regulations would permit. One of the first evidences of this change can be seen in the character of the year-book, the *Bluestocking*, in contrast to the old Seminary *Annual*.

No student organization in Mary Baldwin presents a more worthy record than the Literary Society, the outstanding sponsor of student intellectual activities from 1898 to 1929. No organization took its activities and responsibilities more seriously. Its birth was announced in an impressive article: "The Origin, Growth, and Prospects of the Mary Baldwin Literary Society," which appeared in the *Souvenir* (1899). According to this account, the project of a literary society had been discussed in a general student meeting and considered for some weeks before the organization was formed on November 19, 1898. All collegiate students were eligible for membership and sixty-eight became charter members. A formal constitution was adopted and published in the *Miscellany* of February, 1902. Its object was "to afford the girls a pleasant recreation and at the same time to create an intellectual interest in general literature and an instructive drill in parliamentary law." Although its primary aim was serious study, like the Y. W. C. A. it sought to foster general school spirit and morale through receptions to the new girls, birthday parties, and other entertainments. Many Saturday evenings were enlivened by its programs. Regular meetings were held every two weeks, and during much of its history every week. Programs of study for the year were outlined. Among these one finds a year on Southern writers; one on eighteenth century English comedies, during which evenings on Goldsmith and Sheridan appear on the school calendar; and a year of Kipling, Stevenson, and other English writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.³⁴⁶ Attention was also given to debating and to topics of current interest. In

its first year a debate was held on the question, "Resolved, That Higher Education Unfits a Woman for Domestic Life."³⁴⁷ In 1900, much school discussion was aroused over a Literary Society debate on woman suffrage in which the Apostle Paul and John Stuart Mill were apparently the chief protagonists and Mary Yost, now Dean of Women of Leland-Stanford University, defended women's right to vote.³⁴⁸ In later years such questions as American immigration policy and the condition of miners in West Virginia were discussed. This organization thus began to foster a new conception as to woman's responsibility with respect to public affairs.

The Literary Society early got special mention in the catalogue (1908-1909), the only organization other than the Y. W. C. A. thus recognized for many years. Its practical objective of training for leadership is indicated in a catalogue announcement in 1910-11: "A Class in Parliamentary Law meets regularly every week. The members of the Literary Society are trained to organize societies of various kinds as well as to preside at these organizations." To raise money for the *Bluestocking*, many oyster suppers, ice cream suppers, and teas were given. In 1921, the *Miscellany* could say: "The Senior Literary Society is one of the oldest clubs in the school and consequently feels the responsibility of living up to its old traditions."³⁴⁹ The name, *Senior Literary Society*, had been adopted after the Junior Literary Society was organized in 1911. The latter society, for preparatory students, met once a month for study, especially of American literature; it, too, had special classes in parliamentary law. "A collection of valuable books and magazines belonging to this society has made it particularly popular," the catalogue of 1916-1917 announced. During the session of 1913-1914 another society for preparatory students, the Hawthorne Literary Society, was formed. This particular type of organization, which had constituted an important factor in the training of orators, debaters, and men of affairs in the men's colleges of the nineteenth century, had come late to Mary Baldwin. In these three decades of the twentieth century, however, they contributed much to the development of women who were to become leaders in religious, educational, and civic affairs in their communities and some in a much wider field.

By 1910, the Senior Literary Society had secured its own

room and furnished it.³⁵⁰ In 1912, it gave to the Seminary reproductions of the series of Abbey paintings, the Quest for the Holy Grail, which still hang in the library.³⁵¹ Throughout the life of the Literary Society it published the *Miscellany* and, until 1924, the *Bluestocking*.

One of the first evidences of the students' aspirations to be collegiate is found in the change in the yearbook. Although the old Seminary *Annual* of the 1890's had recorded much of student life, it retained the appearance and character of a magazine. Its successor is the *Miscellany* of today, not the *Bluestocking*. In 1899, the *Souvenir* achieved something of the character of a yearbook. The first *Bluestocking* appeared in 1900. The administration, it is said, objected to the name; at any rate, the publication appeared in 1901 as *Baldwin's*. Since 1902, however, it has been the *Bluestocking*. Although there were years when pictures of clubs and sororities took most of the pages in the yearbook, it usually gave generous space to comments on the happening of the year and thus constitutes a useful record of events and of student opinion. At the same time it did not allow the *Miscellany* a monopoly of literary work. Citizens of Staunton for years gave prizes for the best short stories, essays, and poems, and the *Bluestocking* published the prize productions.

In 1907 no annual appeared, "simply because of the lack of school spirit," the *Miscellany* declared.³⁵² Through special efforts of the editors chosen from the Literary Society, it reappeared in 1908, but with a deficit. In March, 1909, the following announcement appeared in the *Miscellany*: "The most interesting subject in school at present is the *Annual*; for in spite of everybody's advice to the contrary the Literary Society has decided to publish one. . . ." Only in the war years of 1917 and 1918 did the annual fail to appear after 1907. The *Bluestocking* of 1923 was the last one published by the Literary Society. In 1924, a board of editors was chosen from the various college classes. Since that date it has been published by the Junior Class. In 1925, it was entered in the National Yearbook Contest of College and University Annuals and won the highest, or all-American, rating and the comment, "A most distinctive annual, which reflects the personality of the school."³⁵³ In the succeeding years, it maintained this rating. The *Bluestocking* of 1928 received the first

place and the silver cup awarded by the Virginia Intercollegiate Press Association for the best annual in Class B (those with less than 250 pages).

The *Miscellany*, which filled the place of the *Annual* of Miss Baldwin's day, is the oldest publication of the school still surviving, if one excepts the catalogue. The first issue appeared in February, 1899, and it has appeared regularly since that day, with two, three, or, for some years, four issues a year. The catalogue comment of the administration on its uses reflects the traditional emphasis on English composition: "The *Miscellany* and *Annual* have given a noticeable impulse to the interest and the zeal of the young ladies in essay writing." In the first issue of the *Miscellany* the editors stated their objective with self-conscious dignity and impressiveness:

It is a time-honored custom in many schools for the students from time to time to present in print to their friends as well as to those of the institution, some literary productions representative of their life and work during the school year. Such are the customary annuals and various other school periodicals.

During the recent organization of the Mary Baldwin Literary Society provision was made in the constitution . . . for the establishment of a literary organ of the society and school, its main objective being to represent the work of the society and of the entire English Department of the school. It was further determined that the columns of this periodical should be open to any contribution from other departments in the school or from any individual student when the matter offered should seem of sufficient value and interest. . . .³⁵⁴

The *Miscellany* began as a sheet of eight pages. In 1901, it was enlarged to a small booklet and the exchange department organized. In 1904, it became a magazine of considerable size (around eighty pages) with an "ornate cover picturing a stylishly garbed Mary Baldwin girl tripping lightly along the board walk in front of Hill Top." A later *Miscellany* passed judgment on the character of the enlarged magazine: "In these early numbers, stories and essays in French and German, or Latin translations from Vergil, and other indications of practical pedantry are very evident."³⁵⁵ In 1909, the magazine was enlarged in size and reduced somewhat in pages, and the stylish girl gave place to a conventional cover with the Mary Baldwin coat of arms.

Through its exchange department the *Miscellany* received magazines from a wide geographical range, but with Southern and Virginia schools much in the lead. And in its comments it exhibited particular interest in the Virginia college publications from Hampden-Sydney, the University of Virginia, William and Mary, Washington and Lee, and the women's colleges, Randolph-Macon, Hollins, and Sweet Briar. That Mary Baldwin considered herself a college is indicated by the fact that most of the exchanges were college publications. The *Miscellany* received a warm reception just as soon as it established its exchange department. The *Richmond College Messenger*, for example, wrote:

With the Mary Baldwin Seminary we would like to exchange students as well as magazines. Judging from the fine get-up in magazine articles, they would make a valuable addition to our student body. Those "gaily bedecked" girls "who vainly imagine their partners to be boys" would perhaps have more than imagination to cope with here. The editors are to be complimented on the fine periodical.³⁵⁶

An out-of-state comment from Transylvania University, Kentucky, gave an excellent brief description and evaluation of the magazine:

Two of our new exchanges are the best on the table—the *Mary Baldwin Miscellany* and the *University of Virginia Magazine*. The color scheme of the Mary Baldwin Seminary is red and brown and is carried out through the entire magazine. The paper has a spicy originality about it that is charming. It is entirely free of advertisements and is replete with clever stories, practical talks, and articles showing thought and careful preparation. Its lack of poetry is noticeable.³⁵⁷

From a school in far away Portland, Oregon, came the statement, "We almost stand in awe of the *Mary Baldwin Miscellany*."³⁵⁸ The *Miscellany* proved a valuable intercollegiate tie at a time when Mary Baldwin had few connections with other schools. Likewise, it was an effective link between the alumnae and the school. It did not encourage alumnae contributions, although there were a few special ones from alumnae engaged in World War activities, because it sought to be solely a student enterprise. But, like the *Seminary Annual* of the 1890's, it published news of the alumnae. It declared in an editorial in 1912: "But perhaps the most encouraging feature of our year's experience has been the

interest exhibited by the *alumnæ*. . . . The *Miscellany* is perhaps the most practicable connecting link joining Baldwin girls scattered over the United States. . . ."³⁵⁹

The files of the *Miscellany* from 1899 to 1929 are a useful social and educational record. The Literary Society took its editorial responsibilities seriously. The *Miscellany* was an organ of literary analysis and criticism through formal essays and a growing number and range of book reviews, of creative literary effort in prose and verse, of editorial comment on school and later on public affairs. It served also as a chronicle of school life during the many years preceding the birth of a school paper. In the years before the World War and especially up to 1910, it sought to arouse school spirit, apparently against considerable odds. After the World War one notes a change in tone and content—more attention to contemporary currents in literature and life in book reviews and editorials; a new interest in psychology; experiments in play-writing; more creative effort in prose and verse, instead of the formal classroom essay on the classics. Perhaps the earlier numbers are the more interesting to the investigator, because they reflect an age that has passed away. A quaint feature in several early issues (1901, 1904) were impressive memorials on the death of William McKinley; of the mother of the Kaiser, William II; of Li Wang Chung; of Herbert Spencer; and of Generals James Longstreet and John B. Gordon. Memorials to the two Confederate generals are explicable and perhaps to the Kaiser's mother as the daughter of Queen Victoria; but at a time when no particular interest in current affairs nor in cosmic and social philosophy had been exhibited, the memorials to William McKinley and Herbert Spencer are surprising! The contents of these early numbers reveal the heavy tasks attempted: "On Aristotle's Definition of Tragedy," "The Nature of Tragedy," "Dramatic Relief in Shakespeare's Historical Plays," "The Medieval Revival in the Romantic Movement." But there were articles in lighter vein: "How to Make a Shirt Waist," "On Riding a Bicycle," "The First Christmas Tree in Staunton." In an issue of 1906 one finds a short story, "The Red Rose" by Laura Lettie Smith (Mrs. Krey), author of *—and Tell of Time*. If the student escaped to the classics, she also came back to the present in local sketches, "A Cotton Field," "The Story of a Traction

Engine," "The Mountaineers of Tennessee and Kentucky," "The Country Store," "In Kiskacoquillos"; but with no tendency to discover "problems" in the American scene, only picturesque America. Her outlook was sentimental, romantic, in that "best of all possible worlds."

Another publication, not the work of the Literary Society, may be mentioned here, the *Campus Comments*, which first appeared on December 15, 1924. As the first editorial of the paper indicated, even it was "related" to the Literary Society, but as a sort of granddaughter because it was sponsored by the *Miscellany*:

Doubtless you of the College campus are mildly surprised as this the dearly loved child of *Miscellany* makes its bow to the public. Child of *Miscellany* did I say? Yes, and like all youngsters loves well to have its own way—and has every intention of getting it. . . .

In all seriousness, though, that is what we intend this small paper to be—under the protection of *Miscellany*, but differing widely in scope and purpose. . . . We intend on the serious side of life to reflect public opinion on the campus and to contribute our own share toward molding it. We intend, no less, to reflect all the life and the feelings which somehow elude the more formal pages of *Miscellany*. . . .

One other point. In order to better carry out our policy of freer expression of our thoughts, the circulation is to be limited to the campus only—no circulation outside the walls, and no exchange. . . .

Whether this was a self-denying ordinance or a restriction imposed by the administration is not revealed. If it leads one to anticipate a wholesale criticism of the institution or a "debunking" of elders and traditions, so popular in the 1920's, one is destined to disappointment in examining its pages. That the administration looked a little askance at this new enterprise, even though with benevolent toleration, might be concluded, however, from the following comment of Miss Higgins to the Board of Trustees: "In addition to the *Miscellany*, a college magazine of long standing, the girls are now issuing a bi-weekly paper, *Campus Comments*, which has stimulated interest in short, vigorous writing. Incidentally, *Campus Comments* calls attention to the eccentricities of all of us living on the campus."³⁶⁰ The paper did not appear in 1924-1926, "for various reasons," it announced when it reappeared, December 9, 1926. Until the fall of 1928, it was a

small paper of magazine size, with four pages, concerned primarily with campus life—clubs, athletics, social activities. But in December, 1928, it announced an enlarged program:

This year *Campus Comments* is to double its production and appear as a weekly newspaper. At the same time, we can announce that our working force will be enlarged by the election of a corps of reporters. Another necessary accompaniment of weekly issuance is the annoying, but logical problem of increased expense. . . . We decided that rather than raise our subscription price and perhaps run the risk of losing the unanimous support of the school, we would instead invite you to our waffle suppers and breakfasts. . . .

As Mary Baldwin becomes a real college, *Campus Comments* is becoming a real college organ. It is our purpose to make it a publication that not only reflects, but is an integral part of the school life. . .³⁶¹

Whether the policy of keeping the circulation intramural was maintained through these years to 1928 the writer does not know. There was no exchange department, at any rate, or reference to outside circulation. In 1928, however, the *Campus Comments* joined the *Miscellany* and *Bluestocking* in participation in the first meeting of the Virginia Intercollegiate Press Association. And an eight-page special issue of May 4, 1929, was sent out by the administration to high schools, "as a slice of Mary Baldwin life with an icing of Mary Baldwin facts and traditions," the paper announced.

It is difficult to evaluate the influence of *Campus Comments* in these first years or to know how well it reflected student opinion. It engaged much, as Miss Higgins said, in mild ridicule of the obsolescence of some restrictions and restraints. It perhaps did much to promote interest in student organizations and activities, especially athletics. And it contributed no doubt to the integration of the student body in preparation for self-government. Miss Flora Stuart, the faculty sponsor, worked hard to promote the "nize baby," as she called it.

In 1912, the first organization of the entire student body was formed through the efforts of Miss Mattoon.³⁶² The *Miscellany* thus described its organization and objectives:

Last year a Student Association was organized in our school. All pupils of the Seminary are members of it and its leadership is in the hands of an executive board composed of the presidents of all the organizations

of the Seminary, the Senior College class and the graduates in all special branches. According to the constitution its object is to cultivate in the school the highest ideals of Christian womanhood, to promote the unity and harmony of the student body, and to establish a true school spirit. A Code of Honor, which has been adopted, provides that each girl shall not only personally strive to live up to these ideals, but also that she shall strive to influence those around her to do so. Through the Association several new school songs have been offered by the students and we hope that more will come. This is a splendid organization and one which will prove useful to the Seminary in many ways.³⁶³

As to the matter of songs and singing the *Miscellany* insisted:

Many of our new friends from other schools have spoken of the absence of step singing at Baldwin's. They have been accustomed to hear the campus ring with enthusiastic young voices in their school songs so full of spirit and loyalty. . . It [singing] does much toward lightening our burdens, so let us try it occasionally and not wait for Association Day or Commencement before we show our school spirit.³⁶⁴

The Student Association itself was apparently shortlived. After a year or so it ceased to be mentioned as an organization. However, the May fete at Commencement, in which all the students participated, continued to be known as Association Day. The following *Miscellany* comment on the organization in the second year of its existence, although favorable, might suggest that the Association was overburdened with faculty influence in its activities as it was perhaps in its birth:

The Student Association has been the source of much enjoyment as well as profit to the pupils of Baldwin's and great interest is being shown both by the faculty and student body. The meetings are held once every month, and the girls have the pleasure of "getting out of a lesson," while they enjoy the meeting. Each time there is to be a talk by a member of the faculty and to these all look forward with much anticipation. At our last meeting "First Aid to the Injured" was the topic by Miss Mattoon, which was most instructive as well as interesting. The demonstration impressed all, and much valuable information was gained.³⁶⁵

The Student Association must have left some tradition of student organization and control, in spite of its short life and apparent lack of effectiveness as far as student participation was concerned, and thus no doubt was one of the centripetal forces toward a united student body.

The organization of the Athletic Association in 1919 and the expansion of the Y. W. C. A. to include the entire student body were important integrating forces in the early twenties. Not until the end of the decade did the College advance to a real Student Government Association, organized in the spring of 1929. Since this organization did not begin to function until the following fall its history forms a part of the final chapter of this study.

The lack of standardization and classification in the Seminary, the fact that one could take "Baby Arithmetic" and senior Latin, and that even the full graduates in a sense graduated piecemeal by accumulating certificates of proficiency in the various "schools" until they secured the required number discouraged the organization of students into classes. But the reorganization of the preparatory work and the beginning of the reorganization of the collegiate course made possible the formation of class groups. In 1910, the *Miscellany* announced the formation of the first collegiate class: "The nine girls who have organized the Class of 1912 have the honor of being members of the first class at Mary Baldwin. Already the Juniors have planned class exercises, social affairs, and a Class Day. . . ." ³⁶⁶ Dr. Fraser was chosen patron of the class. Characteristically, the *Miscellany* seized upon classes as a means of promoting school spirit: "This year we have had classes organized and that should encourage our school spirit. We all know how quickly we resent any criticism of Mary Baldwin by an outsider and how gladly we return in the fall. Let us then resolve not to criticize the Seminary or each other, as we are all rather prone to do." ³⁶⁷

The Class of 1912 had a prominent part in the organization of the Student Association, and its president was chairman of the executive committee. ³⁶⁸ Soon the social life of the Seminary was expanded and diversified by class teas, receptions, and banquets. In March, 1912, the Class of 1914 gave to the Class of 1912 the first class banquet given in Mary Baldwin. ³⁶⁹ As a feature of the commencement of 1912, the first Class Day exercises were held. In later years there were Senior Days at Hot Springs, sophomore trips for seniors to Natural Bridge, and other forms of class entertainments. Classes quickly came to be vital agencies in student life on the campus.

Although Mary Baldwin has generally fostered and exhibited

a democratic spirit and tradition, there appeared after 1897 sororities, which represented an opposite tendency. Some of the Greek letter sororities got recognition as chapters from the national organizations.³⁷⁰ Their pictures filled the *Bluestocking* and their banquets and parties filled the social calendar. Otherwise, there was little comment made of them until after their dissolution. Official reports do not recognize their existence. Contemporary with the Greek letter societies were other "secret" societies, the C.O.D.'s, the Z.T.Z.'s, the K.F.C.'s, and others, following much the same procedure as to rushing, initiations, and secret meetings. Some of the latter group, in fact, preceded in origin the Greek letter organizations. The last issue of the old *Annual*, May, 1898, mentions the "Sons of Rest," the E.F.E.'s, the F. F. F.'s, and the "Mystic Six."³⁷¹ The sororities were first mentioned in the *Souvenir* of 1899. Both types of organization may have existed earlier unannounced. Even the "little girls" had their secret society, the J.U.G.'s. "They seem to have lots of jolly meetings but they won't let us 'old folks' into their secrets," the *Miscellany* declared.³⁷² Among the members of this organization was Tallulah Bankhead. This epidemic of clubs and sororities was the product in part perhaps of the desire to be collegiate (they had pins, yells, and the other popular paraphernalia of college groups); in part a result of the boredom with the "sheltered life," which led students to seek compensation in the excitement of initiations, secrecy, etc. attending their organization, and perhaps on the part of some of a real desire to be exclusive. There may have been some local application to the *Miscellany* anecdote: "Lillian P. informs us that in Athens it was customary to oppose 'the many' with *clubs*."³⁷³

In 1908, sororities were abolished, or disbanded. Just how this came about was not announced. The only mention of it in the student publications is found in the "Retrospect" of the year in the *Bluestocking* of 1909: "It was with regret that we old sorority girls had to give up the pleasure of having 'goats' to 'run up the hill' or 'make up my bed this morning,' because here sororities are deemed injurious to the social welfare of the school." The other "secret societies" continued, however, until they too were disbanded in 1915. The *Bluestocking* announced this "Flight of the Clubs" in verse, memorializing the departed.

Miss Higgins stated to the Board of Trustees in 1923 that "all secret societies were voluntarily abolished by the students about eight or nine years ago."³⁷⁴ It is likely that the sororities had been ended in the same manner.

The only club of restricted, or selected, membership after 1915 was the German Club, which in 1917 or 1918 became the Cotillion Club (perhaps because of the anti-German sentiment of the World War). As its earlier name suggests, it was a social club primarily interested in dancing. "Germans" had been a popular feature of the social life in the Seminary of the "Gay Nineties." "Since the 'Death of the Clubs' this is the one organization in the school which exists merely for social purposes," it announced in the fall of 1916.³⁷⁵ Its successor, the Cotillion Club, survived until 1932. In 1927 it thus explained and defended its existence:

Seeing that the various institutions in our vicinity are not to be honored by our presence, some clever mind, in the years gone by, devised a plan by which those of us who are socially inclined may satisfy our craving for "tripping the light fantastic" to the sounds of rhythmic jazz supplemented by a background of effective decorations, ravishing gowns, polished floors, and charming chaperons, and ever since then the Cotillion Club has held an indisputably prominent position among the school organizations. As it is the only club dedicated solely to the happy task of finding enjoyment in social life, the formal dances it holds several times during the course of a year are real events that furnish a source of pleasure with which we would be loathe ever to dispense.³⁷⁶

Failure to be elected to the Cotillion Club probably caused many a heartache; and its disappearance was a cause for gratification on the part of both administration and students. It is unlikely that there was ever any pronounced tendency in Mary Baldwin to form into exclusive cliques or any conscious snobbishness. These restricted organizations were not in line, however, with the democratic traditions; they were a passing fashion. With the attainment of wider extramural privileges in the decade of the 1930's, the chief motive for such organizations disappeared.

After the "Flight of the Clubs" in 1915, new organizations of an educational character began to appear. The first and one of the most vigorous of these was the History Club organized in 1915 and open to all students in history and economics. The

World War gave a special impetus to this organization, and under the direction of Miss Latané it contributed much to the war work undertaken in the Seminary. The organization of an effective Red Cross Auxiliary on the campus was chiefly its work; it undertook an extensive study of the history of nursing; raised money for European medical relief; brought speakers to the Seminary from Barnard College and Columbia University; and bought newspapers for the library. In the years immediately after the war, the club made a special study in a series of meetings of the Russian Revolution, the League of Nations, and the World Court. Debates were held on these subjects, and two mornings a week the History Club discussed public affairs in chapel.³⁷⁷ Primarily a study club, the History Club also held social meetings and was organized "over the chocolate cups." It apparently ceased to meet after 1927. The International Relations Club continues its work today.

A number of departmental clubs, similar to the History Club, appeared in the succeeding years. The Picture Club, soon called the Art Club, the Spanish Club, the Latin Club, the French Club, the Sock and Buskin Dramatic Club, the Music Club, and finally the Psychology Club. These clubs were apparently very enthusiastic and active organizations, impelled perhaps by the aspiration to measure up in every respect to the college status acquired in 1923. The Psychology Club, organized in 1926, with the Educational Psychology class as charter members, admitted others on a scholarship basis only. In the post-war years psychology had become a popular fad of the man in the street. And it became also a more popular subject for scientific study in schools. One finds, for example, articles on the emotions, bolstered with authorities cited, invading the literary calm of the *Miscellany*, and "psychological games" were played at parties. The Psychology Club brought a number of speakers to Mary Baldwin from neighboring colleges and universities. With their picnics, teas, parties, and an occasional gala affair, like a Roman banquet by the Latin Club for seniors and faculty, these clubs filled the gap in the students' social life left by the disappearance of the social clubs. And their intellectual contribution must have been considerable.

Older than any of these clubs were the Glee Club and orchestra. A product of the decided musical emphasis of the old

Seminary, the background of these organizations was laid in the nineteenth century. Group singing had been required of all voice students; and violin, guitar, mandolin, banjo, and the harp had been taught. In the nineties a group of girls had formed a dormitory "orchestra." The first official notice discovered of the Glee Club appeared in the *Souvenir* of 1899. At that time it was a group of thirty-eight. In 1904, a group picture of a Mandolin Club appeared in the *Bluestocking*; and in 1906, the orchestra was mentioned. In 1908, the Glee Club had a membership of seventy-one. These organizations began to have a prominent part on soiree programs.

With the increase in the number of clubs there arose the problem of distribution of honors. To prevent a few students being accorded all the honors and responsibilities the point system was adopted and a maximum number of points fixed beyond which the student could not go. The president of the Y. W. C. A., the office of highest rank, received ten points, the president of the Athletic Association, eight, and so on. Forty or fifty students could receive training through the higher offices in these associations and clubs. Each organization had a faculty adviser. Of the value of the point system, incidentally, and the spirit that pervaded the Mary Baldwin student body, the *Miscellany* declared:

Since we have had the rule which prevents a girl from having more than one major office the spirit of democracy in the school has developed rapidly. . . . But in addition to this official step toward democracy, there is the growth of the spirit among the girls themselves. One thinks of cliques and snobs in boarding schools, and there are such. But at Mary Baldwin the snob would be alone.³⁷⁸

Through trial and error, hard work, many reverses and discouragements, the Mary Baldwin student body had succeeded in building some valuable traditions, practices, and organizations.

COMMENCEMENTS, SOIREES, AND OTHER ENTERTAINMENTS

In its public performances, the Seminary lingered in its nineteenth century ways as the twentieth century wore on. And it continued to be a favorite place of resort for Staunton society, partly through long-established custom perhaps, partly through affection and interest. The *Bluestocking* of 1903 described a

typical "theatre party" of the turn of the century in an article, "Beau Tibbs at the Soiree." "One of the principal entertainments of the citizens here in winter is to repair about nightfall to a chapel not far from Main Street, where they look about, show their best clothes and best faces, and listen to a concert provided for the occasion," Beau Tibbs declared. The Staunton papers reported frequently a house full to overflowing. The audience would begin to assemble at seven o'clock, an hour before the program began. New features appeared on the programs, and some of the old favorites had gone. Calisthenic exercises retired to gymnasium exhibitions; but tableaux held their own for some years. Beau Tibbs reported that the lights went wrong on the particular evening he described, but that the figures in the tableaux retained their positions throughout as "motionless as statues." The "full orchestra bursting on the stillness of the air" was an innovation, but the setting with girls in white on circus benches and the stage "spread with Mr. Kibler's floral decorations" were the same. The emotional response of the audience lacked nothing of its old fervor. "Fair faces and sweet music combined to present an entertainment at the Mary Baldwin Seminary last evening of unusual charm."³⁷⁹

Classical music remained the chief theme of all performances. But one finds an occasional variation; for example, of a recital in contemporary music given by Professor Eisenberg's pupils in 1911, it was said: "The program was rather out of the ordinary . . . the old reliables, Beethoven, Liszt, and others were given no place."³⁸⁰ In addition to the orchestra, the Glee Club or choral class, a new feature, gave further variety to the programs. The first notice found of a program of this type appeared in the *Leader* of April 25, 1908. In the following year Professor Schmidt presented the chorus and orchestra in the *Mikado*. It might be recalled that following the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 the Japanese theme was very prominent in American life. In 1905, Miss Sara Greenleaf Frost, the elocution teacher, gave a program long-remembered, "An Evening in Old Japan," for the benefit of the King's Daughters' Hospital.³⁸¹ And the Japanese motif appeared in other programs. In these years many programs were given, the door receipts of which went to the King's Daughters' Hospital. Gilbert and Sullivan appeared again

in the *Sorcerer*, 1915, when "for the first time in many years the young ladies taking male roles wore men's attire."³⁸² The first student organ recital ever presented by the Seminary was given by a pupil of Professor Schmidt in December, 1913, assisted by a Staunton chorus, which he had trained.³⁸³ Although piano numbers remained a leading feature on soiree programs, apparently the performances on six pianos had disappeared.

In dramatic work there was considerable diversity. The tableaux disappeared reluctantly; French plays continued for a time. Shakespearian scenes and sometimes an entire play appeared; *Much Ado About Nothing* was given in 1908, and acclaimed a very great success.³⁸⁴ A unique Shakespearian program, *A Masque of William Shakespeare*, was presented in April, 1916, in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of his death. This masque was composed by Miss Edith Latané and Miss Majorie Day, the expression teacher, whose pupils presented it. Its theme was quite in keeping with the strict standards of scholarship of the Seminary; it was "the pursuit of learning." A student was shown at her desk, and by the personification of Learning, Drudgery, Literature, Play, Imagination, Tragedy, and Poetry, the authors of the masque taught the lesson that learning, or more particularly the mastery of Shakespeare's intricacies, is "to be attained only through application and a certain amount of drudgery," which proved well worth while "when learning appeared to the student in all her beauty."³⁸⁵ There followed certain favorite scenes from Shakespeare plays.

As Staunton apparently continued to enjoy soirees, the students continued to endure them (and perhaps to enjoy them, too). But circus benches got no softer, and soirees and recitals became more numerous, especially in the spring season of graduating recitals. "With March our 'days of circus benches' began, with their hours and hours of nerve-wracking and back-breaking soirees. Not that we didn't enjoy them to the fullest, nor that they weren't successful to the limit, because indeed they were, but the comfort of the circus benches is proverbial," the *Blue-stocking* "Retrospect" of 1914 declared. Comments were not always so flattering as to the enjoyment of "listening to music we have heard practiced for months before"; but whether mildly critical and self-commiseratory or flippantly satirical, the "circus

bench season" never failed to bring forth its student editorial comment.³⁸⁶ A special statement in the catalogue suggests the difficulty of securing student attendance at soirees: "Soirees being a part of the regular school exercises, no pupil will be excused from attendance except in case of sickness; no pupil will be given permission to visit at these times." However, such is human nature, that returning alumnæ rejoiced that the circus benches were still there, as other old landmarks disappeared. It might be said in explanation that the term *soiree* was applied to the general student recital; the graduating recitals were "recitals."

The climax of the "circus bench" season was commencement. Collegiate in many respects, the Seminary did not assume the dignity of cap and gown for its commencement procession. The characteristic features of the gala commencements of "Miss Baldwin's School" remained. The Staunton *Leader* of May 24, 1914, reported that the weather, which had threatened, "had heard two hundred girls' appeals to 'have a heart' " and that there "were present all the other elements which make the ideal Seminary Commencement . . . oratorical eloquence, flowers by the wholesale, diplomas, medals, prizes, certificates, and other honors; pretty white dresses, and numerous prettier maids, and, of course, sweet girl graduates." Up to 1912, the other events of "finals" remained the same, the Art Exhibition, the alumnæ meeting, the student concerts, and the Sunday sermon. In 1912, a new feature was introduced, which has remained to the present day—the Class Day exercises, in which the student body participated. In that year, the first organized class was graduated, and it was also the year in which the Student Association appeared. One feature of the Class Day in 1912 included the planting of a tree.³⁸⁷ In 1913, the pageant appeared, but not the May Queen. Miss Mattoon instituted the Commencement pageant with a "Pageant of Maidenhood in Virginia," which included features of Seminary history.³⁸⁸ For a good many years, the ceremonial of tea-drinking was observed in the Class Day exercises. A toast was drunk in a "cup of kindness"; the cups were then broken and the saucers kept as souvenirs. The ceremony closed with the singing of "Auld Lang Syne"—and floods of tears!

It is to be noted that Class Day and the pageant, now separate events, were then combined. In 1914, the pageant first took the

form of a May fete, with the crowning of the May Queen.³⁸⁹ Among the various themes represented in these annual May Day pageants, one finds the patriotic motif emphasized in 1917, with the Goddess of Liberty, the Army, the Navy, European dances, etc. Particularly impressive was the pageant of 1927, "On and On," addressed to "Everywoman," which emphasized woman's place in the "world of education, politics, and the whole realm of modern activities." Although the College and Seminary had separate graduation exercises, both groups were represented in the pageant. The first mention of the shepherds' crooks for the arch occurred in 1928.³⁹⁰ For some years the graduates entered through an aisle formed of chains of white and gold flowers.

Incidentally, a unique feature had appeared on the commencement program in 1920, an event later relegated to the Athletic Club banquet. The *Alumnae Bulletin* thus reported this event :

After the last graduate's recital, an event not listed in the program of finals, but one that proved to be quite interesting, was celebrated on the front steps of the Seminary. Miss Shattuck, the athletic director, presented four silver cups to victorious teams in athletics . . . in tennis, baseball, basket ball, and hockey.³⁹¹

Thus commencements, which had romanticized the "sweet girl graduate," were coming to depict woman in public life and in the realm of sports.

In 1924, the cap and gown finally appeared, and the day of the sweet girl graduate dressed in white with arms full of flowers was receding, but not quite gone. Until the Seminary was closed in 1929, the old customs were observed in its commencement, which was separate from that of the College. In the first college commencement, there was only one graduate, Miss Elsie Jones. In the procession the entire college student body appeared in cap and gown along with faculty and trustees. This commencement was held in the Chapel, where all the Seminary commencements had been held.

From the beginning of the new century the students were allowed to seek entertainment in Staunton theatres, always, of course, under strict chaperonage and as an "angel brigade" clad in our white uniforms." Among the popular plays they saw in the early years of the century were: *Vanity Fair*, *Mrs. Wiggs of*

the Cabbage Patch, *St. Elmo*, *Ben Hur*, and *Monsieur Beaucaire*, presented as road shows by New York companies. "One of the happiest evenings (of the year) we owe to John Philip Sousa," the *Bluestocking* of 1900 declared. Local entertainments that were favorites included the Staunton Rifles in *My Uncle from Japan*; the West Augusta Guards, who gave *The Battle of Santiago*, the *Blue and the Gray*, and *Down in Dixie*; and several special programs of the Stonewall Brigade Band, who also gave a concert at the Seminary and were entertained at a banquet afterwards. Polk Miller's Negro quartet appeared several times, and he gave a number of lectures. Grand opera and Shakespearian drama also appeared in the list of entertainments; *Faust* by the New York Grand Opera Company; *Bohemian Girl*, *Lohengrin*, *Il Trovatore*, and *Martha* by the International Operatic Company; Fritz Lieber in *Hamlet*; Modjeska in *Macbeth*; *Twelfth Night* by the Ben Greet Players; and Charles Hanford in *Julius Cæsar*. Annie Russell appeared in *She Stoops to Conquer* and Joseph Jefferson in *Rip Van Winkle*. Staunton had an "Opera House" for some years and secured some excellent entertainments. Later the Beverley Theatre, the New Theatre, and the Y. M. C. A. auditorium were places of entertainment.

But no programs received the acclaim of the Seminary girls so enthusiastically as the University of Virginia Glee and Mandolin Club and the University Dramatic Club, the Arcadians. There were other glee and mandolin clubs—the Brown University, the Washington and Lee, and the Richmond College; and the V. P. I. and S. M. A. minstrels appeared occasionally. But the Virginia Glee Club came year after year to Staunton. The girls were first allowed to hear it in 1899. "We girls knew the Glee Club was to give a concert in Staunton, but hardly dared hope that we, the *Seminary girls*, would be allowed the pleasure of attending it," declared the *Souvenir*.³⁹² Its appearances for weeks afterwards "still furnished a never-exhausting and never exhausted subject for discussion among the groups and crowds of enthusiastic girls on the back gallery." And of the appearance in 1912, they declared: "Miss Weimar generously advertised this concert long before hand by the frequent remark, 'If you do that, you can't go to the Glee Club.'"³⁹³

A sort of tempest in a teapot seems to have arisen over the

appearance of the Virginia Dramatic Club in *Turveyland* in 1910, eagerly anticipated and "worth being good for a month." The *Miscellany* declared it the "most important event of the year" and thus recorded the student resentment over its reception:

We were decidedly displeased with the population of Staunton for not applauding more vigorously. We assure the Arcadians that if it had been left to us we should certainly have shown our appreciation more earnestly. But, alas! we were not allowed to do so. We venture to say that no one who has seen the musical comedy appreciated it more fully or enjoyed it more fully than the girls of the Seminary. Now the strains of "Washer-woman," "Kingdom of Love," and "Maiden's Eyes" fill the air morning and night.

In view of the social restrictions, one can understand why a college dramatic or glee club was so popular—"just to say it was a glee club was enough"—and why the entire pit of the Opera House was reserved for the Mary Baldwin girls, as the Staunton *Leader* announced before the Brown University performance.

In 1907, Mary Baldwin instituted a lecture and concert series of her own. The Staunton *Leader* declared that the Seminary was securing some of the most talented artists of the day and expressed regret that they were not presented in an auditorium which could accommodate all who wished to hear them.³⁹⁴ The institution of this lecture and concert series represented a decided step forward in Mary Baldwin in intellectual and artistic life. The Staunton entertainments had supplied a great need up to 1907. The programs of the lectures and concerts, which appeared in the catalogue year after year, indicate the generally high level of artistic ability secured. Some of these artists became special favorites and appeared many times—Ernest Hutcheson and Ernest Schelling each came three times; Yolando Mero, pianist of first rank, the same; Anton Kaspar, violinist, seven times; Germaine Schnitzer, noted pianist, three times. Henry L. Southwick appeared in *The Rivals* and in a return engagement in *Richelieu*. In post-war years, two particularly noted pianists, Arthur Friedheim and William Bachmus appeared. There were usually five or six dramatic and musical entertainments during the year. In the earlier years up to the World War, music and dramatic performances got the chief emphasis; afterwards the lecturers were the more numerous.

In the earlier lectures, the field of literature received most emphasis with speakers from the University of Virginia. Dr. Charles W. Kent gave a series of lectures in 1907-08 and 1908-09, and Dr. C. Alphonso Smith in 1911-1914. The lectures of Dr. Metcalf during the World War have been mentioned above. The World War tended to shift the emphasis from literature to politics and public affairs. Dr. Lindsay Rogers of the University of Virginia, mentioned above, gave a series of lectures on the war. Herbert Hoover appeared in 1918 and spoke on food conservation. In 1920, Dr. John H. Latané of Johns Hopkins discussed the subject, "Shall the United States Shirk Its International Responsibilities," and in 1923 Hamilton Holt gave two lectures, "The Accomplishments of the League of Nations" and "France and America." In the same year the noted American naturalist, Carl Akeley, spoke on "Wild Animals." The list of entertainments, chiefly lectures on conditions in the Orient and Europe, became much longer in the post-war years. A casual observation would indicate that the level of excellence was probably sacrificed, although there were notable exceptions. The Alumnae Association contributed to the artistic life of Mary Baldwin and Staunton in bringing several noted performers to the city during the 1920's.

THE STUDENT BODY ; COST OF EDUCATION ; SESSIONS AND HOLIDAYS ; EXAMINATIONS

With the exception of a few years, Mary Baldwin maintained a capacity enrollment during these three decades, and often, especially from the World War to the closing of the Seminary, had to refuse admission to many. There were some slim years, however, which caused considerable anxiety to those charged with her financial policy and administration. In the first year of Miss Weimar's administration, 1897-1898, only one hundred eighty-nine students were enrolled, about half of them day students ; but there was a gradual increase to 1905, when the enrollment reached three hundred four. The session 1907-1908 was a banner year with three hundred twenty-eight. There came a drop in 1911-1912 to two hundred forty-six, but the three hundred mark was passed in the following session. It is interesting to note that the first three years of the World War brought considerable decrease in enrollment, which the administration feared might become dis-

astrous upon the entrance of the United States into the war. In the fall of 1917, however, the figures were back to normal. From the close of the war to 1925-26, there was an increase; in this year the maximum of three hundred sixty-one was attained. With the announcement of the closing of the Seminary, the enrollment dropped. In the first year of the College alone, only two hundred three were enrolled.³⁹⁵

It will be recalled that the Seminary had begun to attract a South-wide patronage soon after the Civil War and by the end of the century even a nation-wide patronage. This cosmopolitan character of the student body continued to be maintained; in fact, a wider geographical area came to be represented. As the *Miscellany* (1913) said when school opened, "girls flocked in from the four winds."³⁹⁶ Less than half the students were Virginians; in some years only about one-third. Certain Southern states continued to send many students, notably Georgia, Kentucky, Alabama, and North Carolina. Texas had a large "delegation" in the early years of the century; in 1904, for example, twenty-two out of an enrollment of two hundred ninety-four. For a number of years the annual calendar of events in the *Bluestocking* recorded the "arrival of the Texas Delegation" as a special event of the opening of school. In the war years the Texans almost disappeared; there were only two in 1915-1916; three in 1916-1917; and not until 1921-1922 did the group attain something like its earlier status, with thirteen to its credit. The most notable change in the geographical distribution of the students was the increase from the North and from the Middle-West; especially from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Maryland. There were also more from the Far West. "Thousands of people know only of Staunton as the home of this splendid institution which draws students from thirty-five states of the Union, from far away China and tropical Havana," the *Staunton News-Leader* declared.³⁹⁷

In spite of the wide area represented, the South predominated, with a strong third Virginians. Supported by a Southern majority on the faculty, the social and intellectual orientation of the Seminary was still Southern. One can see this in the preference for *Dixie* even on national days; in Miss Riddle's interpretation of American history; in the celebration of Lee and Jackson Day,

observed as a holiday, on which the Seminary for many years attended the Staunton program at the Opera House; in the fondness for Southern themes in dramatic and musical programs; and in student writings in the *Miscellany*. Staunton encouraged this Southern emphasis; none of the Seminary programs were applauded so much as those dealing with the Old South. "A play at the Mary Baldwin Seminary has probably never been more thoroughly enjoyed than 'A Virginia Heroine' . . . a love story of the War Between the States," the *Leader* reported.³⁹⁸ The Southern theme was especially prominent until after the World War.

There was some reaction, however, from students of other sections to the Southern emphasis. This found expression in the mild criticism of Miss Riddle, in the jokes of the student publications, in articles on life in Nebraska or California in the *Miscellany*, and in the formation of state and sectional clubs by students from northern and western states. The state clubs seemed to have begun with the Texas group. The *Miscellany* of December, 1901, announced the organization of the "Texas Long Horns."³⁹⁹ The next year this club had a membership of twenty. The state clubs grew in number. In 1910-1911, there were Texas, Georgia, Indiana, Illinois, and Virginia clubs, and a Dixie Club. In 1912, Alabama, New York, Pennsylvania, and Staunton clubs were added; and in 1915-1916, there were Dixie, Yankee, and Border clubs, with faculty members listed as members of the first two. By 1919, there were other combinations—a Southern Club, a Tri-State Club, and Northwestern and Western clubs. By this time the state and sectional clubs had apparently about run their course. Athletics furnished a more interesting motif in organizations. Although there were no clubs of foreign students, they contributed another element in this geographical interchange of ideas; daughters of missionaries, naval officers, and others living abroad brought students from Japan, China, Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Canada, the Canal Zone, and the Dominican Republic.

Mary Baldwin early built up a patronage based on family tradition. After a hundred years the great-granddaughters are now coming. This source of students has never been sufficiently large to produce a closed system of family connections, but as a *Bluestocking* questionnaire discovered, many girls have come

"because it was hereditary."⁴⁰⁰ Or, as a Baldwin girl's diary put it: "But how can a girl expect to go to a New York school when her mother graduated at Baldwin's and thinks it is the only thing that ever happened."⁴⁰¹ The geographical range of students has been extended by this practice of sending daughters even though the families move to distant states. As the historical sense of Mary Baldwin increased with the years, more attention has been given to her "family history." This recognition found many expressions, among them the organization of a Granddaughters' Club in 1926.⁴⁰² Miss Higgins initiated the idea apparently by giving annually a special dinner to the "Granddaughters." In the fall of 1926, the Alumnæ Association invited the sixteen daughters and granddaughters of alumnæ to the Birthday Luncheon on October 4.

The administration became concerned many years ago about a condition that still causes some concern: the too rapid turnover in the student body. One might wonder if the tradition established of a year or two at Mary Baldwin to give the young lady contact "with all the purity and refinement that characterize a model Virginia home," has not perhaps had some influence on the present. Alumnæ from distant states insist on a year or two here for their daughters, but prefer to have them return to schools nearer home to complete their college course. The establishment of the standard four-year college has done much, however, toward holding the student body. The emphasis placed after the First World War on early registration and the requirement of a registration fee after 1927 helped to keep some old students. During these years the school was usually full, and old students who waited until summer to register had to be turned away. The neglect to register soon enough probably accounted, however, for only a small percentage of the losses. That the turnover in the student body was not due to dissatisfaction, as a rule, is indicated in the fact that sisters and daughters of students who came one or two years frequently came later. It is unfortunate for the College that this custom of not staying for the four years has shown some tendency to survive.

For a school that has depended almost entirely on its current income for operation, the fees at Mary Baldwin have always been remarkably low compared to those of other women's colleges. In

1896, the general fee for tuition and board had been raised from \$203 to \$250. In 1907, the Board of Trustees began to consider another advance of rates. In its report to the Board in January, 1907, the Executive Committee discussed the problem, pointing out the increasing cost per pupil with the rise of prices and the fact that other local schools charged at least \$100 more.⁴⁰³

No change was made at this time. In 1910, however, the general board and tuition fee was raised to \$300 with a fee of \$60 for collegiate day pupils; and in the following year it was made \$325 with no extra charge for two in a room. In 1913, the terms were raised to \$350; in 1916 to \$400; 1919, \$450; 1920, \$550; 1923, \$600; 1929, \$650. In comparison, one finds that Mount Holyoke, a rather conservative school with respect to charges, had raised her rates to \$350 in 1908; \$425 in 1914; \$500 in 1916; \$600 in 1917; and, in 1920, after a comparative study of the rates of the leading women's college, to \$750.⁴⁰⁴ Mount Holyoke made further advances in rates to \$810 in 1923, \$900 in 1926, and \$1,000 in 1931. In justification of its first general raise of rates in Mary Baldwin in 1910, the Executive Committee, pointing out that the cost of living had advanced fifty per cent since Miss Baldwin's death, made the following comment on its financial policies:

While the Seminary has never been conducted upon the plan of a mercantile institution, that is, for the purpose of making all the money possible out of it, if we are correct in our conception of Miss Baldwin's idea of its management, it was to charge such a price to those able to pay full prices as to enable her to take such free pupils as were unable to pay and yet were anxious for an education such as the Seminary could afford them. . . .⁴⁰⁵

Mary Baldwin has faithfully fulfilled this ideal of Miss Baldwin and to an extent remarkable in view of her financial limitations. According to Miss Baldwin's will, the daughters of the local Presbyterian ministers were to be educated without charge. Moreover, reductions were given in her day and since to ministers' daughters. When the alumnae established a missionary scholarship in 1920, the Board of Trustees allowed a fifty per cent reduction of rates on it. And from year to year the reports show that others were admitted without charge. For example, Mr. King stated in 1923 that of the 203 boarding stu-

dents and 126 day students, one boarding student received free board and tuition, two received a fifty per cent reduction, and four the reductions given ministers' daughters; and that seventeen day students were admitted free.⁴⁰⁶ Up to this time twenty-two missionaries had been educated without charge or at reduced rates. Even when charges were made to ministers they were sometimes cancelled. In 1909, for example, the Board of Trustees voted upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee to cancel the accounts of four ministers, amounting to \$1,100, and also added another minister's account to the list cancelled.⁴⁰⁷ In 1928, the amount of the reductions allowed was \$3,338, a very considerable item in the small budget.⁴⁰⁸ Only exacting care in management, it would seem, could have maintained the school in view of its low rates and liberality in reductions. The conservative salary scale, the income from the special subjects, and the careful management of the boarding department helped to maintain the balance. With respect to the latter, Mr. King had said in expressing his regret that Mrs. Chase, the housekeeper for many years, was to leave: "The position of a housekeeper requires above all things close attention; as you know, the losses or profits are made in the boarding department."⁴⁰⁹

The school session of nine months remained for many years broken by few holidays. The *Souvenir* (1899) declared: "We did not believe in holidays at our school so had very few: Thanksgiving Day, three days at Christmas, Lee's birthday, and three days in the spring." Miss Baldwin's custom of giving an unannounced holiday from time to time "as teachers and pupils need rest" was continued. A favorite occasion for such a holiday was the event of a big snow. The *Staunton News-Leader* of February 5, 1905, related: "The students of the Mary Baldwin Seminary were given a holiday today. . . . Taking advantage of the deep snow, Mr. King, the general manager of the school, took a large number of the girls out sleighing. There were five sleighs, each filled with school girls, who greatly enjoyed the experience. The party drove through the city and also had an ideal drive out into the country." Thanksgiving Day was strictly a home day for the Seminary. All students were required to take Thanksgiving dinner in the school. The *Miscellany* of 1904 related a novel occurrence: "Enjoyment of our Thanksgiving dinner was

heightened by the presence of several cadets from Staunton Military Academy, brothers or cousins of Baldwin pupils." In 1898, October 4, the birthday of Miss Baldwin, began to be observed as a holiday, and in the following year that of Miss McClung, January 31. The observance of the latter day was discontinued after 1922. In 1906, the Christmas holiday was extended to one week, with no holiday at Easter; and in 1909, a two weeks' vacation at Christmas was granted. Although the catalogues of successive years stated that there was no Easter vacation, the calendars of events published in the *Miscellany* and *Bluestocking* list spring vacations of five or six days in April in 1912, 1913, 1915, 1916, and perhaps in other years, with comments on the activities. In 1923, the college catalogue for the first time included a calendar, which did not mention a spring holiday.

Following closely upon the return from the Christmas holidays were the semester examinations. Even before she had a system of "hours" and "credits," Mary Baldwin followed the "semester plan." The *Bluestocking* observation in 1916 that girls had to be "mended up" by Miss Garrett, the nurse, from the effects of Christmas festivities in preparation for examination sounds very modern. By this date standardization had reached the point that examinations were accepted as a part of the necessary routine of school. But some parents had retained apparently long in the twentieth century the notion that young ladies should be shielded from all such unpleasant and upsetting experiences. The catalogues from year to year repeated with emphasis the rule: "Pupils cannot be excused from their examinations except with the approval of the Principal; when in her judgment a pupil is too delicate to bear the fatigue of this duty, she will be excused." Examinations continued to be very long, a single examination being given a day, with a free day between each examination. Students had to attend classes, however, on these days, because the regular schedule of classes continued throughout the examination period. In 1911, the system was changed, as the following *Miscellany* comment indicated: "Although it is usually impossible to please everyone in school changes or reforms, nearly everyone seems to approve the change in the plan for the mid-year examinations. Before this year, two days, including one for study before the examination, were given for each

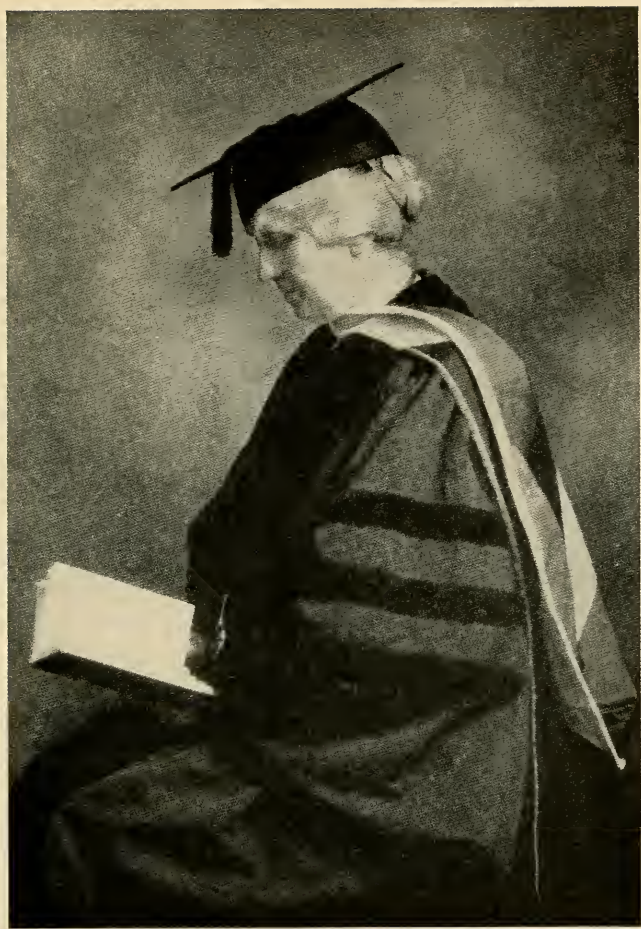
subject, and the examinations were scattered throughout the month of January. We all remember the numerous inconveniences and disadvantages of that system. . . .'⁴¹⁰ Later a three-hour limit to examinations was set, and in 1926, Miss Higgins announced to the Board of Trustees that she was trying the two-hour examination for the first time.⁴¹¹ Thus the duration of the "ordeal," if not its intensity, had been reduced.

RULES AND REGULATIONS IN SEMINARY AND COLLEGE

In view of the social changes in American life, particularly with reference to the position and conduct of woman, in these three decades of the twentieth century, the social system of Mary Baldwin underwent little modification at least until the middle 1920's. But the impact of outside forces had some influence on a conservative environment and administration. For the retention of a strict system of surveillance and control the local environment and the administration were not, however, entirely responsible. The patrons of the school approved it apparently in its general principles, if not in all details. "I have noticed the increasing amount of satisfaction that patrons derive from the fact that we continue to exercise discipline," Miss Higgins reported to the Board of Trustees in 1923.⁴¹² And Miss Latané, defending the policy of the administration in answer to the New York Chapter of the alumnae in 1921, insisted that some parents "tell us that they send their daughters here to keep them from going into company too young." And she went on to say:

I honestly think that the feeling of restraint among our girls is keenest at two points—there are two delights that are characteristic of American youth and only scantily permitted to our young charges—running the streets and going to the movies. Many parents tell us that at home they do not want their daughters to do all the things that "all the girls" do, and yet it is hard to be forever restraining them and saying no. . . . Some parents bring their children here hoping that they will be happy in the companionship of other girls and be sheltered from the very things from which their parents find it hard to protect them at home. . . . We are honestly old-fashioned, but we think we have a mission to the elect.⁴¹³

With regard to changes in the social regulations, a chief difficulty arose from the fact that there were preparatory and collegiate students in the same system and that the rules were for-



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mulated to fit the needs of the younger group. This does not mean that the administration favored a general reform of the rules even for the older students, but changes would have come sooner, no doubt, if all students had been of senior college age. The closing of the Seminary in 1929 simplified the whole problem of social administration.

In the matter of dress there were only minor changes made in the requirements. The uniform was used until the opening of the session of 1929-30, the first session without the Seminary. Although uniform dress for all public occasions had been a common practice of colleges, it had disappeared from most of them before this date. The white suit and hat for fall and spring, the black suit and grey felt hat for winter, the white dress for soirees "made high in the neck with long sleeves" were the specified wardrobe. School clothes might be chosen by the student or parent, but with certain limitations. Long-sleeved, lined waists for winter were necessary; no low shoes were allowed. Simplicity of dress was encouraged. The catalogue regulations continued to furnish a sort of fashion history of the times. Alpaca and empress cloth gave place to serge; muslin to organdie. The Knox hat and tailor-made suit (replacing the black dress) made up the winter uniform after 1912. The Panama hat appeared in 1916 for spring use. The appearance of the middy blouse brought forth the following addendum to the catalogue of 1912-13: "Middy blouses are not permitted in this school. While not obligatory, the Peter Thompson suit is recommended for everyday wear."⁴¹⁴ In 1920, the Betty Wales replaced the Peter Thompson as suggested school costume. The prohibition of the middy blouse disappeared from the catalogue in a few years, but a student writing in the *Miscellany* in 1920 said: "The only other time we have worn bloomers and middies besides in gymn classes was at a party given by the Athletic Association."⁴¹⁵ In 1906, a concession was made as to the sleeves of the spring soiree dress—they might be of elbow length, but no shorter. Apparently this question had become something of an issue, as the "Charge of the Elbow Sleeve" in the *Bluestocking* suggests.⁴¹⁶ As the intramural sorority and club dances became more elaborate, students gave much attention to the dress for these functions. The catalogue advised: "For evening wear and private dress occasions in the Seminary, such

simple evening dresses as the girl may have and would wear at their homes on such occasions are used." This rule was modified in 1923 to read: "Neither extremely low necks nor dresses without sleeves are allowed," and disappeared entirely in 1927.

The uniform naturally became the butt of many jokes, the theme of poems and plays, the subject of polemics year after year. Although the "angel brigade" dressed in "multi-colored shades of white" came in for its share of comment, the hat was the chief point of attack. Soiree dresses could be varied, tailored suits were the mode and each girl could select her own so long as it was black, but the hats were all alike. The gray uniform hat became the symbol of unwelcome authority. Thus its passing was regarded as marking the end of an era. The *Campus Comments* of May 4, 1929, in an article announcing that in the fall of 1929 there would be no uniform, declared: "'The old order changeth, yielding to the new.' If crowns and cockades and bonnets have been significant in history, why not hats? Does this not mark a change from the old Seminary, which meant much, to the new college which will mean more?" Those Stauntonians who objected to the passing of the Seminary missed the long lines of black-clad or white-clad young ladies and perhaps even the "gray uniform hat," but apparently the girls had no regrets.

The rules as to hours, attendance at meals, study hall, and other details of dormitory life had been dropped from the catalogue statements, but they remained much the same, as the student publications indicate. Regulations as to boxes from home and "feasts" have been discussed under health. One addition needs to be made. The chafing dish appeared to replace "gas-jet" cooking. The catalogue of 1908-09 announced: "Cooking in the dormitories is not allowed. Chafing dishes will not be allowed in the school."⁴¹⁷ But the rules did not expel the chafing dish. "How to Make Fudge" intruded itself into the "high-brow" *Miscellany*, and the chafing dish parties were a favorite nocturnal pastime. Restriction on spending was still urged on parents; not more than one dollar a week pocket money was advised. Relenting slightly, the administration suggested five dollars a month, then a "fixed amount," and finally maintained silence on the matter.

The rules on correspondence continued unchanged. Inspection of the mails and "mail call" remained institutions. The

appearance of the telephone brought the necessity of regulations on telephone calls and telegrams. Reading was still censored also. "All books brought into the school must be subject to the approval of the principal," the catalogue repeated.⁴¹⁸ In an article, "Our Foreign Relations," in the *Bluestocking* of 1924, the writer reported: "Smuggling is also a misdemeanor we have sometimes been guilty of. In some unknown way such counterband (contraband) articles as chewing gum, rouge, and dangerous literature have been slipped through the Williamson Inspection Bureau. . . ." For many years the rules prohibited "chewing gum and the use of slang."

The requirements of "walking in line" perhaps came next to the "gray uniform hat" as a symbol of authority. The special emphasis on this rule suggests the difficulty of enforcement: "Much out-of-door exercise is necessary for good health. Therefore, requests must not be made by parents that their daughters be excused from the daily exercise," the catalogue insisted. For these afternoon walks "the most secluded streets were always selected. . . ," the student protested, never Main Street "whose mysterious fascinations have often thrilled (her) imagination with unspeakable wonder and anticipation."⁴¹⁹ The contrast of the "procession" and twentieth century civilization a student undertook to suggest in the following *Miscellany* paragraph on the "Mary Baldwin Line Out Walking": "Background of skyscrapers, city tenements, paved streets, speeding automobiles, street urchins playing in the gutters, city lights flickering in semi-twilight. All modern touches. Up the street advances a procession of maidens, marching two by two, draped in costly robes of black, with headdresses of demurest gray. Vestal virgins, sacred unto Vesta!"⁴²⁰

The regulations on social contacts of the students inside and outside the Seminary remained unchanged until very near the end of this period; but new emphasis on the regulations suggests the stresses and strains these rules occasioned; stresses and strains underlined, too, in student publications. Students were allowed to receive visitors on Saturday afternoons and to make visits in town. No visitors could be received on Sunday. Parents were also requested to arrange their daughter's journey to Staunton so that she not arrive on Sunday. Young men who came to call must be approved by the parents. The war years brought an amplifica-

tion of this rule, which was retained until the end of this period: "It is intended that these permissions be confined to former friends of the pupil, generally from the home towns. Parents are especially requested not to give permission for their daughters to receive visits from or to correspond with any young men not personally known to the parents and endorsed by them."⁴²¹ The visits of parents, more frequent with the greater mobility in American life, were a complicating factor. Parents were urged not to take their daughters to hotels for the night. (No girl could spend a night in town except with her parents.) It was clearly stated that students were subject to all rules during the visits of parents. In 1905, an additional injunction was added: "This regulation has very special reference to the social pleasures of the city such as dances, parties, etc. The keeping of this rule is of vital importance and infringements on it will make it impossible for the student to be retained in school."⁴²² Later the statement on dances became more explicit: "No student will be permitted to attend dances in Staunton or at any of the neighboring towns." Some of the alumnae (the New York Chapter) sought to secure a modification of this rule in 1921 suggesting "occasional dances at which properly introduced young men should be allowed to come two or three times a year."⁴²³ Miss Latané, in her reply, stated that the administration did not think it was wise to assume this responsibility and that, even if it did so, the consent of the Trustees would have to be secured first.

Mention has been made of difficulties or fears of difficulties arising from the visits of students away from Staunton during holidays. Such visits were discouraged, but tolerated, with the permission of parents. No regulations appeared in the catalogue with reference to week-end visits, but from references in the student press it seems that week-ends were sometimes allowed during the session.

This severe limitation on the visits of young men had produced many "protests" from students in their publications; M. B. C. they read as "Many Barred Cells." And before the end of the era some modification was won, as the following disquisition, "Our Foreign Relations," related:

Glance but a moment at our massive unsurmountable stone walls, and you will see that from the very beginning, Mary Baldwin adopted a non-

intercourse foreign policy. Realizing that our territories were surrounded by such uncivilized and barbaric countries as Augusta Military Academy and Staunton Military Academy, our walls were modelled as closely as possible after the Great Wall of China. . . .

An all-inclusive non-intercourse act preserved us for many years a separate and distinct—not to mention ‘peculiar’ people. But the growing democratic tendencies have been felt even in our country, and the non-intercourse acts, passed to preserve us from alliances “so dangerous to our peace and safety,” were attacked. The “Social-ists” in our midst object seriously to the isolation that our foreign policy occasioned, so to quiet internal disturbances, we have been forced to raise the non-intercourse act for two hours every Saturday night. And then such a rush as the foreign powers make for a chance to view our superior civilization from the vantage point of our parlor davenport!

Even the far distant countries on the continent, such as Lexington and Charlottesville, send representatives, and our Saturday night parlors are quite cosmopolitan with foreign officials of S.M.A., A.M.A., V.M.I., W. and L., and Virginia. But never are they allowed to enter our territories without their diplomatic papers, and not even then, unless their names appear on the “intercourse lists” of our citizens. . . .⁴²⁴

In the year this was written (1924) the old catalogue regulation that visitors might be received on Saturday afternoon was changed to read: “Visitors properly introduced will be received by the students, but not on Sunday or during study hours.”⁴²⁵ Permission from parents still had to be secured before a young man was allowed to call. Just how extensive the dating privilege was within these bounds, the writer has found no explicit statement. The admittance of the local cadets mentioned in the above article from the *Miscellany* was an interesting innovation.

Although there were complaints, jokes, and ridicule directed against the rules continuously and against the administration on their account, there was no suggestion of “revolt.” It is perhaps a little surprising that so much criticism appeared in print. To judge by the reports of the Principal, there were few serious cases of discipline. From time to time girls were “returned to their parents”—for leaving the grounds alone at night, for going home without permission (in which case they were not allowed to return), for being a bad influence, for going riding at night, or for going to dances. If all the cases of dismissal were reported to the Board of Trustees, they were very few. For minor offences “office” was still the chief form of punishment. This continued

on into college days. *Campus Comments*, December 15, 1924, announced: "The usual week-end meeting of the Saturday Ladies' Club was held in Miss McFarland's attractive reception room. To the uninitiated, perhaps this meeting needs a word of explanation. It is unique in the fact that the basis of membership rests on a special kind of merit—de-merit, to be exact. The nominating committee consists of the entire faculty. . . ."

But there were rewards for good conduct. In Miss Baldwin's day students were excused from study hall and allowed to study in their rooms if they had a good record. The *Miscellany* of December, 1914, announced that in addition to walking privileges and excuse from study hall a new privilege, that of going to the tea room unchaperoned, had been granted to those who made an average of ninety at the mid-year examinations. To secure privileges one had also to be free of demerits. Those securing privileges were known as P. C.'s (perhaps Privileged Characters). With the organization of collegiate classes, privileges were granted to seniors. The first organized class, that of 1912, served as ushers at soirees thus escaping "circus benches" and instituting a new custom.⁴²⁶ This "privilege" they had been accorded in their junior year. The senior table was soon instituted, where "(we) discussed our present troubles and pleasures, our hopes and plans for the future."⁴²⁷ Additional privileges for going to movies seems to have been accorded to seniors in 1924. In these ways the strict regulations were softened for upper classmen and students of good conduct and grades. The policy of the administration still upheld strict supervision of all extramural activities, however, as this statement of the Principal to the Board of Trustees in January, 1923, indicated:

Faculty government has been maintained. Great attention has been paid to the development of the students in initiative and self-government within the school. The intramural liberties and privileges are many, but without the walls the protection of the students has been carefully supervised. The location of the dormitories is such that constant care has been exercised to shield the students from yielding to the temptations that come from without.⁴²⁸

And it is surprising that as strict a system was maintained successfully and so late in the heart of town and on the route of the cadets to the city. There were evasions; cadets loitered, and

girls flirted with them; but discipline and decorum were apparently very well maintained.

When the four-year college was opened in 1923, the administration realized the demand that would arise for changes in the social regulations; but also the difficulty of making such adjustments as long as the preparatory and college students occupied the same buildings. The catalogue announced:

We will not be able to offer the full privileges usually accorded college students during the period that the college and preparatory departments are conducted in the same plant. However, certain recognition will be given to students matriculated in the regular college course.⁴²⁹

College students were grouped in separate dormitories. By the session of 1927-28, with the increase in college enrollment, only Sky High and McClung remained as residences for preparatory students.⁴³⁰ In the dormitories for college students a co-operative system of student and faculty government was adopted, each hall having a student president and monitress, who acted with the hall teacher. College students were given a special section in the dining room with no teacher in supervision. They attended church in separate groups, and were allowed to go shopping and to the tea room in groups without a leader.⁴³¹ They had certain social privileges according to classification. "We continue to keep the freshmen under careful surveillance both academically and socially," Miss Higgins admitted in 1928.⁴³² In the spring of 1929, the initial steps were taken toward the institution of student government in the following fall. The evolution since 1923 toward this departure had been impeded by the presence of the preparatory students and perhaps by the reluctance on the part of the administration to give up the old system of faculty control. But some progress had been made.

LIFE IN THE SEMINARY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

With some exceptions the young ladies of the Seminary continued to come from homes in comfortable circumstances. Their day-dreams might be of a "trip to Europe," and many such dreams materialized. Their plans for the summer vacation suggest economic security. "June at home with the boys and girls, July at the seashore with many more joys, August in the

mountains taking a rest," the *Miscellany* described the typical vacation.⁴³³ Religious affiliations and background tended toward orthodoxy and moderate social conservatism. The solid Democratic ranks were broken by a considerable body of students from Republican families; and the economic status of the Democratic families discouraged radicalism.

To what extent was the mind of the Seminarian affected by the post-war deflation of idealism, the debunking of traditions and elders, the cynicism of the "lost generation"? Apparently slightly. Some students at least read much of the literature of this period, to judge by the reviews and comments of student journals. One finds in "Dot's Diary" in the *Miscellany* that the "Readers of Realism" had adopted as their colors "Black and White" and intended no more to use rose-colored spectacles.⁴³⁴ At the same time they were critical of Mr. F. Scott Fitzgerald's picture of youth in the Jazz Age and objected that "if some of our chroniclers would take the pains to look beneath the surface, they might find something a little more worthy of recording."⁴³⁵ The young lady in bobbed hair and short dress, with all the current jargon in her vocabulary, with an effort toward sophistication, was apparently still very much the romantic she had always been. The sophistication was only skin-keep, or perhaps not always skin-deep. And one finds in this fact perhaps a main reason for the special attraction that Mary Baldwin girls had for the young men.

The Seminary lost something of its "big home" aspect with the passing of Miss Baldwin. Her successors did not have the same freedom to use the property as a private estate. Elderly relatives no longer found a refuge there, nor children a home (except Miss Nannie's day pupils). Yet the home atmosphere remained, and the close personal relations between servants and employers. Visitors came and went—Presbyterian ministers and sometimes the entire Synod, for whom the young ladies gave a special soiree (1906); many returned missionaries, men and women; Y. W. C. A. secretaries, who sometimes stayed a week and worked with the girls; numerous patrons of the school, past and present; and many alumnæ. Among the notable patrons, a frequent visitor was Senator John Sharp Williams. Of a visit in 1911 the *Staunton Leader* said:

Senator John Sharp Williams came to Staunton on Friday night and spent yesterday here on his way from Washington to his home in Yazoo City. He stopped off to see his daughter, Miss Sallie Williams, who is a student at Mary Baldwin Seminary. Senator Williams says he has been coming to Staunton pretty nearly every year since 1873 when he first came here to see the girl (Betty Webb) he afterward married and who was then a student at the Seminary. His daughters have all been educated here. . . .⁴³⁶

The doors of the Seminary were always open to guests just as if it were a home. Its Virginia hospitality was a solid fact. Mr. King added a bathroom to the guest room, so that men might be accommodated as overnight guests.⁴³⁷

Life in the Seminary was not dull, in spite of rules and regulations. If one can believe the statements of succeeding groups of girls, they had a good time. Some were studious, the minority perhaps, and had little time except for study. A good number studied as little as possible. They admitted handicaps to complete happiness: "We have but Christmas vacation and one or two days' holiday thrown in here and there; also . . . we are most emphatically impressed with the fact that Mary Baldwin is not a society school"; but retrospects of the years always found them filled with good times. The pattern of life changed considerably in the thirty years, from tally-ho rides and soirees to automobiles and movies, as the fashions changed from pompadours and puffs and alluring curves to bobbed hair and straight lines; but the zest of the Seminaricians for enjoying what opportunity offered remained the same.

A variety of pleasures was afforded even outside the Seminary walls, always, of course, under chaperonage. Miss Baldwin had frequently taken the girls for carriage-rides in the country. These were continued in the popular "tally-ho" rides—the word sounds more exciting than an automobile ride did yesterday. Then there was usually one sleigh ride at least during the winter. Picnics became more common—the Red Head annual picnic perhaps establishing the custom. October 4 was usually celebrated by rides, picnics in Highland Park, and in later years a movie, or a hike to Betsy Bell, no longer just a part of the distant landscape. Trips to Weyer's Cave, to the Lee Chapel, and to Natural Bridge were frequently made, especially during the spring holidays.

Washington was also included in the excursions, with an evening at the opera.

And in Staunton itself new opportunities were offered. For many years the "coffees" at the Y. M. C. A. Building were patronized liberally. "The 'coffees' which are held every other Saturday evening have been a source of great pleasure," the *Miscellany* of December, 1901, declared; and there were very special delights to be discovered in "oysters, salad, and a new kind of peach ice cream."⁴³⁸ Church suppers and bazaars, Confederate teas, and parties at Kalorama offered food and diversion. There appeared predecessors of the Rosemary Tea Room—Mrs. Gibson's, first mentioned as a place of resort in 1913, then Mrs. Trout's, and finally the Rosemary itself, to which the girls went for teas and birthday parties. Mock trials and spelling bees at the theatre gave variety of entertainment; or visits to the long-famous New Providence chrysanthemum shows; or the weddings of former Mary Baldwin girls, to several of which the entire student body was invited. On October 4, 1912, the girls not riding enjoyed the "unusual privilege of attending the moving picture show."⁴³⁹ Among the early pictures seen were those made of the Wilson visit to Staunton and Mary Baldwin. In 1914, the girls were granted the privilege of going to the movies once a week (they were "moving pictures" then). Mary Pickford, Charlie Chaplin, Marguerite Clark, Billie Burke, and, a little later, Richard Barthelmess became objects of devotion; and such popular favorites among pictures as the *Birth of a Nation*, *Daddy Long-legs*, *Bab's Diary*, *The Shepherd of the Hills*, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, and *The Ten Commandments*. October 4, 1912, was indeed a red letter day (or rather this second pleasure fell on the 5th). "On Saturday morning, October 5, another rare privilege and treat was granted us—that of witnessing a football game between S. M. A. and the Massanutten Academy. It is needless to say that the occasion was enjoyed to the fullest, especially as S. M. A. came out victorious."⁴⁴⁰ Many football games followed this initiation, and later basketball games were added. In 1927, an accident occurred at the Staunton Military Academy; the grandstand bleachers gave away and a Mary Baldwin teacher and several girls were seriously injured.

The year 1912 offered another unusual diversion, an aviation

meet. Airplanes, it will be recalled, were then quite new. Mary Baldwin appears to have got in on the ground floor of this new activity. Among the first women flyers was Mrs. Jack Stearns Gray (Edith Stearns), a Mary Baldwin alumna, who married in 1912 the pilot who introduced her to aviation. But this incident did not concern her. The *Miscellany* thus described it:

Saturday afternoon, October 12, we were permitted to attend the aviation "meet" consisting of one aeroplane. A truly thrilling flight this proved to be. After an hour's wait for a favorable wind, we saw the machine rise. Mr. Brindley attempted a sharp turn after a flight of about two hundred yards; then something went wrong, and all were alarmed to see the aeroplane go crashing into some trees by the roadside. We learned later that there were no serious injuries.⁴⁴¹

But, speaking of airplanes, the Mary Baldwin students had a far more thrilling experience with them after the plane itself had become more common. An invitation to visit Camp Coolidge was delivered to them by airplane in the fall of 1923. As the *Miscellany* related the incident:

Ever since its arrival into our part of the state, Camp Coolidge has been a source of never-ending interest to the students on our campus, and that interest reached its climax not many days ago. [It will be recalled that the proposed establishment of such a camp near Staunton had been a source of great anxiety to the Board of Trustees in 1918.] We received an invitation from Brigadier General S. D. Butler to attend a sham battle conducted by the marines at their camp near Fort Defiance and although our acceptance was impossible at the time, we were greatly pleased by the courtesy and most of all by the unique manner of delivering the invitation by aeroplane.

The hour was set—two o'clock—but long before that time the whole school was assembled on the campus where the presentation was to take place. Necks were stretched and voices were lowered to the merest whispers as we waited during those dragging moments for the humming of the aerial messenger. And then it came—not one, but three of them, racking merrily along in the old "tag—now you're it manner," now in a straight line, now swooping downwards, and always with that carefree rather defiant air that so plainly says, "You'll soon have one in your own garage!" We couldn't help being impressed. . . . And when we were almost satisfied with the stunts they did, they settled down to work and one of the planes flew even lower than before and dropped the invitation, which was fastened to a bullet-shaped stick by a red cloth. They then flew away. . .⁴⁴²

On December 2, 1928, President Coolidge came to Staunton and attended the services at the First Presbyterian Church. "In all Mary Baldwin's past church attendance we dare say that the desire to look back was never greater—no, not even to gaze at S. M. A. cadets . . .," the *Campus Comments* declared. The experience of seeing the President in their church in part made up for the New York reporters' comment on their grey uniform hats as "Quaker bonnets."

And then there was the S. M. A. Lawn Party of 1927, which emphasized the changing of the times and customs—but not so much a change as it sounds:

Lawn parties are the latest and most picturesque of the Mary Baldwin fads. Witness the fact that the Mary Baldwin College and Seminary girls entertained with a delightful "lawn party" one afternoon in the fall in honor of the S.M.A. corps. The young ladies were charmingly attired in regulation dress—jaunty black coat suits and soft grey hats. The receiving line stood on the lower terrace silently welcoming the long lines of grey-clad, brass-buttoned, saluting cadets [who approached no further than the street]. Pictures were then taken in actual proof of the astounding event. . . . The cadet band furnished the most inspiring of music. Paul Whiteman's best could have furnished no better.⁴⁴³

The picture in the annual left the girls out—there was only the long line of cadets facing the stone wall!

Within Mary Baldwin as well as outside its walls there were both old and new forms of entertainment. Attempting to describe life at Mary Baldwin, a student of 1902 admitted: "What a kaleidoscopic vision of dances in the 'gym,' coffees, concerts, soirees, hot rolls, lectures, letters, tears, and potato chips come rushing in upon me. . . ."⁴⁴⁴ A fact constantly deplored by the administration was the lack of space for social life as well as for sports. There was no Club House then—only the Girls' Parlor and the gymnasium, both small. Occasionally a dance was given in the dining room. But much was achieved within the limited space; and, of course, much of the fun was found in the dormitories—far too much to please the hall teachers. The pictures and descriptions of the girls' rooms of the early part of the century reveal signs of the times: Christy and Fisher pictures, college pennants and pillows, photographs of football teams, and other collegiate insignia galore. Officially all feasts were held in the

Girls' Parlor—actually they were frequently spread on the beds. Favorites in food were club sandwiches, olives, sardines, and Caillers chocolate, intermixed with potato chips, chicken salad, and oysters. "Box-parties" were common—not the sort of "box parties" perhaps that some understand by the term. "Box parties," the writer takes it, meant merely a party fed from a box from home.

The formal entertainments in the Seminary increased with the growth of clubs. Formal dinners, with expensive decorations, flowers, hand-printed place-cards, corsages to guests, and elaborate toilets, were given by various sororities and clubs in the Girls' Parlor. And the dances in the gymnasium or dining room, as they described them, "were simply out of sight." For the German Club dance on Thanksgiving, 1913, the dining room was turned into a ball room; the pillars were twined with smilax and yellow and white bunting; ferns filled the window seats; and there was an orchestra from town. More than half the girls were boys, among them "several bearded foreigners."⁴⁴⁵ But most of the dances were held in the gymnasium and "Saturday night in the gym" became one of the fondest memories. Less was said of "darlings," but "cases" died slowly. The dances and parties show considerable variety—the fancy dress ball, barn dances, country fairs, and after the war the suggestive Apache dances and Thug parties. And there were innumerable teas and informal parties given by both faculty and students. In 1927, appeared the Peanut Party, to relieve the January slump following the Christmas holidays and preceding examinations.⁴⁴⁶ Students drew names enclosed in peanut shells and did anonymous kindnesses for their "peanuts." At the end of two weeks there was a party, and the Peanuts were revealed. The girls must have liked the idea, as they have perpetuated it into the present.

"Hazing" appeared in Mary Baldwin at least by 1913. The *Miscellany* of January, 1913, contained a criticism of the practice, which persisted, however, in spite of continued criticism. Apparently it was never carried to extremes—the common features were mixing shoes, carrying chairs from class rooms to the gymnasium and carrying them back again, braiding hair, and singing laundry lists. Miss Higgins stated in 1923 that she had persuaded

the students to abolish it, but it returned, to be abolished voluntarily again in 1940.⁴⁴⁷

The kodak became a popular pastime on the campus from the turn of the century. Gramophones (1904), later known as Victrolas, became a source of entertainment. The 1904 *Bluestocking* record of the November events stated: "The first part of the month was filled with feasts given in honor of the new club members and at each the twins' Victrola furnished most of the excitement." In 1916, Mr. King bought a Victrola for the gymnasium.⁴⁴⁸ Mandolin and ukulele clubs furnished entertainment as well as annoyance with their serenades. Ragtime (later jazz) could not be suppressed and even invaded the practice halls. Animal pets, just as elderly relations, disappeared with Miss Baldwin, but occasionally one was found and appropriated. The two stone dogs on the front steps, Cæsar and Pompey, held their own; however, after the World War, they were referred to as Wellington and Blucher (perhaps due to European influences and the decline of interest in the classics).⁴⁴⁹

"Walking on the terrace" retained its popularity. "Who will ever forget what fun it has been to walk on the terrace with a 'certain person' or to sing there with the crowd."⁴⁵⁰ The post-war girl sought to be a little more sophisticated; a little less sentimental, but they were no doubt at heart still romantics. With spring came the Terrace season. The Texas girls might go into ecstasies over a snow, but all welcomed spring. It had a sort of electric effect. It was a Mary Baldwin alumna, Roselle Mercier Montgomery, who has best described the arrival of spring in the Valley in her poem, *When Spring Comes Up the Shenandoah*.⁴⁵¹ And it should be repeated that the beauty of the landscape and the sharp outlining of the seasons, each with its characteristic pleasures, have been definite influences in the history of Mary Baldwin, although it is impossible to measure such an influence. The girls had a practical interest in the return of spring, greater in a day of flannels, high shoes, and high necks, than today. Spring meant a complete change of wardrobe. Thus the *Miscellany* of April, 1921, described the transformation:

Do not for a moment imagine that we here at the Mary Baldwin are impervious to the lure of the coy maiden—Spring. For indeed do we

not at once have visions of *clothes, clothes!* And how our hearts beat when permission from the seats of the mighty grants the magic fiat—"low shoes," and at once our fancy lightly turns to silken clocked hose of various hues that would make a belle of the Age of Queen Anne sigh with envy. Away with spats and other prudent devices of cold bleak winter. Upon this liberating mandate follow other good things—"light dresses"—and then the bewildering medley of gay-hued gingham and organdies.⁴⁵²

And the spring season on the Terrace was described also:

Is it spring, too, that has started the merry click of the knitting needles? For soon one catches the sound of an incessant click, click, click, weaving sweaters, all the hues of the rainbow. The front terrace, that "Fifth Avenue of Mary Baldwin College," becomes a panorama of maidens walking, talking, knitting—all at the same time with a versatility surprising to the staid onlooker.

The administration and the faculty might seek to maintain or inculcate the ideal of a "perfect lady" in the Seminary girl; but so far as this referred to quietness and dignity in dormitory life it was very difficult of attainment. The exuberance of the girls could not be restrained; noise, loud talking and laughing were hard to suppress. Certain dormitories were notable for their "wild rough house." The *Bluestocking* of 1902 undertook to describe the antics of the "Sky High Angels," the chief noise makers of the school, with their sham battles, "mock marriages," midnight feasts, Glee Club, alarm clock serenades, etc. Mary Baldwin girls were healthy and happy and hard to reduce to the pattern of the dignified lady. Although World War I and the transition to college status brought a somewhat more mature outlook, the Mary Baldwin girl had been only slightly affected by the problems of her elders during this era.

Chapter Four

MARY BALDWIN COLLEGE SINCE 1929—
THE ADMINISTRATION OF
PRESIDENT JARMAN



CHAPTER IV

MARY BALDWIN COLLEGE SINCE 1929—THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT JARMAN



ACCORDING to technical measurements and nomenclature Mary Baldwin College is young. In academic ideals and practices she is a hundred years old. From her foundation she has aspired to be an institution for the higher education of women; she has thought as a college. Thus when she became technically a college, she did not have to institute an entire new set of manners and methods in an academic sense. It is true that she had been relatively slow in bringing her administrative organization and her collegiate course of study up to twentieth century standards; she had to reorganize her administration, expand her curriculum, and enlarge her equipment. Moreover, her social regulations had retained the general features of discipline in nineteenth-century seminaries, from which those of nineteenth-century women's colleges differed little. Hence, in the field of student control the change has been more radical than in academic matters. All the changes—administrative, academic, and social—have not destroyed the old Augusta Female Seminary or Mary Baldwin Seminary, however; the old and the new have been interestingly combined in Mary Baldwin College.

The progress that Mary Baldwin College has made since 1929 under the administration of President L. Wilson Jarman is remarkable; particularly so, when one considers the rather discouraging outlook at that time. The campaign to raise money to build a new college plant had failed, and had left sources of difference within the administration, the patronage, and the alumnae. The future relation of the College to the Synod of Virginia was unsettled and uncertain. The closing of the Seminary in the spring of 1929 brought a loss of local patronage and prestige, for around the old Seminary much local interest and

sentiment had grown. The general economic depression of the early 1930's made the economic security of the College uncertain; and upon this depended its academic future. In spite of these positive handicaps and uncertainties Mary Baldwin has expanded physically, academically, and socially to meet the requirements of a standard college of the first class with a rapidity that is indeed notable.

President Jarman, a native of Georgia, has connections with the old South, Virginia, through his paternal grandfather, the Lower South through birth and long residence, and the Southwest through several years of teaching in Texas. From Georgia, long the home of Dr. Joseph R. Wilson, Mary Baldwin has drawn a large patronage from the 1870's to the present. For many years the Georgia girls exceeded in number those of any state except Virginia. President Jarman was born in 1880 in Covington, Georgia. There he attended the Covington Boys' Academy. Among other students in that school were the present Chancellor of the University of Georgia and the President of the Georgia School of Technology. At the age of nineteen President Jarman received the Bachelor of Arts degree from Emory College (later Emory University), an old institution from which many of the present leaders in education in the South have come; and he did some teaching in the summer school of Emory College in these years. In 1901, he took the Master of Arts degree from the same institution. In 1925, Emory University granted him the Master of Arts degree and later admitted him to the Phi Beta Kappa fraternity. He has done graduate work in Columbia University in mathematics and in college administration.

President Jarman began his work as a college professor in Granbury College, a Methodist school in Granbury, Texas, in 1899, the year after his graduation. He was professor of mathematics and, in the second year, acting president of the college. But his health soon made necessary retirement from teaching. He returned to Georgia, where he was married in 1903 to Miss Laura Harris Martin, a member of the Grier family of South Carolina, of a line of ministers and educators. For two decades, President Jarman lived on his plantation near Covington, Georgia, following the agrarian tradition of the old South, the profession of gentleman-farmer, even to the point of formulating and direct-

ing policy from the editorial staff of a farm journal. He was recognized as a progressive farmer throughout the state. But his agricultural enterprise and certain banking interests did not cause him to lose contact with the academic world. His home in Georgia was near Emory College, where he was well-known and welcomed, especially by Dr. T. H. Jack, professor and dean of the Graduate School, now president of Randolph-Macon Woman's College. President Jarman did some educational survey work for the Synod of Georgia.

In 1924, President Jarman gave up his business interests and returned entirely to the academic world. For three years he was professor of mathematics and astronomy in Chicora College, Columbia, South Carolina, and in summers taught mathematics in Furman University. In 1927, he went to Queens College, Charlotte, North Carolina, as vice-president, an office that included the duties of dean of instruction. Here he led in the reorganization of the curriculum and did some teaching in sociology and economics, in which he had done special study for some years. In his brief connection with Queens College and Charlotte he had made such a place for himself that they felt severely the loss when he left for Staunton. Among the many expressions of regret the *Charlotte News* said:

Since coming to Queens two years ago, Dr. Jarman has given clear and convincing exhibition of his capacities for college executive duties. In addition to such outstanding abilities, he has flashed that personality that was giving him an increasingly firmer grip upon the substantial leadership of Charlotte and this entire section. Much would have come to Queens through this resourcefulness of its vice-president had he remained here in the capacity in which he has been serving the institution with such conspicuous ability.¹

Dr. Jarman's administration of Mary Baldwin College during the past thirteen years has brought him recognition as a leader in education in the South, which recognition has advanced the interests of Mary Baldwin. Soon after his election to the presidency of Mary Baldwin he was granted the degree of Doctor of Laws by Hampden-Sydney College and admitted into its leadership fraternity, the Omicron Delta Kappa. With his administration Mary Baldwin returned to the practice of her first two decades of the headship of men after a period of sixty-six years

of administration by women. Moreover, many more men have been brought into the faculty. Nevertheless, the influence of women has been extended by their admission to the Board of Trustees, where three women now sit. And as an educator, President Jarman's special interest, like that of Dr. Bailey, has been in the education of women. Believing that the transmission of the finer cultural values in our civilization depends upon the influence of women and that the enhancement and perpetuation of these can only be entrusted safely to educated women, he has made his work the advancement of that cause. In his emphasis on its importance he is in agreement with the ideals and traditions of Mary Baldwin throughout her history.

In the midst of his administrative duties, President Jarman has continued to like the out-of-doors and active sports. His vacations he spends (or did before today) in long automobile trips to Florida, Texas, and Mexico. He likes golf, dogs, and the flute. He and Mrs. Jarman have reared a family of six children, of varied abilities and interests—a social science research expert, an author of books on children's music, a naval officer, an army officer; writing and educational interests predominate in the group. Two daughters are Mary Baldwin alumnae. One of these, Laura Martin, the wife of Dr. Rodolfo Rivera, now on a cultural mission of the United States government in Nicaragua, was the first alumna of Mary Baldwin College to receive the Doctor of Philosophy degree. At the President's home, Rose Terrace, Dr. and Mrs. Jarman enjoy entertaining faculty, students, and visitors. A number of the formal social functions of the year are held there, as well as many informal ones.

From the administrative standpoint one of the outstanding problems of Dr. Jarman's presidency has been the re-definition of the relation of the College to the Church. In what appears to be a happy solution of this problem lies one of his significant contributions to the advancement of Mary Baldwin.

THE COLLEGE AND THE SYNOD

The Synod of Virginia, which had assumed control of Mary Baldwin in 1923 under an agreement with its Board of Trustees to raise \$500,000 in endowment within a period of five years, had

never launched a campaign for this purpose. In 1927, it had instructed the Board of Trustees to secure an agent to raise the money, the Synod to finance the work; but it set aside no funds for the purpose. The Board of Trustees, unwilling to risk further funds in campaigns, had set aside only a small amount for conducting a preliminary campaign of education in the leading churches. Dr. Fraser had agreed to direct this work, and, in fact, did a large part of it. In 1928, the Synod had asked the Board of Trustees to secure a "full time officer" to initiate and direct the work. In 1929, Dr. Jarman was selected by the Board with the title of President. At the time he assumed the presidency, in the fall of 1929, the Board of Trustees had decided that the time was not opportune for initiating the campaign and the Synod approved this action.² Under the agreement of 1923, the Synod had promised to allot to the College from its fund for benevolences \$30,000 a year until the endowment was raised. In no year had this obligation been met in full, the largest annual payment being that of 1929, when \$19,447.26 was paid. In sanctioning the decision of the Board to hold the campaign in abeyance, the Synod urged the churches to supply funds for the \$30,000 annual payment. The contributions of the churches to the benevolence fund fell off, however, in the depression of the early 1930's, and, although Mary Baldwin was allotted about the same percentage, the amount dropped to something less than \$6,000. (From 1923 to 1937, an average of \$10,346.13 a year was paid to the College.)³ After 1930, the College had used an increasing amount of this sum as grants-in-aid to ministers' and missionaries' daughters. With an inadequate endowment and building fund, Mary Baldwin now depended upon the grant of the Synod to meet and maintain the requirements for accreditation as a standard college. In 1935, Dr. Jarman emphasized these facts in his report to the Synod: "Since all of the college income is needed for operating expenses, and since the endowment funds are barely adequate to meet the requirements of the accrediting agencies, future development of the College necessarily must rest largely with the Synod. . . . Among the pressing needs . . . may be mentioned an adequate gymnasium and auditorium, a new dormitory, endowment for the chair of Bible, scholarships for needy students, a loan fund, and a greatly increased general endowment."⁴

In 1936, the Board of Trustees requested the Synod to appoint a committee "to study the origin and history of the relationship of the Synod of Virginia and Mary Baldwin College, and, after conference with a committee of the Board of Trustees of the College, to re-define and re-state the obligation of the Synod to Mary Baldwin College, and to make recommendations as to the future."⁵ In compliance with the request a committee was appointed by the Synod, which held a conference at the College on May 7, 1937, with certain members of the Board of Trustees. The committee presented its report to the September meeting of the Synod. In this report it gave an historical survey of the relations of the Synod and College and the following statement of the effect of this relationship on the College:

Mary Baldwin College was accredited as a standard college by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, with the understanding that the \$30,000 would be given in lieu of the stipulated endowment. In recent years the failure of Synod to contribute this amount has placed the College in an embarrassing position with the accrediting agency.

In becoming a synodically controlled College, Mary Baldwin lost her eligibility to receive aid from the great educational foundations, which generally state frankly that they prefer to give financial aid to those institutions which are not under exclusive denominational control.

The result is that the College has lost the opportunity to receive financial aid from the foundations, and has failed to receive sufficient aid from Synod. By careful management, by sponsoring a sound religious and educational program, which has commanded a national patronage for the College, by a slight increase in students' fees, the College has been able to succeed admirably during the last six or eight years. The fact remains, however, that funds which could have gone to replace antiquated buildings and equipment, had the Synod met its obligations, have necessarily been used to meet the current expenses of the College. The result is that the Association of American Universities, the highest of accrediting agencies, has refused to accord Mary Baldwin the standing which academically is rightfully hers, on account of deficiencies in buildings and equipment.

It can be said, however, that the Synod's controlling the College has led to an increase in students, about 150 of last year's student body being from Virginia.

Again, it can be said that the Seminary would never have become a College had not the Synod assumed ownership and control.⁶

The latter statement, it might be observed, can only be accepted as a matter of opinion. The committee reminded the Synod that Mary Baldwin was entering the last five years of her first century

and wished to raise funds sufficient for needed buildings and endowment during that period. "It is, therefore, both just and wise," it declared, "that the Synod supply these funds or remove such obstacles as may exist to the Board's finding them elsewhere." The committee suggested that a larger group be appointed to study the entire matter, "in other words, to reopen the whole question of the Synod's owning and operating a woman's college," and suggested the following plans for consideration:

1. That Synod continue the present relationship of entire control of Mary Baldwin College, but endeavor during the next five years to meet the obligations assumed at the beginning, aiding the Board of Trustees in raising the \$500,000 promised when this relationship was assumed, it being understood that the \$500,000 be a part of the centennial fund.
2. That Synod, recognizing the impossibility of meeting in full its obligations to Mary Baldwin College, return the College to the Board of Trustees, thus ending all obligation of the Synod to the College.
3. That Synod, recognizing the impossibility of meeting all its promises to the College . . . , restore the College to an independent Board of Trustees. At the same time, that Synod endeavor to cooperate with them in a plan of control whereby the Christian influence may be preserved, and thus preserve a definite affiliation with the Presbyterian church.

The committee appointed to study the question held a meeting in Richmond in February, 1938, at which it resolved to request the Trustees of Mary Baldwin "to work out a plan for the future relationship of the Synod to the College which will maintain the interest and support of Synod and which will best insure the advancement of the College in the future," and to present this plan before a later meeting of the committee.⁷ The Board of Trustees appointed a special committee, consisting of Judge Robert F. Hutcheson, Dr. Hunter B. Blakely, Dr. Herbert S. Turner, Dr. Wyndham B. Blanton, and Dr. Julian A. Burruss, with Dr. Jarman as chairman. This committee, "after exhaustive study and much correspondence with heads of other schools, including several outstanding educators of the South," submitted to the Synod committee its report already approved by the Board of Trustees. This report, with certain changes made in a joint meeting of the Board and the committee, was approved, submitted to the Synod in 1938, and adopted. On the basis of this action an amendment of the charter was secured in 1939.

The relationship established between the College and the Synod in this charter represents an interesting compromise between control by the Synod and complete separation. Certain significant features of the charter might well be emphasized. As to purpose, it states:

The said Corporation is constituted for the purpose of establishing, owning, conducting, and perpetuating a college, under the name of Mary Baldwin College, for the higher education of women in the various branches of literature, arts, and sciences, including the Holy Scripture. . . under auspices distinctly Christian in faith and practice; and all departments of the College shall be open alike to students of any religion or sect, and no denominational or sectarian test shall be imposed in the admission of students.⁸

This provision embodies the policy which had existed since 1845 with respect to religious requirements—or the lack of them—and the same emphasis on religious faith and practice. The new charter instituted a more restrictive policy, however, in providing that “all members of the faculty hereafter elected shall be members in good standing of some Evangelical Protestant Church.” Even under Synod control this had not been a specific requirement. Throughout its history the members of the faculties have been generally Protestants. Nevertheless, both Catholics and Hebrews (one) have appeared on the faculty.

Under the charter as amended in 1939, the existing Board of Trustees, which continued in office, was made self-perpetuating with a maximum number of twenty-eight. (The Board has only twenty members today.) All members of the Board of Trustees must be members of some Evangelical Protestant church, and at least two-thirds must be members of the Presbyterian Church. In order to perpetuate the connection with the Synod, provision was made that ten members of the Board be chosen by the Trustees from the bounds of the Synod and that these ten be approved by the Synod. The terms of office and the powers of these synodical trustees are the same as those of other members of the Board. As a minority they can influence but not determine policy.

With regard to the composition of the Board of Trustees, another interesting innovation made in the new charter was the provision for two *alumnæ* trustees to be selected by the Board

of Trustees from the membership of the Alumnæ Association. These might be confirmed or rejected by the Association. Although a woman had sat on the Board of Trustees since 1933, there had been no legal provision establishing such membership as a permanent feature.

The committee report which the Synod had adopted in 1938 and on which these charter amendments were based carried an obligation on the part of the Synod, in view of the trustee relationship proposed and later written into the charter,

to give the College its active support by sustaining the interest of its membership in the College, by prayer for its welfare, and by financial support. To this end, the Synod declares it to be its purpose, so long as the aforesaid trustee relationship shall remain, (a) to continue to carry the College on its budget for a reasonable percentage of its benevolent contributions to be determined by Synod; (b) to cooperate with the Board of Trustees of the College in such plans as the Board may undertake for increasing the efficiency and financial resources of the College, and to urge upon its pastors and members to open the doors of their churches to representatives of the College, and to support it with their gifts and their patronage; (c) to invite the trustees of the College to make annual reports to Synod of the affairs of the institution and its progress.⁹

This relationship may be terminated if either the College or Synod desires a termination with the condition that the one desiring the change notify the other at its stated annual meeting and that no final action be taken until two years have elapsed from the date of such notification.

Beginning in 1842 as an independent institution but under the influence of the Presbyterian Church, Mary Baldwin became in 1923 a college of the Synod, under its control, and in 1938, "a church-related college," all without any essential change of religious policy. So far as the writer has discovered there has never been any criticism of the school by the church. As the Synod committee stated in 1938, Mary Baldwin, during its hundred years of increasing usefulness, "had maintained a unique and most enviable reputation for the high character of its student body as well as strict loyalty to the traditions of the church."¹⁰ Many famous Presbyterian divines have sat on its Board of Trustees. Throughout the South Presbyterian pastors have given their support to Mary Baldwin. It is believed, nevertheless, that

a more independent status will maintain a wider patronage and insure a more stable educational philosophy. Commemorating the hundred years of relationship with the Presbyterian Church, the College entertained the Synod of Virginia at its annual meeting, September 7 to 10, 1942.

In a very able report made to the Synod on this occasion, Dr. Jarman reviewed the history of the relations of the College with the Church and emphasized the significance of this connection both for the College and for the Church, but particularly for the latter.

The church needs the spirit of intellectual and spiritual adventure of the college and university which reaches into realms where the church itself has been none too happy in its excursions through the ages. The church needs the longer view of the college. The church needs of the college at once the projection of the Christian spirit into the intellectual and social thought of the day and the mediation by the college of the findings and achievements of the world's thinkers into the life and thought of the church itself. By the same token in the attainment of these objectives the college needs the depth of faith of the church and the resulting loyalty to the broader and longer program of our Lord.¹¹

At this time the Synod approved the plan of a "living endowment" to consist of contributions made over a period of years, which would bring the College an annual income that, capitalized, would be equivalent to a considerable endowment.

A word might be added here with reference to the history of the Board of Trustees since the Civil War. It is a regret of the writer that a more detailed personal record of the individual members has not been possible. Such a record would be both interesting and instructive as a factor in the history of Mary Baldwin. Although Boards of Trustees are usually anonymous to the patronage and public, it is the sum of the individual minds, philosophies, interests, and perhaps prejudices that determines its action. The influence of the Board of Trustees in the history of Mary Baldwin has varied in weight under different administrations and has naturally appeared most prominently in times of change of control, organization, or administration; but it has always been a factor of importance, direct or indirect. Even Miss Baldwin, whose administration was practical ownership,

depended heavily on certain individuals among the Trustees. The perpetuation of ideas and ideals, the continuity of practice that makes tradition, the stability and permanence of the institution have in considerable part resulted from the action, or inaction, of the Board of Trustees. Length of service on the Board has generally been notable. Until 1923, a member served until he died or resigned. Since that date, periodic elections have been held, but there are no restrictions on re-election. Membership has in some cases passed from father to son and even to grandson, as in the family of the Board's first president, Dr. Francis McFarland, whose grandson, Mr. Wallace B. McFarland, is a member of the present Board. The Waddells, father and son, served from 1842 to 1914; Mr. John Wayt, first president of the Board under Miss Baldwin, was followed by his son, Dr. Newton Wayt, and their combined years of service were above half a hundred; and there have been many members who have served the better part of a long lifetime.

Under the agreement with the First Presbyterian Church in 1873, a majority of the Board had to be selected from the membership of that church. This condition existed until 1923. It is likely that the membership would have been local and largely Presbyterian even without such a condition. Pastors of the local churches and sometimes of neighboring Presbyterian churches were usually members; but the percentage of ministers was less than today and less than in the early years of the institution. Out of a membership of fifteen, there were two, sometimes three, ministers. Occasionally an educator sat on the Board, notably Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, professor, writer, and statesman, and Mr. W. A. Bowles, Superintendent of the Staunton Public Schools and later head of Virginia State Institution for the Deaf and Blind, a very able man. But through all the years after the Civil War the large majority of the members were local doctors, lawyers, judges, farmers, and business men, a fact which accounts no doubt for the close identification of the Seminary with the business life of Staunton, its sound business policy and practice, and its general conservatism in social and educational matters. After 1923, the Synod selected the Board of Trustees, with the condition that at least one member should represent each of the eight presbyteries. This condition insured at least state-wide rep-

resentation; and more educators and ministers were elected to membership. Under the new charter of 1939 these characteristics of the membership continue. In view of the nation-wide patronage of Mary Baldwin, President Jarman has sought to encourage a wider geographical representation on the Board outside the bounds of Virginia, as well as wider representation of economic, professional, and social interests. West Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, and Texas are now represented. Of the present Board of twenty-one (including the President of the College as ex-officio member) three are college presidents and three are professors; six members, including three of the educators, are ministers, seven are business men, and two are lawyers. The other three members are women, two of them alumnæ.

This representation of the alumnæ on the Board is the most notable new feature. The fact that they were denied membership so long constitutes an unusual feature in the history of Mary Baldwin as a woman's college. As early as 1910 the Alumnæ Association had sought to have a representative on the Board and had nominated Miss Nannie Tate for this position.¹² The Trustees failed to comply with the request without giving an explanation for their refusal. Certain it is that some members, Dr. Fraser among them, considered such a position outside the proper sphere of women. The alumnæ, however, did not give up the idea. After Mary Baldwin was transferred to the Synod in 1923, the Association hoped that it might secure membership, since the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church had recently admitted women as members of its executive committees.¹³ But the alumnæ were to wait a decade longer before securing a place on the Board. In 1933, Dr. Jarman suggested that the Board request the Synod of Virginia to appoint a member from the alumnæ, "thus recognizing the value of their contribution to the College and bringing Mary Baldwin somewhat in line with the common practice of many colleges for women."¹⁴ The Board of Trustees approved the recommendation, and the Synod elected at its next meeting Mrs. Margaret Kable Russell, who had served ably for a number of years as the national president of the Alumnæ Association and whose husband, Colonel T. H. Russell, head of Staunton Military Academy, had been a prominent member of the Board for some years before his

death in 1933. Today Mrs. Russell is a member of the Executive Committee, and has had a leading part in the promotion of the New Century Program. In 1939, two other women were elected as members of the Board of Trustees. Mrs. W. R. Craig of Mocksville, North Carolina, became an *alumnæ* trustee along with Mrs. Russell, and Mrs. H. L. Hunt of Dallas, Texas, was also elected.

The organization and activity of the Board of Trustees has expanded, particularly in connection with the execution of the New Century Program, discussed below. Recently the office of the vice-president of the Board of Trustees was created. President Jarman has continuously encouraged the Board of Trustees to a more active participation in the promotion of the college program, emphasizing the opportunities of the trusteeship for constructive educational statesmanship. The cordial cooperation between the president and the Board has been one important factor in the recent progress of the College, material and academic.

Brief mention should be made of the members of the Board of Trustees through the years. Two members of the original Board, discussed in Chapter I, continued to serve into the 1870's—Major William M. Tate and Mr. William Frazier, who was re-elected after an absence from Staunton. Others who were elected in the 1850's continued on into Miss Baldwin's administration—Mr. Davis A. Kayser, Mr. John Trimble, and General John D. Imboden. All three of these were among the men who advanced money for the annexes. Mr. Kayser, husband of an alumna, Sarah Bell (incidentally the *alumnæ* have long had representation on the Board through sons and husbands), was elected in 1850 and continued to serve until 1902. During the 1850's, Reverend William Brown, pastor of the Old Stone Church and prominent in the Virginia Church, assumed Dr. Francis McFarland's place as president of the Board.¹⁵ There were perhaps other changes in the membership of which no record remains.

The first president of the Board under Miss Baldwin's principalship was her banker friend, Mr. John Wayt, who served until 1877. He was succeeded after several years, during which apparently there was no president, by Dr. G. B. Stickler, brother

of Miss Virginia Margaret Strickler, a man pronounced by scholarly authority "one of the profoundest thinkers and one of the ripest scholars in the ranks of Southern Presbyterianism."¹⁶ He served on the Board for more than a decade and was its president from 1880 to 1884, during which time he was pastor of the historic Tinkling Springs Church, whose pastorate had furnished Dr. B. M. Smith to the first Board and was to furnish another able president, Dr. George B. Finley (1894-1909), who followed Dr. Strickler after a short interval. The immediate successor of Dr. Strickler was the Reverend James Murray (1884-1892), pastor of Bethel Church, which had been represented by Dr. Francis McFarland and whose present pastor, Dr. H. S. Turner, is vice-president of the Board. The next two presidents, Dr. A. M. Fraser and Dr. Hunter B. Blakely, were pastors of the First Church of Staunton. Although ministers have never comprised a majority of the Board of Trustees, the presidency of it has usually been filled by a minister. Exceptions are found in Mr. John Wayt (1863?-1877) and the present incumbent, Mr. James D. Francis, coal-mining executive of Huntington, West Virginia. Incidentally, Mr. Francis was one of the "Twelve Against the Gods," the outstanding industrialists listed and analyzed by the late General Hugh S. Johnson in *Collier's* of March 12, 1938. The Presbyterian churches of Augusta County, a stronghold of Presbyterianism with a number of famous old churches, have furnished many other members to the Board of Trustees: Augusta Stone Church, the Reverends Francis Henry Bowman, James Van Devanter, and Alexander Sprunt; Hebron, J. E. Booker (later pastor of the Second Church of Staunton), and L. B. Johnson; Tinkling Springs, the Reverend John Preston; Loch Willow (Churchville), the Reverend Patterson Fletcher; the Second Church of Staunton, the Reverends W. N. Scott and W. E. Davis, and the First Church, the Reverends W. E. Baker and D. K. McFarland.

Perhaps the member of the Board of Trustees best known outside local circles was Henry St. George Tucker, native of Winchester, resident of Staunton, member of Congress for eight years in early life and again during his last ten years, professor of law in Washington and Lee University, dean of the Law School of George Washington University, president of the American Bar Association, author of works on constitutional law, notable Democrat of the old school, a Cleveland man in 1896,

exponent of state's rights and *laissez-faire* economic and social policy in the post-war period, always an opponent of corruption in politics and the collusion of business and politics.¹⁷ He was a member of the Board of Trustees from 1886 until his death in 1932. For many years he took a very active interest in the affairs of the school. Another member of the Board of national note was General John Echols, railroad executive mentioned above. One finds a considerable representation of Confederate veterans other than General Echols—General Imboden, already named, General R. D. Lilley, and Colonel Bolivar Christian, who were prominent as local figures.

Among the other members of the Board one finds a long roll of business and professional men of Staunton and Augusta County—men who had a leading part in making the history of this picturesque, solid, and sturdy Valley city. Most of them were or are elders or deacons in the First Presbyterian Church or one of the other Presbyterian churches. Besides some already named were: Alexander H. Taylor, William J. Nelson, John K. Woods, James H. Blackley, Thomas A. Bledsoe, Charles Grattan, Henry D. Peck, William A. Burke, G. G. Childs, J. Mason Miller, Arista Hoge, H. A. Walker, W. H. Landes, J. M. Quarles, S. F. and J. W. H. Pilson, John M. Spotts, James B. Rawlings, James A. Fulton, M. M. Edgar, Hugh B. Sproul, D. Glenn Ruckman, Charles and W. H. East, Herbert J. Taylor, Campbell Pancake, Colonel T. H. Russell, A. Erskine Miller, and Charles S. Hunter. Two recent members, now dead, might be mentioned as especially useful in the difficult period just following the closing of the Seminary—Mr. Hugh B. Sproul and Colonel T. H. Russell, head of the Staunton Military Academy. It should be recorded that Mr. Sproul left \$10,000 in trust, which will come in time as an endowment for the College.

It remains to mention members of the Board chosen since 1923 outside the bounds of the county and some from outside the state. Among these have been an increased number of school men—Dr. J. A. Burruss, President of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, an able and loyal member since 1923; the late Dean H. D. Campbell of Washington and Lee University, grandson of the founder; Dr. F. L. Brown, Professor of Physics, University of Virginia; and Dr. Hunter Blakely, former president of the Board

and still a member, now President of Queens College. Ministers from Virginia, West Virginia, and Maryland have included or include: the Reverends J. G. Venable, W. J. McMillan, R. B. Grinnan, F. T. McFadden, Wallace McP. Alston, J. H. Marion, J. N. Thomas, Professor of Theology in Union Theological Seminary, and Dr. Harris E. Kirk. Business and professional men of Richmond and other Virginia cities who have served since 1923 include: Judge R. F. Hutcheson, elected president of the Board just before his death in 1939, W. S. Rhoads, Charles B. Hancock, C. B. Richardson, J. Mitchell Woods, Herbert J. Jackson, John H. Reed, Paul Goodloe McIntire, W. B. Blanton, Frank H. Pitman, John A. Coke, and Richard D. Cooke.

PHYSICAL EXPANSION AND IMPROVEMENTS IN MARY BALDWIN SINCE 1929

The building program which had been initiated in the early part of the twentieth century and had resulted in the erection of Memorial, McClung, and Academic ceased in 1910. Mr. King continued to speak of a new auditorium and gymnasium-dormitory, but neither was begun. The First World War and the movement for a new college on the college site put these projects further into the background. When Dr. Jarman accepted the presidency of Mary Baldwin in 1929, his immediate objective was, and indeed his constant aim since that time has been, to make Mary Baldwin into a standard college along the most liberal and progressive lines in faculty, academic organization, curriculum, and facilities for teaching. With limited financial resources, material improvement has been subordinate to these educational objectives. Nevertheless, it has been recognized always that certain material improvements were essential to the success of the academic program and necessary to secure the approval of Mary Baldwin as a standard college. Moreover, additional physical expansion and improvements have been and are desired to make the standard college more efficient. Dr. Jarman has had the difficult task of distributing a very limited income (compared to that of similar institutions) in such a way that the major objective of Mary Baldwin, a liberal education for women, will be best served. His achievement in this direction has been outstanding

and has brought him deserved recognition as a liberal and progressive Southern educator.

The casual observer might conclude that there had been relatively little change in the Mary Baldwin campus since 1929—or indeed since 1910—until the William Wayt King Auditorium-Physical Education Building was erected in the present year. The view from Frederick Street or within the Court presents the same outward aspects of gleaming white pillars and grass-covered terraces rising to Hill Top and Memorial. But the friendly guide (who may be anyone from the administrative offices), who delights to show the casual observer as well as the more interested inspector the campus, could point out the considerable expansion that has taken place in the bounds of the campus itself and the many improvements that have been made inside the buildings. Some of the changes are quite obvious; others which have been essential to the preservation of the property do not appear to the eye. Some old landmarks have disappeared, notably the circus benches; others, the boxwoods, have been restored. Paradoxically, some changes have enhanced the old traditions—the spacious parlors better express the spirit of Virginia hospitality than did the stiff and heavy and rather cheerless Victorian parlors of the past generation. Other improvements—more space for scientific investigation, for libraries, and for recreation, both social and physical—are the result of expansion in educational ideals. Indeed, it is difficult to separate the discussion of physical from academic evolution.

Since the physical expansion has been so closely conditioned also by endowment requirements and the status of the current income, a statement of certain financial facts might preface the discussion of material improvements. Until 1929, Mary Baldwin had never had an endowment fund so-called. Miss Baldwin had left certain real estate and buildings, the income from which went into the current funds. In addition, she had left about \$25,000 in securities (plus those used in the building of Memorial). These securities and the income from them had been kept as a "reserve fund," for an emergency, the Board said. As indicated above, this fund was all used in the purchase of the college site (apple orchard). A surplus fund had been created after 1910 from the current income with the object of later

expansion of the plant. The campaign in Staunton in 1925 had produced around \$45,000 by 1929 and the alumnae campaign around \$28,000. From these various funds and properties an endowment was set up in 1929.¹⁸ From 1930 to 1936 the endowment was under the administration of Mr. King, as Curator of Endowments. Although the alumnae had raised their fund with the primary object of erecting a building in honor of Mr. King, the executive board of the Association voted to add this to the endowment temporarily in order that the College might be able to secure standardization.¹⁹ The total endowment fund was \$444,550 in June, 1930.²⁰ By 1941, the endowment had been increased to \$598,900, a gain of \$154,350.²¹ This gain represented an increase from the surplus of the College of income over expenditures, certain individual donations to the College in scholarship funds, and the Ida Smith Austin Memorial Trust Fund of \$50,000, created by the will of a notable alumna. During the years of economic depression in the early thirties, the endowment suffered considerable loss through depreciation in the value of certain of the securities purchased before 1929; but the gain of \$154,350 represents the net gain after losses were deducted. In the same period, 1930-1941, the investment in buildings and improvements had increased from \$501,000 to \$701,676.²² From 1929 to 1941, the total surplus of the College from all sources of income, including gifts, over expenditure was \$263,273.05. From this had come the greater part of the increase of endowment and the money for expansion and improvement in buildings. Throughout this period, in spite of a drop in enrollment in the early thirties through the closing of the Seminary in 1929, the College had operated without a deficit or debt. At the same time there had been a considerable increase in annual expenditure—from \$145,291.32 in 1929-30 to \$226,746.48 in 1941, an increase only in part offset by the increase in student fees.²³ The financial administration of the institution had remained sound and conservative, and a liberal educational policy had been instituted at the same time. The results proved the wisdom of Dr. Jarman in insisting on the educational advance in spite of possible risks and obstacles. These figures are evidence, too, as Dr. Jarman explained to the Board of Trustees in his annual report in 1939, of the handicaps under which Mary Baldwin, with total assets amounting in 1941 to \$1,299,476, main-

tains her place as a standard college for women in comparison with institutions like Randolph-Macon, a neighboring institution, with \$3,000,000, or Mount Holyoke with more than \$10,000,000 or Smith or Vassar with more than \$15,000,000.²⁴

To return to the survey of physical expansion and improvements during this period since 1929, Dr. Jarman thus summarized it to the Board of Trustees in his report in 1939:

The entire physical plant has been largely remodelled and refurnished so as to meet the changed demands. A building has been acquired and the necessary laboratory and lecture rooms provided for the departments of chemistry and physics. Additional dormitory space has been provided for forty-one students. The music studios and practice rooms have been removed from the academic building into other quarters; added social rooms and administrative offices have been provided; new tennis courts have been built, and the athletic field has been enlarged and developed. Several pieces of real estate near the campus have been purchased.

This summary gives the main features of the changes up to the construction of the William Wayt King Building. However, a more detailed description seems justified. With respect to expansion of grounds, the administration purchased seven lots on the college block. As a result of these purchases the entire block, which forms the main part of the Mary Baldwin "campus," came into the possession of the College. It is interesting that it took ninety-eight years for Mary Baldwin to come into possession of this one block. It may be recalled that it existed without any real estate for a period of thirty years. The remaining parts of this block consisted in part of some Negro property back of Hill Top on Academy Street purchased in 1933 and 1934.²⁵ In 1936, the College purchased two buildings and lots on North New Street for \$5,000 and \$7,500.²⁶ These were used for a music building and practice hall until they had to be razed to give place to the William Wayt King Building. In 1940, the remaining property on New Street, two lots and buildings, was bought for \$20,000.²⁷ For a year one of these buildings was used as an art building until it too was razed in the summer of 1941. These acquisitions rounded out the block bounded by Frederick, New, Academy, and Market Streets as the property and campus of Mary Baldwin. In the meantime, certain properties had been acquired on neighboring blocks. In 1935, the College purchased the property now known

as Martha Riddle Hall for \$15,000, and in 1937, the Board of Trustees approved the purchase of the Cochran home, now the Alumnae Club House, for \$14,000.²⁸ At the same time the Board voted to purchase the Woodward lots north of the Maids' Cottage. In the preceding year, the Beckler House, now the Science Building, on the corner of Market and Frederick had been purchased for \$5,900.²⁹ Finally, in the spring of 1941, the College purchased from Professor Schmidt the present Music Building.³⁰ Thus the College, without adequate funds for the erection of a number of new buildings, has been able to expand its accommodations by the acquisition of adjoining properties and the remodelling of these for educational, dormitory, or social purposes. Four of these had to give place to the new building, but four others are now in use.

The changes made on the campus grounds have been relatively few. The Senior Bench had already appeared on the upper front terrace as a gift, along with the Trophy Case, of the Class of 1929. The planting of the boxwoods in 1932 restored a traditional feature of the campus of Miss Baldwin's day. Of the eight plants in front of Main, one was a gift of the family of Margaret Cochran, an alumna, in her memory; one a gift of another friend of the College; and two were given by the Class of 1932.³¹ New lights on the front campus with lanterns of antique design were the gift of the class of 1937.³² In 1931, two new tennis courts were made on the upper campus, one half the cost of \$300 being contributed by the Athletic Association.³³ A brick wall has been built around the campus at the back. The same meticulous care of both grounds and buildings is maintained.

The important internal changes in the old buildings have occurred primarily in Main, Academic, and the Chapel. One of the first changes made was the provision of an office for the alumnae secretary in the fall of 1929. The alumnae *News-Letter* announced the satisfaction of the Association with this provision: "The Alumnae Office situated in the west wing of Main . . . has this year taken a definite place in the college. The Alumnae Secretary and her assistants are familiar figures to the students and faculty and are cordially invited to participate in every feature and activity of college life. The office is open every day and the girls and teachers delight us with frequent visits on business and social errands."³⁴ Upon the opening of the Club House in the

fall of 1931 the Alumnae Office was moved there, and the relation between alumnae and students became still closer.

The other innovation in the west wing of Main was the institution of a Day Students' Room. Day students in schools that are primarily for boarding students have generally felt, it seems, and no doubt with much reason, that they are treated as stepdaughters. With no intentional neglect of the day students, a school centers around the life of those who live in it and make up the majority. Up to the fall of 1930, the day students had never had a place in Mary Baldwin that they could call their own. During the session of 1929-1930 they had been organized as a part of the Student Government Association and had asked for a room, which they received in the fall of 1930 and furnished as a lounge and equipped with a victrola that they hoped might drown out Professor Schmidt's piano next door.³⁵ The day students have since secured, in addition, the large room across the hall from their original home; and in 1941, an adjoining rest room was installed. In campus activities as well as in physical conveniences the day students have been given increasing recognition. In the fall of 1930 a college book store was established just back of the Chapel (later moved to its present place on the post office gallery).³⁶ Up to this time books and stationery for the students were secured through the Staunton book stores. On the second floor of Main a room was provided for the Student Government Council.

In this same fall changes began to be made in the Chapel. Until the closing of the Seminary in the spring of 1929, the Chapel had continued to be used as a study hall for seminary students and college students without privileges. It was still furnished with school desks and the famous "circus benches," which occupied each side of the stage. Of the improvements made in the Chapel the *Mary Baldwin Bulletin* declared:

Chapel stage has been transformed. The "Circus Benches," abhorred by many girls, have been removed and the stage proper widened. Footlights have been installed, complete with dimmers, reflectors, spotlights, and various other contrivances necessary for the very elaborate performances that are being presented by the Dramatic Department. Sumptuous brown velvet curtains, which add a truly regal atmosphere, have been hung and work smoothly and easily.

But our greatest pride is the organ. . . . The administrative officers and

the college girls are of course elated over such a wonderful addition to the college equipment, but no more so than the alumnae. . . .³⁷

On January 9, 1931, the organ was dedicated in a recital by Professor Schmidt. One interesting detail might be related. Mr. A. E. Hodgson, who built and installed the organ, was a nephew of Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett, author of *Little Lord Fauntleroy*. She had visited in his home and from him as a child she had drawn her character of the Little Lord. He was the first to wear the Little Lord Fauntleroy suit, designed by his mother.³⁸ The new organ has been a valuable addition for instruction on the instrument, for chapel services, and for concerts. Up to the time of its installation instruction had been given on the organ of the First Presbyterian Church, with considerable inconvenience and some expense. In 1935, the Dramatic Club gave a new hardwood floor for the stage. Changes in the Chapel did not stop with the stage. A new floor with adequate slope was put in and opera seats replaced the desks. The seats were a contribution in part of students, faculty, and some alumnae.³⁹ Every senior gave a seat and the Class of 1931 gave in addition \$140 for the purchase of others, and a number were contributed by members of other classes. The Senior Class of 1939 gave new lights for the Chapel, "cathedral lanterns in the Gothic manner."⁴⁰ A new concrete foundation and steel framework were installed for the Chapel building in 1932.⁴¹ The dining room, occupying the first floor of the Chapel building, was remodelled and redecorated during the same spring and a new office provided for the dietitian.⁴² A later improvement in the dining room, made in 1937, was the provision of insulation to deaden the noise.⁴³ It has helped, although the acoustics of this room constitute a real problem. More recently two large mirrors placed opposite each other across the room, reaching to the ceiling, have been presented to the College by Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Messer and Gertrude Messer Cheek, '35. These have added greatly to the distinctive charm of this historic old room.

In the meantime, radical changes were being made in historic Main Building. Outstanding among these were a complete rearrangement and refurnishing of the administrative offices, the provision of additional parlors, including a faculty parlor, the

redcoration and refurnishing of all the parlors, and the provision of a recreation room for students on the Upper Back Gallery. It will be recalled that in Miss Baldwin's day the entire administration of the College was established in one room, the "Office," now the office of the Dean of the College. It was even the place where students came to copy the dictionary or memorize poetry in punishment for misdemeanors. Here Mr. King continued to have his desk for some years after Miss Baldwin's death. When Academic gave a new home to the library, he moved into what are now the offices of the president and the registrar. Dr. Fraser, as president, had never had an office in the College. Miss Higgins, the dean and principal of the Seminary, had continued to occupy the central office, and Dr. Jarman's office during the first year of his administration was in the present Red Parlor. But in the summer of 1931 a complete change was made.⁴⁴ The Business Office was placed in the old Girls' Parlor, where it remains today, a location more convenient to business callers, to the dining room and book store, which it supplies, and to the employees. The President's office and the office for the registrar were moved into their present location. New office equipment for the registrar, including files and a steel safe, was purchased. Later, in 1938, a division was made in the registrar's office to provide a separate office for the Dean of Instruction.⁴⁵ The central office now became the home of the Dean of the College and the center of the daily contacts of the administration with the students, with patrons, with alumnæ, or with other visitors. A paramount objective in the decoration and furnishing of this room has been to give it the aspect of a comfortable living room instead of a business office. It presents a great contrast to the interesting and picturesque, but very crowded, office of Miss Baldwin, as revealed in the pictures in the catalogues of her day; and yet, like the parlors, it really achieves one of her principal aims—to make the school like a home.

The redecoration of the parlors was the work of the alumnæ, with considerable assistance from the College. The main contribution for this purpose came from Mr. T. B. Stackhouse of Columbia, South Carolina, who gave \$500 in memory of his wife, Elizabeth Hamer Stackhouse, a student of 1882. The change in the parlors best reflects the radical modification in the social

regime of Mary Baldwin. The object was to turn them into places for daily use. "Our hope is to make these rooms so comfortable and lovely that each girl will feel that it is really home, and that it is here at her command . . .," the Alumnæ Secretary announced.⁴⁶ Letters written by her requesting a dollar for this work brought some interesting replies: "Almost thankfully I enclose the requested dollar, and hope that the Hamburg curtains have waved for the last year."⁴⁷ And another: "I laughed when I read the letter and wondered how the younger folks knew we had those terrible Hamburg curtains, and I can see the roses on the carpet—but way back in '85, believe me, that parlor looked splendid." Of the redecoration the Secretary wrote:

One is immediately impressed on entering the rooms, for the decoration stands out in artistic simplicity. The Hamburg curtains have been replaced by dainty marquissette at the side of which hang deep folds of soft green draperies and the new rugs are of the same color. The quaint old sofas done in pansy velour, the odd chairs in old gold damask, the imported cretonne slip-covers of yellow with a medley of flowers, the wall paper of ivory with gently traced diamonds of green and silver and the fire crackling on the hearth, all contribute their part in returning to the parlors their glory of the past.⁴⁸

Although some of the old furniture was assembled and restored for use in the parlors, the return of them to "their glory of the past" was no doubt a work of the imagination. The parlors of Miss Baldwin's day were perhaps not very different in atmosphere or use from those of the generation which had followed. On October 4, 1931, a formal opening of the new parlors took place, with a tea given by the alumnæ at which relatives of Miss Baldwin were honored guests. The picture of Aurora ("Phoebus and the Hours preceded by Aurora," masterpiece of Guido Reni) has continued to be a matter of controversy between the alumnæ of the late nineteenth century, at which time, it seems, the picture was very popular generally as well as being highly prized by Miss Baldwin, and those of the present whose taste in art is different. It has become a sort of symbol of the conflict of the Victorian with the modern age.

In addition to the changes in the Green Parlors made by the alumnæ, the Red Parlor was vacated by the president and became a place for the use of students for their dates or for meetings of

girls. Two senior classes (1934 and 1938) have contributed the rug and the furniture for this room. And the classes of 1933 and 1935 gave a light and rug for the front hall and a new front door and doorway. Upstairs in Main a room was furnished as a faculty parlor, although it is open to student use also. In this room faculty meetings are held. The famous Long Room, combined with an adjoining room, is now an informal recreation center for the girls, and the entire Upper Back Gallery has also been furnished as a recreation room, with radio and ping pong tables. By these various changes the amount of parlor and social recreation space for the use of the girls has been increased four-fold.⁴⁹ There was and is still need for much more. The students sought to get a social room in each residence hall, but the limited dormitory space has not made this advisable.

Another old institution that passed away as a result of the physical changes was "Mail Call." In a letter to *Campus Comments* in the spring of 1930 a student wrote: "As a class in organized society, college girls, our dignity suffers to have the mail delivered in such an informal fashion."⁵⁰ In the following year the present post office on the first floor of Main was opened. Other changes that brought comfort and conveniences were ironing rooms and shower baths in the various residences. And, in the summer of 1935, the entire plant was rewired with new light fixtures and double floor outlets in each room.⁵¹ To meet the state requirements, an automatic sprinkler system was installed in Sky High and the Infirmary, the two wooden structures, to reduce the fire hazard.⁵²

The Alumnæ Club House, opened in December, 1931, has probably done more than any one thing to make the girls happy, or at least a very considerable group of them.⁵³ It is the only place on the campus where they can smoke. Here they meet for cokes, bridge, and "bull" sessions. This property, the Cochran house, was rented by the College and turned over to the Alumnæ Association for its offices and a lounge and tea room for the girls operated by the alumnæ. There are also some bed rooms, which the alumnæ furnished. To give more room for recreation purposes, the alumnæ offices have been moved upstairs. In 1937, as noted above, the College bought this property.

Until the fall of 1934, Dr. and Mrs. Jarman lived in the

former Teachers' Home. Then they moved into Rose Terrace, or the President's Home, on the hill north of Sky High. This house, built by a Mr. Erwin in 1874 and named Rose Terrace, is said to have been the most costly house ever erected in Staunton up to that time.⁵⁴ Later a Mr. Bruce bought it, and it was usually called the Bruce property by the Board of Trustees, who bought it in 1919 and rented it to Professor Schmidt. For some years before the College secured it, it had been used as a hospital, the Augusta Sanitarium, by Drs. Catlett and Whitmore. Thus this house, like Hill Top and others, has had a life of its own and legends and ghosts of its own apart from the College. Much change was made in the interior and grounds of Rose Terrace, however, before Dr. Jarman moved into it; and it has become another of the social centers of the campus. The Teachers' Home, next to the church, was now opened as a dormitory and named Fraser Hall. Further dormitory rooms were secured with the purchase in 1935 of the house now Martha Riddle Hall. At first the lower floor of this building was used for music studios, but with the opening of the Music Building in the next year, Martha Riddle became a residence hall. Other dormitory rooms were provided when the Art Studio was moved from its historic home at the top of Sky High in the summer of 1941 to the Pancake house, on Frederick Street, which had been attractively remodelled and redecorated for this purpose. Now it is the Art Building.

It remains to relate the gradual relief of the congestion of Academic. When it was constructed in 1910, it must have seemed a spacious heaven to teachers in exchange for the old classroom building, the former bowling alley. But, as the College expanded its academic program, it became unbearably crowded with the uncongenial elements present in it from its erection—class-rooms, laboratories, library, and practice halls. When the Association of American Universities sent an educator to inspect the institution in 1935, he found the conditions in this building a major source of criticism, although some improvement had been made since 1929 before he came. Indeed, he declared that possibly nowhere in the entire country was so good a college operated under such adverse conditions.⁵⁵ Further changes brought the removal of all pianos, now placed in a separate music building, so that the constant din of music practice no longer created the nightmare

that it had for decades past; then, in 1936, the physics and chemistry laboratories were moved to the Science Building. Only the biology laboratory remains in Academic. The space for the library and its seating capacity have been greatly increased, but it is again outgrowing its bounds. The erection of the new auditorium-gymnasium (1942) has relieved the congestion in Academic. The business and speech departments have been removed to the "old gymnasium," and an additional class-room and office space for ten faculty members are now provided on the third floor of Academic. Some physical needs of the College have been noted in this relation of the improvements. A more complete history of the new building and of plans for future building is reserved for discussion under the Centennial and the New Century Program.

A brief account of the later history of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial project, which had unfortunately become a white elephant for the College, might be given here. It will be recalled that the College had raised \$30,000 in a nation-wide campaign for the purpose of converting his birthplace into a shrine and erecting other buildings in his honor. The \$30,000 was spent in the purchase of the Manse from the Presbyterian Church. The Board of Trustees resolved in July, 1930, to sell this to a memorial society, if such could be established, giving the deed to the property in recognition of the \$30,000 raised, but asking the \$33,000, with interest, which the College had spent on the campaign.⁵⁶ The Executive Committee was asked to act for the Board in promoting the formation of such a society. Later a Citizens' Committee was appointed to co-operate with the committee of the Board in advertising the project and in opening the Manse temporarily as a shrine.⁵⁷ The Garden Clubs of Virginia undertook the restoration and care of the garden.⁵⁸ Through the enterprise of Mrs. Emily Pancake Smith, the sum of \$5,000 was raised for this purpose. The garden is a formal one of Victorian type. Finally a Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation was established which, with the aid of an appropriation by the State of Virginia, bought the Manse from the College for \$25,000.⁵⁹ (It might be noted that the College had lost more than \$20,000 in costs and carrying charges in this effort.) Mrs. Cordell Hull is president of the organization, Senators Carter Glass and Harry Flood Byrd, vice-presidents, Jesse Jones, treasurer, and Mrs.

Emily Pancake Smith, secretary and assistant-treasurer. Both women are natives of Staunton and alumnae of Mary Baldwin. The purpose announced by the Foundation was to set apart the birthplace of Wilson as a national shrine

dedicated to the aims and ideals and purpose for which Woodrow Wilson lived and died—that men of every nation and all times might have a fairer opportunity to enjoy the fruits of democracy and thus be better enabled to attain the mental, moral, and spiritual development intended for them by their Divine Creator.⁶⁰

On May 1, 1941, the Manse was dedicated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as a Woodrow Wilson shrine. Although Mary Baldwin had failed in her original plan and had lost in a material sense from this effort to perpetuate the memory of Wilson, she had been the means by which his birthplace was finally set aside as a national shrine.

Incidentally, it might be mentioned that, in spite of her losses in this movement to establish a memorial to Woodrow Wilson, Mary Baldwin made a gift to the fund.⁶¹ Many other instances of similar contributions to causes, primarily local, could be cited. In 1915 the College subscribed \$4,000 to the Presbyterian Church for a Sunday School Building.⁶² Five hundred dollars was given for the erection of the present Y. M. C. A. Building.⁶³ The generous gifts of Miss Baldwin to her church and to all community causes encouraged the public to continue to look to her school for benevolences, thus creating a rather difficult position for such an institution in the present day.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE FACULTY OF MARY BALDWIN COLLEGE

More significant than the physical changes in Mary Baldwin since 1929 have been the changes in organization and administration, to which the physical changes have been closely related. Under Dr. Jarman the administrative organization was rapidly brought into conformity with the system usually found in colleges, a condition which had not existed before 1929. Up to 1923, the Principal and the Business Manager were the entire administrative organization, with no assistants and for many years no secretaries. The Principal was not an ex-officio member of the Board,

and Miss Weimar as principal did not appear before the Board, but made reports only in writing. In 1923, the presidency of the College was created and a deanship inaugurated. Technically Dr. Fraser was an ex-officio member of the Board as president of the College; actually he remained the active president of the Board of Trustees and made reports to the Synod as such. So far as the internal administration of the College was concerned he was merely the channel through which Miss Higgins, the dean, reported to the Board on all matters, social and academic. The position of the business manager had been unusual as he was practically independent in his sphere of any control from the head of the school. His responsibility was to the Board of Trustees only.

A clear definition of the office of president was a prime necessity when Dr. Jarman undertook the direction of the College. In July, 1929, the Committee on By-laws recommended the following provision, which was adopted:

The President shall be executive head of the College and shall perform the duties which ordinarily pertain to that office. He shall be responsible to the Board of Trustees for the operation of all the departments of the College and shall under the Board have final authority in the determination of the policies of the different departments of the College and in the execution of these policies. The President shall be the official medium of communication between the faculty and the officers of the College and the Board of Trustees, between the students of the College and the Board of Trustees, and between the Board of Trustees and the Synod of Virginia.

The President shall report annually to the Board of Trustees for every department of the College except for the Business Manager. . .

The President shall be ex-officio a member of the Board of Trustees and of the Executive Committee of the Board.

The President shall recommend to the Board of Trustees the election of all officers and members of the faculty and promotions of the same with statement of salaries. . . .⁶⁴

Under these amended by-laws, the business manager remained, however, an officer of the Board of Trustees. After the resignation of Mr. King in 1930, this office was brought under the direction of the president. Since 1930, this office has been ably administered by Mr. John B. Daffin, with Mr. James T. Spillman as assistant. The title today is *Bursar*. When Mr. King resigned the office of custodian of endowment in 1936, the Board of

Trustees revived its old office of treasurer; this officer had managed the "reserve fund" up to 1930. The treasurer of the Board now has charge of the endowment. Mr. Daffin holds this office also, and for its administration he is responsible to the Board of Trustees through the Finance Committee of the Board, of which the President of the College is a member.

Miss Higgins had been continued in office as dean of the College, subject as such to the president, since the Board of Trustees made no attempt to define this office. Recognizing the need of a person responsible for the social administration of the College apart from academic matters, Dr. Jarman proposed to the Board in January, 1930, the creation of the office of dean of women. Under the president, the dean would have charge of all student activities other than educational and would co-operate with the president and faculty in setting up and administering a suitable plan of student government and regulations for student conduct.⁶⁵ The office was created, the title later being changed to *Dean of the College*. Miss Elizabeth Pfohl, who held the office until the close of the session of 1935-36, was largely responsible, with the encouragement of Dr. Jarman and the co-operation of the faculty, in instituting a new social regime in the College and hence for one of the most significant aspects of the evolution of the College since 1929. The new social policy and regulations are discussed in more detail under student government and various other sections of this chapter. The dean's office touches the life of the College at every angle, physical, social, and academic, and many of the activities of the faculty as well as of the students, and relations with alumnae, patrons, and visitors. Its functions are broader than those usually exercised by the office of dean of women, including certain academic adjustments as a part of its activity. Through this office Mary Baldwin attempts to carry on in a new day her aims so long upheld of "surrounding the students with all the influences of a refined home circle and fitting them for the social duties of life." Although some changes in detail may have occurred, the following description of its activities given by Miss Pfohl in 1932 in an invitation to the alumnae to visit the dean's office, remains true:

Should you accept our invitation and come back to Mary Baldwin, you will certainly arrive first, after you have passed Ham and Jam, who still

guard the front steps, and Mary Scott or Hallie, who alternately guard the front door, at the office of the Dean. I could almost wish that it would be a cool day, or at least a cloudy one, for then there would be an open fire in the grate and you could sit down on one of Miss Baldwin's red plush footstools and gaze at your reflection in the polished brasses of the fire-set. If you were willing to rest there for an hour or so you would see the life of the College pass by. Requests of all kinds come to this office and permissions are granted or refused according to the regulations and the special circumstances involved. Rooms are assigned here, and roommates, and adjustments made when necessary. The telephone here is in almost constant use and calls which come in and go out are as varied as the senders and receivers. . . The social calendar is kept here necessitating frequent consultations on dates and plans. Here students who are doing poor academic work come to analyze the reasons for their failure and to make stern resolve to do better, and here honor students come to receive congratulations and the reward of work well done. . . .

It is the hope of those of us who spend most of our time in this room and have come to love it, that its home-like atmosphere, its draperies, its books, its magazines, its fireplace, and the advice and information received here may contribute to make those who enter conscious of the spirit of the one who spent many years administering advice and condolence, praise and blame with a kindly and wise hand.⁶⁶

The amount of attention given to the individual student soon made necessary an assistant to the dean. Miss Martha Stackhouse (Mrs. Thomas H. Grafton), instructor in history, first served in this capacity; and in 1932-33 was assistant dean as well as registrar. But the latter office did not allow adequate time for the demands of the former. In 1934, Miss Elizabeth Poole came to Mary Baldwin as assistant dean. Through her youth, energy, and warm friendliness, Miss Poole contributed much to the success of the social administration, and in 1937 she became dean upon the resignation of Miss Elizabeth Hoon, the dean in 1936-37. Miss Poole, perhaps the youngest dean in the land, was granted a leave of absence in 1940 and did not return. For the past two years, Miss Inez Morton, the assistant dean of 1939-40, was dean. Each of the deans has contributed through varied talents and abilities to the work begun by Miss Pfohl. Since 1934, the dean's office has been graced in the late afternoon and the evening hours by the presence of Mrs. Fannie Baker Stollenwerck, assistant to the dean. No person has endeared herself more to the boys as well as to the girls who meet in this office than has Mrs. Stollenwerck. And, a native of Staunton and for many years a

resident, Mrs. Stollenwerck has an inexhaustible store of local and institutional lore and a rare facility and charm in the telling of a story.

Miss Higgins resigned in the spring of 1930. For some years there was no office with the title of academic dean or dean of instruction. The work of dean of instruction was performed in large part by the registrar, an office established in 1930. Mrs. Grafton, who became registrar in 1932, was also a member of the committee on curriculum and chairman of the schedule committee; she held conferences with students failing or deficient in work, and, in fact, did the work she has continued later as dean of instruction, an office created in 1937. Since that date the office of registrar has been filled by Miss Marguerite Hillhouse, who had been assistant registrar. Upon these offices and the office of the president have fallen the direction of the new academic program, worked out in co-operation with the faculty, and the preparation of critical surveys and reports on the college organization and work necessary in application for accreditation and useful for the information of the faculty. In them and through them Mary Baldwin has come into conformity with the organization and academic procedures of the modern college. Dr. Jarman, as president, has always maintained close contact with and given advice and counsel to both the Dean of the College and the Dean of Instruction. Incidentally, physical congestion has had the advantage of insuring easy communication between the various administrative offices, which has encouraged friendly and informal contact. To both the academic and the social evolution since 1929, Dr. Jarman has contributed much, in spite of his responsibilities in the fields of physical and financial administration and of relations with the Synod, the patronage, and the academic world.

Although the status of the college faculty had been advanced as to size, the number who held higher degrees, and as to the salary scale after 1923, and Mary Baldwin had thus been able to meet the tests of an accredited college established by the Virginia State Department of Education, it still fell far short of the post-war evolution in colleges in these respects and in the requirements of regional and national accrediting associations. And Miss Higgins had spoken of the increasing difficulties in getting accept-

able teachers at the salaries offered. In his annual report to the Board of Trustees in 1930, Dr. Jarman, referring to a recent meeting of the Finance Committee, of which he was a member, declared:

The Finance Committee realizes that there is some uncertainty about the income for the coming year, as it is dependent in part upon the student enrollment and in part upon the financial contributions from the Synod. However, in the opinion of this committee, the putting on of an educational program that will approach the requirements of the accrediting agencies for a standard college is at this time sufficiently important and urgent as to render any other course inadvisable. The committee agreed that the College may reasonably expect an operating deficit for a few years during the transition period, yet agrees further that the only way to meet the situation is to project an educational program that will speedily secure the accreditation of the College and command a large body of students.

Thus Dr. Jarman announced his policy of educational advancement in spite of the risks involved. This statement of policy represents a departure from the past conservatism of the institution with respect to changes that might result in a deficit, and reminds one of the earlier radical advancements of Miss Baldwin, which sometimes alarmed Mr. Waddell and caused him to protest without avail. It is especially notable in that it came at a time of extreme uncertainty with respect to a normal income even. Fortunately, the new program did not result in a deficit.

At the end of the first five years, 1929-1934, the College had increased its faculty from eighteen to twenty-four; the number holding the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from one to eight; and the salary of full professors from \$1,900 to \$3,000.⁶⁷ In 1939, after ten years, the faculty included thirty members, thirteen of them with the Doctor of Philosophy degree. The salary scale had not been advanced further. Although Mary Baldwin has been able to meet the requirements for an accredited college, she has not been able to approach the heavily endowed schools with respect to salaries. With respect to degrees, it may be said that the majority of those who do not have the degree of Doctor of Philosophy hold the Master's degree. In 1939, eleven held the Master's degree, several of whom had completed most of the work for the Doctor's degree. Several members of the fine arts

faculty had only the Bachelor's degree, but had had extensive training in their special fields. Of the present faculty of thirty-six, twelve have the Doctor of Philosophy degree and fifteen the Master's degree.

In geographical distribution, the faculty has been considerably broadened since 1929. All sections of the United States are represented on the present faculty—New England, the Middle East, the Middle West, the Far West, and the South. This distribution, along with the wide range of schools from which the faculty have secured higher degrees, has produced naturally a rich variety of social and economic backgrounds and viewpoints as well as of educational and intellectual experiences. As to geographical origin, the College has not continued the practice so long followed by the Seminary of seeking its teachers in music and languages abroad, although there have been several of foreign birth in these fields. Professor Schmidt remains on the faculty as Professor Emeritus of Fine Arts; Dr. Mary Latimer, Director of Speech and Dramatics, is a Canadian by birth, and certain other professors in the fine arts are close to Europe in descent. Two members of the faculty were born in China and received a considerable part of their education there. A number of professors of recent years or of the present faculty in languages, the fine arts, and other fields have studied abroad, and several have taught abroad. Among the schools represented on the faculty today, one finds Doctors of Philosophy from the Universities of North Carolina, Illinois, Wisconsin, Northwestern University, Yale, Cornell, Duke, and Johns Hopkins, with the largest representation, four, from the University of North Carolina, a leader in liberal education in the South. There are Masters of Arts from some of the above institutions and from Columbia, Chicago, Vanderbilt, Colorado, Virginia, Emory, New York University, and Middlebury College. Another notable change in the faculty is the increase in the proportion of men to women as compared to earlier faculties. On the present faculty list of thirty-six (this includes two who do no teaching and several part-time teachers) there are thirteen men. Eight of these are heads of departments. The heads of six departments are women. There is approximately one teacher for every ten students.

There are no teachers on the present faculty, who, like Miss

Strickler, have taught in Mary Baldwin for fifty years. Four members of the faculty, including Emeritus Professor Schmidt, had been on the faculty for some years before the beginning of Dr. Jarman's administration, however, and three others had come to Mary Baldwin in 1927 or 1928. Thus through the faculty, as well as through other channels, a continuity with the past and with the Seminary as well as with the College, has been maintained. With respect to permanence of service, there exists a tendency that is no doubt healthy. A considerable proportion of the faculty returns each year, but there is also sufficient change to produce the interest and the challenge of new personalities and outlooks. The larger part of the present faculty that was not here in 1929 came in the early thirties; and many of the new members are additions to the faculty as it has been increased in size. Changes in the fine arts faculty have been more frequent than in other departments, it appears.

The scholastic standing of the Mary Baldwin faculty is evidenced not merely by the number who hold higher degrees, but also, and more significantly, by the number who are productive scholars or artists or who contribute in other ways to the advancement of scholarship. As a small faculty, it has shown considerable activity and progress in this direction. Three members of the present faculty are included in the American Men of Science and are fellows of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. One of these is also a fellow of the American Institute of Chemists and is at present engaged in research for the United States government. One member appears among Leaders in Education and several in the recently compiled list of American Scholars. Generally the faculty are members of the learned societies in their respective fields and in related fields, several have held offices or served on committees in these organizations, and a considerable number have read papers before them. Members of the faculty are authors of textbooks, scholarly monographs, articles in learned periodicals, and critical book reviews. In the field of fine arts, members of the music faculty have had important concert engagements both in the leading musical centers of the United States and abroad; and members of the art faculty of the last several years have had their pictures in exhibitions impressive in number and importance. Incidentally, the

present head of the Department of Music, Dr. Carl Broman, has just been elected to membership in the Harvard Pierian Sodality, the oldest musical organization in the United States. Only seven honorary members have been admitted to the Society in all its history, two of whom were selected in 1942, Dr. Broman and Deems Taylor.⁶⁸ The head of the Speech Department is regularly invited to teach in the summer session in one of the leading schools of speech in the country, that of the University of Wisconsin, and has appeared in a number of plays there. These facts suggest but do not exhaust the evidences of productive scholarship in the Mary Baldwin faculty.

Mary Baldwin has not had sufficient income to encourage in a material way research and productive scholarship. Some members of the faculty have received aid from outside sources for such purposes in recognition of their professional status and ability. This year Mary Baldwin has created a research professorship with a somewhat reduced teaching load to give the holder some time for research. The College plans, if and when funds are available, to do more for this important phase of the work of institutions of higher learning. So far the College has not had sufficient income to grant leaves of absence with pay for advanced study. A small advance only has been made in this direction. In 1938, the Board of Trustees, upon the recommendation of Dr. Jarman, allocated \$500 a year for five years to be used as grants to teachers for summer study or research.⁶⁹ It was the plan to continue this and possibly to increase the amount if it proved possible. A grant of \$100 is made to each person selected in the order of length of service in the institution. Recently some teachers have taken leaves of absence without pay for advanced study, and one teacher a year's leave of absence without pay for research abroad.

In 1934, the Board of Trustees appointed a committee to study the matter of a plan for teachers' retirement. Mary Baldwin had not had up to this time any sort of provision for this purpose. A few teachers had received a special pension, and a few others had been paid special grants in recognition of long service, but these were dealt with as special cases and established no policy or precedent. In 1936, a retirement system was approved under

which both the College and the teacher contribute to the annuity fund. Sixty-five is the retirement age.

The faculty holds a formal scheduled meeting once a month in the Faculty Parlor, a room attractively furnished with chairs and divans more antique and picturesque than comfortable. The President of the College presides over these meetings. Academic problems are discussed; serious cases of discipline are referred from the Student Council and the Faculty Advisory Committee to the entire faculty for decision. Led by a special committee, the faculty devotes a part of each meeting to the analysis and discussion of academic problems or matters of current interest in the educational world. An Academic Council, consisting of the president, the deans, and the heads of all departments, meets from time to time for the consideration of certain academic matters, some of which are finally referred to the entire faculty for action. In organization and procedure the Mary Baldwin faculty is a democratic body.

The question of academic freedom has never become an issue in Mary Baldwin. It is apparently taken for granted. The writer has never felt any restraints with respect to the presentation or support of social, economic, or political ideas or forms, or the criticism of existing forms or practices. The Mary Baldwin faculty does not run to agitators. On the other hand, it seems safe to say, without any measurements at hand as proof, that the attitude of the faculty is generally more liberal than that of the student body, which inclines somewhat to the conservatism of the comfortable class. (There would be exceptions in both groups, to be sure, to such a general evaluation.) Hence the professor is more likely to be questioned by the student with respect to his views than by the administration. However, such questioning has never produced a major controversy, carried abroad, so far as the writer knows, and probably arises but rarely. Somewhat apart from the question of academic freedom but related to the matter of classroom teaching is the question of techniques and procedures. Here, too, the professor can be as old-fashioned or as new-fangled as he pleases as to methods, so long as he meets acceptably certain general standards or tests as an effective teacher. Mary Baldwin has never put any particular faith in or stress upon devices and methods in teaching as com-

pared with the importance of the individual—the person teaching.

One word further about the faculty. Academically, it would rank high in its scholarship, as indicated above, by the measurements generally accepted. But throughout her history Mary Baldwin has emphasized the human factor, the personal equation in teaching. As a small school, faculty and students are brought into close contact. Hence, interesting people, not merely scholars, are sought. No one pattern of social background or philosophy or personality characteristics is demanded, and the group assembled presents a diversity, which is apparent in classroom teaching, on the campus, and in faculty contacts.

Apart from its formal meetings, the Mary Baldwin faculty enjoys certain annual social meetings, notably the faculty picnic in the fall at some one of the many lovely spots in the Shenandoah Valley and the faculty supper at Rose Terrace, the President's home, just preceding the last meeting in May. In addition, the faculty meets occasionally in the Faculty Parlor or on the Upper Back Gallery for coffee or coca-colas on Friday mornings during student chapel. These meetings make a welcome break in the day's routine and reflect the friendly, informal social atmosphere characteristic of Mary Baldwin and made possible through its small size and compact physical arrangements.

The activity of the faculty today as in the past extends beyond the campus into the city of Staunton, its churches, its clubs, its civic and social life. The fine arts faculty continues to give liberally of its time and talent, not only in concerts at the College, to which the people of Staunton are invited, but also in the direction of choirs and in programs before clubs and other organizations. Several members of the faculty serve neighboring churches as pastors, and others occasionally fill pulpits. Many appear as speakers on local programs or lead in discussions. Others are active as members of professional and civic clubs or lead in local charities. Such work benefits both town and school. If this study may presume to suggest a program for the future, it might be said that much more might be achieved through constructive co-operation between the College and the city and surrounding community. Members of the faculty may be inclined to become absorbed in their work or hesitate to take the initiative as members of the community, of which after all

they are a part. Responsibility for promoting such an intellectual co-operation between city and school will rest upon both groups. Schools of the future, it may be predicted, will more and more lose their characteristics of cloistered scholarship and become identified with the active solution of the problems of the present. There is food here for thought and work.

EDUCATIONAL CHANGES AND DEVELOPMENTS

During these thirteen years since 1929, education in the United States has been under the severe critical scrutiny not only of educators and students but also of publicists and the people. After the First World War there was a stampede to college and university; everyone sought the college diploma. There was prosperity, and it could be afforded as a luxury, even if it had no great practical value. Since the depression schools of higher learning have had to justify themselves. In an effort to adjust themselves to new conditions, a good deal of experimentation has been undertaken and novel programs have been instituted. The Second World War brought a new crisis on the top of the lesser one. Upon colleges and universities rests not only the responsibility to meet the immediate crisis, but also the more difficult task of planning for and planning the future. Although some of the problems of the present are peculiar to schools for men, schools for women will be affected perhaps almost equally, if in somewhat different ways.

During this period since 1929, academic changes in Mary Baldwin have been determined or influenced by her effort to reach the level of the standard college; by the desire to perpetuate certain traditional ideals and values; and by the new currents in education. With respect to the first of these the changes were predetermined; she had to meet certain established requirements. The influence of the second has been conservative, and, it might be said, it has in a sense conditioned her reaction to the third. Mary Baldwin has never been a leader in scholastic innovation. Even if she were inclined to follow new and untried ways, her resources are not sufficient to justify experimentation on any considerable scale. Nevertheless, she has not held aloof from or been unaffected by these recent new ideas and new movements.

The statement of the aim of the College in the catalogue emphasizes the objectives that determine her program:

During a hundred years of uninterrupted existence the aim of Mary Baldwin has been to provide a Christian atmosphere of religious and intellectual sincerity, in which young women may be stimulated to seek in the realms of the physical, mental, and spiritual those intrinsic values which contribute to the fulness, richness, and wonder of life, and which will enable them to solve life's problems with trained intellect and Christian courage. Mary Baldwin thus recognizes the cultural values and emphases in the liberal education which is its aim. The College recognizes also that the modern college woman often needs a degree of technical training in order that she may find her place in the community and make her contribution to society in business or professional life, and endeavors to adjust its curriculum to equip the graduate to meet the demands of modern life in these practical relationships.⁷⁰

That these same fundamental objectives were recognized in the foundation of Mary Baldwin is indicated in the statement made by the Reverend B. M. Smith in an address made upon the laying of the cornerstone of Main Building on June 15, 1844:

It is not our purpose to offer a general disquisition on Education, nor even to enter fully into a treatise on Female Education. We shall be satisfied with the definition of Education given by the great Milton—to fit one to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously the duties of life. It is that training, mental, moral, and physical, of the Intellect, the affections, and the body, which prepares its subjects for fulfilling the destiny assigned in the Providence of God. This threefold object, having direct reference to the threefold nature of man, is attained when all the powers of mind, heart, and body have been fully developed and exercised. It is, of course, an object where *perfection* is unattainable, but it is our duty to aim at the attainment of every possible measure of perfection.⁷¹

Mary Baldwin, it may be added, still seeks a balanced training of these three elements and refuses to stress intellectual values to the neglect of physical, social, and moral. In this particular section, the object is to describe and analyze the program of intellectual training; in other divisions of this chapter—student government, physical education, and religious and social life—other aspects of the Mary Baldwin program of education will be presented.

In brief, one finds in the academic evolution of this period a decline in, but not a disappearance of, the classical tradition; a greater emphasis on the natural sciences, history, and the social

studies; a limited recognition of practical and vocational objectives, but not to the extent of shifting the emphasis from the liberal cultural education (in fact, domestic science was dropped from the curriculum in 1929); a better definition of the place of the fine arts in the curriculum of the liberal arts college; an enlarged program of physical and health education; the institution of a course in freshman orientation; a great increase in the number of courses offered and hence more opportunity for selection to fit individual interests and needs; an increase of departments and hence larger scope for the selection of major fields for study; and the introduction of seminars for advanced students interested in research. And this academic evolution has been attended by an expansion in laboratory and library facilities, without which much of it would have been impossible. A gesture at least has been made toward adult education through an annual course of lectures for the *alumnæ*.

Although there was less than a capacity enrollment for a few years after the Seminary was closed, Mary Baldwin College soon had more applicants than she could accept, in spite of a somewhat enlarged capacity, and was able to select students on the basis of ability as represented by high school records, testimonials, and psychological tests. Since background, ideals, and character, so far as these can be measured or determined, enter into the selection, it is not always the person with the higher mental ability that is chosen, although that factor is given great weight. As to high school units prescribed for entrance, Mary Baldwin had required the following in 1929-30: English, four; history, one; mathematics, two and one-half or three; Latin, three or four; modern languages, two.⁷² For the session of 1930-31, Latin was dropped and only three units of English were required; and in 1932-33 the prescribed units were: English, three; history, one; algebra, one; geometry, one; and foreign languages, two (the foreign language may be Latin).⁷³ These requirements are still maintained. Other high school units offered are evaluated on their merits; the College looks with question upon too large an offering of units in vocational subjects.

Although Mary Baldwin has introduced courses that allow a considerable range for selection by the advanced student, the work for freshmen and sophomores is largely prescribed. In

1929-30, the required work consisted of the following semester hours: English, twelve; foreign language, twelve; Bible, twelve; history, six; science, six; psychology, six; mathematics or Latin, six; health and hygiene, four.⁷⁴ Several changes have been made since. The requirement in Bible has been reduced to nine hours (and is no doubt unusually large still when compared with the requirements of other similar colleges); six hours are now required in sociology and economics, and the requirement in Latin and mathematics has been discontinued, indicating a decline of the old classical emphasis. The student may select her science from physics, chemistry, or biology, and has some choice as to the sociology and economics requirement. Of the twelve-hour foreign language requirement, six hours of the language can be Latin, but at least six must be a modern language.⁷⁵ Mary Baldwin has stressed from Augusta Seminary days the importance of English composition. Even when specific requirements were few, practice in the "writing of essays" was compulsory. Today one hour of oral English is required of all freshmen along with work in composition. Among the additional requirements noted in the current catalogue is the following: "During the first semester all juniors will be given a diagnostic test concerned with the principles of English composition. Those students failing to pass this test will be required to pass a non-credit course dealing with the fundamentals of English composition."⁷⁶

Students must choose a major field for concentration and a minor subject in a related field, these to consist of a minimum of twenty-four and eighteen hours respectively. Since 1929, there has been considerable increase in the number of fields of possible choice by the addition of courses to departments up to that time too limited for a major and by the acceptance of majors in the fine arts. Majors may now be selected from art, Bible, Bible and philosophy, biology, chemistry, English, French, German, history, Latin, mathematics, music, psychology, sociology and economics, Spanish, and speech and dramatics.⁷⁷ For some years there was a science major. There are courses in physics, astronomy, and geology, but not enough for a major. Courses in political science may be counted on a history major; courses in comparative literature, on English; and certain courses in education, on a major in psychology, or social psychology, on a major in sociology. Mary

Baldwin has retained the departmental organization, but there exist these interrelations of departments, representing some recognition of the divisional plan.

Although Mary Baldwin does not attempt the training of specialists but emphasizes a broad liberal education, students are given an opportunity in seminars or special problems courses in history, sociology, Bible, mathematics, chemistry, biology, and psychology, to undertake individual research projects. At the end of the senior year a comprehensive examination is given to all seniors in their major field of study. Students prepare for these examinations in seminars, in special reading, in individual conferences with their professors, as well as through their regular courses.

With two hundred four courses, Mary Baldwin now affords the student a greatly enlarged opportunity for selection, both of major and minor courses and of free electives.⁷⁸ Her faculty is not large enough for her to equal the larger and better endowed women's colleges in the number of courses offered, but she has shown notable progress in the expansion of her curriculum. Only the Bachelor of Arts degree is offered.

Certain special courses that have appeared in these years might be mentioned before attempting a survey of the changes in the main fields. The first of these innovations was a course in freshman orientation. Such an objective had long been recognized on the Mary Baldwin campus, particularly through the activities of the Y. W. C. A. and the old Literary Society and the later Athletic Association, which undertook to "orient" the freshmen. A freshman week had been instituted with activities intended to acquaint the new student with her surroundings and her problems; and an extensive correspondence with the prospective student gave her much acquaintance with the College before she arrived. But the course in freshman orientation, required of all freshmen, goes beyond any of these endeavors. The content of this course has undergone considerable study and some change since it was introduced in 1931, and indeed the lectures vary somewhat from year to year with certain constant factors, "The History of Mary Baldwin," "How to Study," "The Use of the Library," etc. Lectures on vocational guidance, given by experts

in different fields, have been added. Today it appears in the education department and carries one hour of credit.⁷⁹

Another special course, called first Contemporary Thought and later Senior Integration, was introduced in 1932-33, to meet for one ninety-minute period a week throughout the year and carry three hours' credit. An interesting description of this course appeared in the *News Letter* of April, 1934:

Most colleges are now giving orientation courses for freshmen. Few, if any, have been giving orientation courses for seniors. One hears much of the word integration in curriculum discussions, but comparatively few formal efforts are made in that direction. These two ideas, *orientation* and *integration*, are the key words of this course that is being given for seniors, under the title, Contemporary Thought.

The purpose of this course is thus two-fold: (1) to assist the student in the attainment of an integrated view of the knowledge which she has acquired, and (2) to lay the foundation for the transition from college life to life after college. A rapid survey is made of contemporary problems of society, tendencies in art and literature, and systems of philosophy; and an effort is made to develop the implications of modern science and research for a religious interpretation of man and his world. The course is conducted as a seminar, and ample opportunity is given for reports and statements of personal views. Various members of the faculty are in charge, and visiting speakers lecture and conduct the open forums from time to time. . . .

An annual trip to Washington for the purpose of observing the government in action is one of the interesting activities of the class. Last year the class attended the inauguration of President Roosevelt. This year visits were made to the sessions of the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the Supreme Court. Art galleries and libraries were included also. Peculiar honor was paid to the group and to the college by the Ambassadors of France and Germany and their families. Both embassies were opened to the students and the accompanying members of the faculty. After a formal reception and a tea at each embassy the guests were entertained informally with unusual cordiality.

This course in Contemporary Thought, while something of an innovation in educational procedure, has created considerable interest both among the Mary Baldwin students and in educational circles at large.⁸⁰

Like the course in freshman orientation, this course underwent change, the introduction of new subjects, and new lecturers from year to year, and it was no doubt an interesting and instructive adventure. Since 1938 the course has not been offered, although

some opportunity for such integration is offered through other features of the curriculum.

Another innovation was a course of lectures for the *alumnæ*, a small beginning in adult education. This was not a catalogue or credit course but might be included under academic evolution. An alumna of 1900, Irene Haislip, gave her impressions of the first *Alumnæ Week-end* (March, 1935) in the *News Letter*:

What a delight it was! First of all came the registration on the Back Gallery and assignment to rooms.

Lectures began Friday at noon and continued at stated intervals through ten o'clock Sunday morning. These lectures were fascinating, enlightening, and inspiring. We were thrilled as we listened to Dean Elizabeth Pfohl on "The Contemporary American Novel"; Dr. Kenneth L. Smoke on "Social Psychology in America Today"; Dr. Karl Shedd on "Latin America"; Miss Mary E. Latimer on "Readings from Contemporary American Drama"; Dr. E. P. Vandiver, Jr., on "Contemporary Poetry"; President L. Wilson Jarman and Dr. Thomas H. Grafton on "Contemporary Social and Political Trends in America"; and Miss Mary E. Lakenan on "An American Traveler in Palestine Today." Then the charming art exhibit and tea on the Upper Gallery with Miss Ruth Spoor as hostess was delightful, as was the lecture recital on modern music by Misses Mary Fishburne, pianist, Christine Gunlaugson, soprano, and Elizabeth Ellis, violinist. . . . On Friday night a beautiful concert was given by the Paris Instrumental Quintet, and Saturday night a brilliant reception at the President's lovely home.

The program was brought to a close Sunday morning when the *alumnæ* attended services at the dear old "First Church" where many of them had worshipped in the days when uniforms were worn and the students attended in a body. I'm sure many of them thought of the black suits and the gray hats. The Pastor, Rev. H. B. Blakely, D. D., thoughtfully carried out the idea of the program and preached on "The Function of Religion in a Changing World. . . ."

I believe these week-ends will grow in interest and in numbers because of their true worth, and I can see a day coming when a regular course will be provided for the "old girls" of Mary Baldwin, who have not received the scholastic advantages which the "new girls" now have. . . . ⁸¹

A second week in the spring of 1936, however, brought a somewhat smaller enrollment. Since that time this project of adult study has been carried forward by the Staunton Chapter of the *alumnæ*. The lectures extend over several weeks in the spring. This modification no doubt gives them greater educational value, if not the same emotional appeal.

These three courses might be considered as sorts of excrescences or addenda to the regular curriculum devised for special purposes and groups—freshmen, seniors, and *alumnæ*. And, incidentally, a fourth might be mentioned, an innovation of 1941-42. This course was provided for employees of the College, and includes lectures in fields chosen by them.

In certain fields of the general curriculum there has been great expansion; others have shown relative stability. It would be burdensome to note all the changes. Some courses appear, disappear, and in a few cases, reappear; or they appear under different names or in a somewhat different grouping. And, to be sure, the academic evolution did not consist solely of changes in course names nor of the addition, subtraction, multiplication, or division of courses. But these facts tell at least a part of the story. In the department of Bible, called Biblical Literature since 1931, courses in religious pedagogy and departmental methods, subjects primarily of vocational interest, have been discontinued along with a course in Christian evidences, and courses of a broader cultural and intellectual appeal have been added—such as Biblical geography and archaeology and a two-semester course in comparative religion, along with a seminar for research. In the English department, as in Bible, there have been fewer changes than in some other departments. The number of hours of work offered has not expanded very much. In 1928-29, there were twenty-four hours of Bible; today, there are twenty-eight hours; in English there were sixty-six hours in 1928; today, seventy-eight hours. English has always been a strong department, and Bible, a more recent addition, had been well-organized under Miss Lakenan, who came in 1927. One new feature in the work of the English department in recent years revives an old tradition of Mary Baldwin that had been lost for a time—to give “general elocution” free to all students. Oral English is taught to all freshmen by the head of the Department of Speech, who also teaches courses in fundamentals of speech and the contemporary drama in the Department of English. Old English has disappeared. More place is given to comparative literature—Greek, Latin, and German literature in translation, although this is not a new feature. An advanced course in the

history of English literature, a course of directed reading required of seniors majoring in English, is a recent addition.

In the field of language the most notable change since 1929 has been the decline in Latin, which had maintained its prominence in the Mary Baldwin curriculum longer than in most schools and colleges. But Miss Higgins had declared during the 1920's that many who applied for entrance in the College had had inadequate preparation in Latin, and the Bachelor of Science degree had been granted primarily for those who did not want Latin. As noted above, Latin was dropped as a requirement for entrance in 1930, and the Latin requirement for graduation was soon dropped. The catalogue still carries a considerable list of courses in Latin given upon demand, and a few students are usually enrolled, but the department is small. Greek, offered on demand, is in and out. In 1936-37, three were enrolled in Greek.⁸² Greek and Latin literature in translation have a sufficient enrollment, and a course in classical mythology is given. Italian has been discontinued. Instruction in German has been maintained since it was re-introduced in 1928, and enough courses are offered for a major, if there is demand. The average enrollment is around twenty-five in addition to the classes in German literature in translation. For many years French has drawn much the largest enrollment of students in the languages. Only in the last two years has it been surpassed in numbers by Spanish, which today has a much larger enrollment. Schools generally are experiencing the same shift of emphasis due to political and military repercussions. Emphasis on spoken French has been maintained both in the classroom and at the French table in the dining room. In the field of Spanish there has been a greater emphasis since 1935 on Hispanic-American literature and the integration of it with courses in Hispanic-American history.

The field of history has expanded notably since 1931-32. Up to that time there was only one teacher with a part-time assistant, and only thirty hours of work were offered. Today seventy-two hours are offered; and, including political science, with which it is correlated, there are eighty-three hours. New fields include the Far East, Hispanic-America, and the British Empire. International relations and American foreign policy, both of which

had been given in the 1920's, but were later dropped, have been re-introduced. The work in American and European history has been expanded by special courses which amplify the survey courses, and a seminar offers opportunity for research. Certain new war courses given in 1942-43 are mentioned later. The Department of History sponsors pilgrimages to places of historical interest in Virginia, primarily for students in American history. Until 1935-36, only six hours were offered in sociology and economics, but in that session a department was created and courses offered sufficient for a major in the two fields. Since that time the emphasis has shifted to sociology. New courses in this field include Marriage and the Family, Social Anthropology, and Systematic Sociology, with a seminar also in social theory.

Psychology, which had grown considerably beyond the old mental philosophy before 1929, with courses listed in experimental psychology, social psychology, child psychology, etc., has added applied and abnormal psychology, the psychology of personality, and courses for research. Increase in laboratory equipment in 1942-43 makes possible more use of the experimental method, which has been used very slightly up to the present. Certain courses in education can be used on a major in psychology, but no major is offered in education. This department had grown up in the 1920's to meet the requirements of the state laws for teachers. A course in health education, for example, is offered to meet the provisions of the West Law. The most notable change in the department in recent years is the discontinuance of a plethora of special methods courses, which appeared in the early thirties, and the addition of work in supervised teaching, introduced in 1930-31. Although the instruction in education is devised primarily to meet the vocational needs of teachers, courses in the history and theory of education add cultural content. Philosophy, modern counterpart of the old "moral philosophy," has not developed to the extent that psychology has. Only two courses are now offered. Combined for a time with psychology, it may now be combined with Biblical literature for a major. One course, Problems in a Philosophy of Life, serves somewhat the same purpose for integration that the special course, Contemporary Thought, fulfilled for some years.

For several years, 1930-1937, a course in debating was offered and intercollegiate debates sponsored. These contests are men-

tioned below under student activities. The catalogue of 1931-32 announced courses in library science for the following session to be given by University of Virginia professors. This work was not offered after 1936, but it is interesting as one of the small efforts of Mary Baldwin to provide means for vocational training. The work in secretarial science has been continued, but such courses are not counted toward a degree. A certificate is granted upon the completion of the course if the student takes twenty-seven hours of academic work in addition to the secretarial courses. Since 1931, courses in journalism have been given, the college paper, *Campus Comments*, providing laboratory work for such courses.

Among the natural sciences chemistry had received most attention before 1929, but, although there was capable instruction, laboratory space and equipment were inadequate for efficient work. Only a limited number of students could be enrolled. Both physics and chemistry now have sufficient room and greatly increased equipment and materials in the remodelled Science Building. From three courses offered in 1929, the chemistry curriculum has grown to eleven courses, including several courses in organic and physical chemistry and a research seminar for majors. The enrollment in chemistry is not large, and there are few in physics, but some students in both subjects have done outstanding work.

Biology, which has become the most popular of the natural sciences, was not added to the curriculum until 1928-1929, and little provision was made for it, so that this field is practically a new development of the present administration. The biology department occupies a large part of the third floor of Academic, with an additional lecture room on the first floor. Forty-four hours of course work are given, which include courses in genetics and eugenics, bacteriology, ornithology, local flora, biological methods, and a research course. The study of birds has been of special interest, and field trips for this study and for the investigation of local flora are common activities, for which the surrounding country offers an attractive as well as an instructive laboratory. Expeditions to places of special interest are occasionally undertaken. Up to 1929, there was one teacher for all the natural sciences. Now there are two full-time professors, two

part-time, and a full-time assistant. Some thousands of dollars have been spent in building and equipment.

The Department of Mathematics has recently introduced a course of interest to the various sciences, applied general statistics. This department is small, but a few students take a major in mathematics. The professor of mathematics teaches single courses in astronomy and geology.

From the 1870's the fine arts, especially music, have had a very prominent place in the curriculum of Mary Baldwin. Many girls came primarily for the excellent conservatory instruction. For some years the Bachelor of Music degree was granted. The establishment of the liberal arts college in 1923 and the desire of a large proportion of the students to secure the Bachelor of Arts degree led to a decline of enrollment in the fine arts. Nevertheless, with the conviction that appreciation of the fine arts, if not practical training in them, is an important element in a liberal education, the administration allowed considerable credit toward the degree—twenty-four hours—in the field of fine arts. Since 1929, the place of these studies in the curriculum has been strengthened by the fact that a student may choose a major in any of these fields—music, art, or speech. Courses in history and appreciation are given in each of them, and may be taken independent of any practical instruction. A new course in music literature is of special interest. The proportionate enrollment in the fine arts today does not equal that of Seminary days, but the high standards are maintained and advances made in some directions, and the enrollment is appreciable. All departments of the fine arts give instruction in methods for those who wish to teach these subjects. The department of music since 1930 has given a normal public school music course. The orchestra and instruction in violin, maintained until the middle thirties, have been discontinued. Nevertheless, the Glee Club is still a very prominent feature of the instruction in music and has done excellent work in public concerts in Staunton and elsewhere. Concerts were given last year with both the Harvard Orchestra and the Hampden-Sydney and Washington and Lee Glee Clubs. Membership in this club is open to all students who can qualify and is required of all voice students, although no credit is given for this work.

The Department of Speech and Drama serves the entire stu-

dent body through instruction in oral English. The majors must take twenty hours of work in the department plus six hours in English in addition to the twelve hours of English required of all students. Scientific analyses of speech characteristics and defects and of personality traits are made and training given to correct these. Individual voice recordings are made for each freshman. In the field of the drama all aspects of play production are studied by the laboratory method, and a course in the history of the theatre is given. Connected with the work in speech and drama is that of the Dramatic Club discussed under student activities.

The following description of the work of the Art Department in recent years was given by Miss Elizabeth Nottingham (Mrs. Horace Day), Director of the Lynchburg Federal Art Gallery, who lectured at Mary Baldwin in 1939 (Mrs. Day is now Associate Director of the department at Mary Baldwin). This description suggests some of the opportunities for the study of art here and the new methods used in instruction:

At Mary Baldwin every view presents an invitation to the landscape artist. Entering, the visitor soon realizes that the art department is very much alive. On bulletin boards are notices of the current exhibition in the upper gallery. So many doors open into the gallery that students continually walk through it or stop awhile in the room equipped for recreation. The enjoyment of art cannot seem a remote pleasure when a ping-pong table is in the center of the exhibition room and those who pause to study and enjoy the exhibit stop because of challenged attention rather than because of museum manners. The policy of modern art centers is to eliminate the chilly isolation of the old-fashioned museum; certainly here the exhibitions are hung in the ideal center of activity. . . .

The studio symbolizes the conflict of the past and the present theories of art teaching. Casts of once popular sculpture have been set away. In their places one finds damp clay heads and figures on armatures, pieces of molds, and completed work to prove that delight in sculpture has come alive in this old studio.

Creative design is taught in connection with the course in interior decoration, the designs to be used for textiles and wall-papers. The furniture in the tiny model rooms is based on study of historic periods, but emphasis is placed on originality and adaptation for modern use rather than on deadly imitation.

Work in progress shows that students are exploring the mediums of oil, water color, pastel, charcoal, pen and ink, wood-carving and tempera; the subjects reveal that they are becoming conscious of material in their

environment and finding experiences which will contribute toward the building of art in the South.⁸³

The Art Club has sponsored a project to put a good reproduction of a painting in each girl's room. The framed prints are passed then from room to room during the year. A considerable collection of famous paintings has already been acquired. Trips to art galleries and museums in New York, Washington, and Richmond are sponsored by this department, and to Charlottesville and Williamsburg for the study of architecture and period decoration. Many collections of contemporary art, especially the work of Virginia artists, have been brought to the College. Last year a group of art students decorated the Day Nursery for underprivileged children opened in Staunton. The objective in all departments of the fine arts is to educate all students in the appreciation of these elements of culture.

This survey of the curriculum may suggest some of its limitations as well as its excellencies. Although certain departments, history and English, for example, offer sufficient courses that a student could spend two years on either one without being able to take all the work, the offering is still small compared to that of the larger schools. Nevertheless, much expansion of the curriculum has been made in recent years with particular attention to the lag that existed in the natural and social sciences and in history. And new courses, new equipment, and new techniques have been introduced into practically all fields.

All departments of instruction have profited from the recent growth of the library, which increased from 8,895 volumes in May, 1929, to 27,500 volumes in June, 1942. Thus the College has had the unusual opportunity of securing the most recent productions of critical scholarship in the various fields and of building its collections definitely around the courses offered. There is a minimum of "dead timber." Since all the college work is of undergraduate rank, a smaller collection can serve the needs more adequately than would be true if there were a combination of graduate and undergraduate courses. In proportion to its income the college allocates a generous sum for annual additions. In the early years of the century the annual appropriations were between one and two hundred dollars and only slowly mounted

to several hundred. In 1941, the College spent more than \$500 for periodicals alone and more than \$2,500 for books.⁸⁴ More than one thousand books are added each year through purchase, and the College regularly receives one hundred seventy periodicals, one hundred thirty-eight of which are specialized for departmental use.

One of the immediate needs of the College at the beginning of the present administration was the addition of three thousand volumes to bring the library up to the level required for accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges. In this emergency the alumnæ and other friends of the College gave generous assistance in books and some in money. The University of Virginia, Hampden-Sydney College, and the Virginia State Library sent a number of volumes, some of them very valuable and a few of them today enhanced in value as rare collections. From the alumnæ came the largest additions and several hundred dollars in money.⁸⁵ Among these were two volumes of Ruskin won by a student as an English prize in 1905 and sent from China; another student sent a volume of Irving won as a prize in Latin in 1893; another a Latin New Testament used in Mary Baldwin in 1870-71; and another a French dictionary published in Paris in 1818. One alumna sent a check from the insurance she received from the death of a son in the World War, which she never used for personal needs, but gave to some cause in which he would have been interested. The College has received in the last decade several collections of well-chosen books. In 1935, Mrs. Margaret Kable Russell gave a collection of books of history and political science in memory of her husband, Colonel Thomas H. Russell, and from his library.⁸⁶ And she contributes books annually to a shelf established as a memorial to her friend, Celia Mason Timberlake, also an alumna. In the same year, 1935, Dr. and Mrs. Grafton gave a shelf of books in religious education as a memorial to Dr. George Herbert Betts, former head of the religious education department of Northwestern University and the professor under whom Dr. Grafton received his major instruction for the Doctor's degree. In 1937, Mrs. Fred Fuller Shedd, mother of Dr. Shedd, head of the Modern Language Department, gave four hundred volumes in American history, biography, and government from the library of her late husband, former editor

of the Philadelphia *Bulletin*. This collection contains some rare and valuable books.⁸⁷ And there have been smaller additions to the library through gifts of other friends.

A student wrote of the library in 1932, when the campaign for enlargement was getting under way:

The Mary Baldwin library with its approximately fourteen thousand to fourteen thousand five hundred volumes offers a real paradise to bookworms and the chance to develop into a "well-read" person while at college. Everything from *Emmy-Lou*, a relic of Mary Baldwin Seminary days, to Boccaccio's *Decameron* is found in the library. . . .⁸⁸

There are, however, few books of the *Emmy-Lou* type. The same careful selection of books was practiced in Seminary days as is made today. When novels were prohibited and there were younger students, a few innocuous books of the *Emmy-Lou* sort were bought for the recreation of the students and religious readings were secured for Sunday afternoons. Nevertheless, the old printed catalogues of the Seminary library show that the greater part of the books were classics in the various fields.

The Mary Baldwin library is an open stack library. Students have free access to the shelves at all times, a decided encouragement to self-education in the use of books. Although more room for the library would be a great boon, even a separate building an advantage in some respects, the present location in the heart of Academic, surrounded by classrooms, encourages the student to make use of its shelves or its newspaper and magazine racks for brief periods of leisure.

As a result of physical and academic improvements since 1929, Mary Baldwin was admitted to membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in 1931; in 1932, she became a member of the Association of American Colleges and of the American Council on Education; in 1938, she was placed on the approved list of the Association of American Universities; and in 1941, her graduates were accepted for membership in the American Association of University Women.

THE STUDENT BODY ; ENROLLMENT, SCHOLARSHIPS, AND HONORS ; COST OF EDUCATION

For a few years after 1929, Mary Baldwin had to face the



From Portrait by Horace Day

LEWIS WILSON JARMAN

problem that many schools faced during the depression, that of building the enrollment. In her case, however, the closing of the Seminary, which had brought many boarding students as well as day students, and the uncertainty as to the future of the College were added to the general economic stress as factors in the decline. In 1929-30, the total enrollment was two hundred three. In January, 1931, the President reported one hundred ninety-four boarding students for the session of 1930-31 and stated that all places were filled. However, the worst years of the depression were yet to be faced. In 1931-32, only one hundred fifty-two boarding students were enrolled and one hundred seventy-four in the following year.⁸⁹ In these years the day students numbered about fifty. Since 1933-34, there has been no problem as to numbers. The College has had to turn away applicants, although the dormitory space has been increased forty-one places by the addition of two residences and a few more places have been added by the removal of the art studio from Sky High. In 1941-42, the total enrollment was three hundred thirty-two, of which two hundred sixty-one were boarding students. In these later years the administration has been able to give attention solely to the building of the scholarship of the student body rather than the numbers. Even in the slim years Mary Baldwin was able to avoid by careful management any cutting of salaries, which had just been raised, or any debt.

And in these few uncertain years Mary Baldwin continued to rely upon conservative methods of securing students. She has never resorted to any extensive advertising or to campaigns for securing students. She sought to build up a college patronage through the Synod and the influence of Presbyterian ministers, and through the existing student body and the *alumnæ*, the latter always a fruitful aid. Some efforts were made to distribute information through catalogues and viewbooks to students whose names were furnished by the principals of outstanding high schools in different parts of the country. In part these efforts were to build scholarship by securing a wider basis for the selection of students. One interesting and attractive feature of the program for acquainting the high school students with Mary Baldwin, begun in the spring of 1933, was the Mary Baldwin House Party. High school seniors, friends of Mary Baldwin

students, were entertained at the College for a week-end in May. The *News Letter* stated:

The aim of the house party is to acquaint these girls with Mary Baldwin, Mary Baldwin life, and Mary Baldwin people. Some of the guests will become Mary Baldwin students, some will go to college elsewhere, some will not be able to go to college at all; but all of them will have the very pleasantest associations with the words "Mary Baldwin."⁹⁰

The office of the registrar has attempted in recent years to gather data and make some accurate statistical analyses of the reasons girls have in selecting Mary Baldwin as a college. These studies have shown that one of the most prominent factors determining the choice has been the influence of *alumnæ*. In 1933-34, thirteen per cent gave this as their first reason, four per cent as the second.⁹¹ Twelve per cent gave as a first reason the fact that Mary Baldwin is a small college for women, and twenty-one per cent gave it as a second reason. Other prominent factors have been its location in Staunton (day students primarily), its location in Virginia, the influence of a friend not an *alumna* (one girl came "because of its fine recommendations as given by others than special friends"), the literature about the College sent out, friendship with a member of the student body, or a personal visit to the College. Especially noteworthy is the preference for the small college, the values of which present-day educators have emphasized.

The importance of *alumnæ* influence is indicated by the number of relatives of *alumnæ* enrolled each year, although many girls come through the influence of an *alumna* who is not a relative. In 1936-37, there were thirty-nine daughters, granddaughters, or great-granddaughters of *alumnæ*, fourteen sisters of *alumnæ*, and forty-six nieces.⁹² Throughout this period the Granddaughters and Little Sisters Club was a large organization. In 1933-34, Margaret Bailey of Oklahoma, the great-granddaughter of Rufus W. Bailey, came to Mary Baldwin as a freshman and was elected an honorary member of the club. And Anne Rhame, his great-great-granddaughter, now a sophomore, is also a member. As an indication of family connections, more than ten per cent of the Class of '42 have sisters registered for the session of 1942-43.

Incidentally, it might be interesting to mention the business

and professions of the fathers of Mary Baldwin girls, especially since these are also frequently the husbands of Mary Baldwin alumnae. An enterprising student undertook a survey of professions of fathers in 1936.⁹³ She found that doctors and lawyers led the list, with insurance men, ministers, bankers, and engineers following in close succession. There were planters, lumbermen, merchants, brokers, college professors, college presidents, judges, and army and navy officers. The army led the navy, although the investigator found the navy more popular in the student body. Usually there are daughters and often several daughters of officers. Perhaps most of these are from matches made at Mary Baldwin with V. M. I. or Annapolis Naval Academy students. The writer recalls in one of the old catalogues that some students were listed in the tabulation by states as "Navy."

As to geographical distribution of students, one finds few changes of particular significance. The student body, like the faculty, is drawn from every section of the country. About two-thirds of the states usually have representatives. During the depression years, there was a noticeable increase in the proportion of students from Virginia and the adjoining or nearby states and fewer states had students enrolled. Certain northern states were represented by a larger number, especially New York and Pennsylvania. In 1932-33, almost one-eighth of the students were from Pennsylvania. There has continued to be a somewhat larger number from the states north of the Mason and Dixon line. Michigan, Ohio, and other states send more, as well as New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Even New England has an appreciable number with five from Massachusetts, four from Connecticut, and two from Rhode Island in 1941-42. And, for the first time, Maine, the native state of Rufus W. Bailey, has a representative in this centennial year. The enrollment from the Carolinas, especially North Carolina, and from West Virginia has increased over earlier percentages. As the period of economic stress receded, the enrollment from more distant states returned to normal. For several years Texas had less than five students, but in 1941-42, the Texas "delegation" numbered thirty-one. San Antonio and Detroit for some years were outstanding in numbers from single cities outside Virginia.

As to geographical origin, the most interesting development in

the student body in these years has been the introduction of foreign students, some through the Institute of International Education, others through the normal method of enrollment. In 1933-34, the first exchange students came. Ruth Laué of Königsberg, East Prussia, daughter of a German official, and Jeanne-Renée Campana, of Paris, daughter of a French consular officer, who, through her father's profession, had had the opportunity to live in Morocco, Australia, a number of Pacific Islands, and in England, as well as in several European countries.⁹⁴ Both of these girls were very active in all phases of college life and, to judge by the *Miscellany* and *Campus Comments* reports, outspoken in the discussion of foreign politics in Staunton as well as on the campus. Miss Campana defended the French position on the war debt controversy with the United States before the Business and Professional Women's Club of Staunton and the Staunton chapter of the American Association of University Women, and Miss Laué, interpreted Hitler's National Socialism as a policy of "common welfare above private interest" and a policy of world peace and equality of all nations!⁹⁵ But that was in 1933, and Hitler was only appearing on the horizon. Her defense of him was based on principles that could be accepted, even if one might wonder about the facts. She believed strongly in his program of youth, sports, and physical education, and had his picture in her room along with those of Frederick the Great and Von Hindenberg. Both girls were good students; Miss Campana was more interested in literature and psychology, Miss Laué in history and government. She took part in the intercollegiate debates of the year. Both girls led conversation groups in their respective languages and Miss Laué had a German table in the dining room, an institution of the long ago that had disappeared with the First World War and the German department. Both girls were on the staff of *Campus Comments* and contributed to the *Miscellany*. In 1934-35, there was another French exchange student, Jeanne Richaud, of Nice; and in 1935-36, there came Rudolfa Schorchtova, of Prague, Czechoslovakia. Both of these girls were much quieter and took less part in the general activities of the campus. The latter was limited by physical handicaps, a spinal trouble, but she was the only one of all the exchange students sufficiently advanced to take the degree in her year's

residence. In an article in the *Miscellany* telling why and how she came to Mary Baldwin occurs one of the most beautiful descriptions of one's first impression of Mary Baldwin that the writer has discovered: "The white surprise of the school"—just that!⁹⁶ After her return to Prague Miss Schorchtova wrote back: "I wish I could come back again. The spirit of the school is something marvelous—one does not meet so much of goodwill anywhere, . . ."⁹⁷ At that time she was teaching in a private school and working for a Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of Prague; and now— one wonders.

In 1941-42, Yvonne Dessent of Montevideo, Uruguay, was the student secured through the Institute of International Education. Very intelligent, *muy simpático*, she has been very popular and very useful on the campus, assisting in Spanish conversation classes, in the Spanish Club, and as hostess at the Spanish table in the dining room. Most of the exchange students wrote for the student publications. It would seem that a school such as Mary Baldwin both helps such a student and is benefited by her to a greater degree than would be true of a larger institution. These girls have known everyone on the campus, and their presence has aroused an interest and enthusiasm both as to languages and national life abroad. Two other students, who have contributed in the same manner are Raquel Fajardo of Puerto Rico, who came four years and received the Bachelor of Arts degree, and Irma (Sally) Salinas of Monterey, Mexico, chum of one of the Texas girls, who came for one year.

The board and tuition fees of Mary Baldwin are still moderate compared to those of other girls' colleges of similar type and accommodations. In 1930-31, the fee was raised from \$650 to \$675; in 1937-38 to \$750; and in 1940-41, to \$800. Day students pay \$200. There has been an advance for instruction in the fine arts from \$70, \$80, or \$90 for art, piano, voice, and organ to \$100. The fine arts are no longer a profit-earning activity of the school, but cost more than they produce. The cultural values contributed by these departments to the entire student body, however, justify their continued support.

In the years of economic stress Mary Baldwin has continued and enlarged the policy of extending aid to students that might not otherwise be able to attend college. At the first meeting of

the Board of Trustees after his election as president, Dr. Jarman made a single request: that he be allowed the privilege of offering for the next session scholarships not to exceed \$2,400 to Presbyterians of the Synod of Virginia, no one student to receive more than \$200.⁹⁸ This request was granted. In the following January he asked that he be allowed to adopt a reasonably liberal policy with respect to tuition aid to ministers' daughters and a limited number of other students who might not be able to attend without such aid.⁹⁹ The annual catalogue continues to state that reduction of charges is made in favor of a limited number of ministers' daughters. Usually scholarship aids have equalled and sometimes exceeded the amount received from the Synod. The financial report of 1931 indicated that \$4,275.25 had been spent in that year for this purpose.¹⁰⁰ With respect to the administration of this policy, Dr. Jarman said in his Report to the Board of Trustees in 1933:

Each year the college endeavors to give financial assistance to a limited number of deserving students. A part of this help is in the form of a definite grant, but much of it is given as pay for work done by the students, as in office, library, and laboratories. For the past session sixty-nine students were given assistance in some form, the total amount of such help being \$6,971. Of the above amount, \$3,087 constituted the amount of aid extended to seventeen daughters of ministers and missionaries. In addition to the above, the sum of \$906 was contributed by others to the college to be used in the payment of fees of certain students.

The President is convinced that great good is being accomplished by the liberality of the Board in permitting the college to extend financial aid to so large a number of worthy students, particularly during these years of depression. . . .

Since 1933, the College has received funds distributed by the Federal Government for student aid. In 1933-34, thirty-six students in Mary Baldwin received from the Federal Emergency Relief Association \$3,854.¹⁰¹ And in recent years National Youth Administration funds have been distributed.

Dr. Jarman has initiated the policy of making grants on the basis of class standing as an encouragement to scholarship. In his first year, he secured the approval of the Board of Trustees for a policy continued since that time—to award fifty-dollar scholarships to the members of the freshman, sophomore, and junior classes making the highest scholastic average in their re-

spective classes.¹⁰² In 1935, the Board of Trustees approved the appropriation of \$1,500 to be offered to graduates of high schools in an effort to bring outstanding students to the school.¹⁰³ The use of this fund has brought not only the recipients of the scholarships, who have generally been excellent students, but also other competitors for the scholarship. In the same year, 1935, the Board of Trustees approved an annual grant of \$500 to be made to graduates of Mary Baldwin to aid them in pursuing graduate study.¹⁰⁴ By these various means Mary Baldwin has sought to raise the level of scholarship in her student body.

For a number of years the Alumnæ Association has contributed to a scholarship awarded each year to the daughter of a missionary, the College bearing one half the expense. The history of the origin of this scholarship is discussed below in connection with the work of the alumnæ. (The alumnæ do not contribute to the tuition of the Staunton girl who receives the so-called alumnæ local scholarship.) Another local girl benefits through the Shayres Fund, and the College awards a fifty-dollar scholarship to a graduate of the Robert E. Lee High School of Staunton. Certain endowed scholarships have been donated by friends and alumnæ of the school—the Fannie Webb Royster and Mary Stamps Royster Scholarship, established by Mrs. F. S. Royster of Norfolk, Virginia, the Jennie Mayes Wilson Scholarship, and the Elizabeth Embre Goode Scholarship. And recently Mr. John K. Ottley established a loan fund, the Passie Fenton Ottley Loan Fund, in honor of his wife, Passie Fenton Ottley, deceased, a notable alumna of the institution. A limited amount is available each year for student loans.¹⁰⁵

In 1932, the faculty established a society to be known as the Mary Baldwin Honor Society. Membership in this organization is conditioned primarily upon scholarship. Juniors and seniors who have the required scholastic rating are eligible, with the limitation recently adopted by the faculty that not more than ten per cent of a class will be eligible for consideration by the faculty. Emphasis is given to the distinction of admission to this society at a special meeting in February of each year, when an outstanding speaker is chosen to address the Society before the entire student body. As an event of the Centennial Commencement the graduates of the University Course of the old Seminary

were recognized by the College by admission to this society. Honors and high honors lists published each semester and announced as a feature of the commencement program give further recognition to scholarship.

Some years ago Mary Baldwin ceased to award the numerous medals, prizes, Golden Reports, etc., that distinguished the commencements of the Seminary. The College has the privilege today, however, of giving a special award, the Algernon Sydney Sullivan Award, established by the New York Southern Society to perpetuate the memory of the founder of the Society. Certain Southern universities and colleges have been selected through which the award is to be made each year. Mary Baldwin, selected in 1933, was the first school for women placed on the list. The award is made for distinctive service to the institution and may be granted to a student and to one other person. Those, not students, who have received this award are Dr. A. M. Fraser, Mr. W. W. King, Mrs. Isabel Nichols, Mrs. Cordell Hull, Mrs. E. D. Campbell (Elizabeth Pfohl), Dr. Hunter B. Blakely, Mrs. Passie Fenton Ottley, Misses Nancy and Abbie McFarland, Mrs. Margaret Kable Russell, Mrs. Nettie DuBose Junkin; and "all the alumnae" at the Centennial Commencement.

STUDENT GOVERNMENT IN MARY BALDWIN

One of the most notable achievements of Mary Baldwin during this period has been the institution and successful operation of student government. In the spring of 1929 a beginning was made.¹⁰⁶ A president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer were elected and their names and the organization announced to new students in a little handbook published by the Y. W. C. A. But the work of constituting the system, of perfecting its organization, and of putting it into operation came in the following year and under the new administration. One has seen from the preceding pages of this history that there had developed in Mary Baldwin some tradition of student co-operative action—in an earlier Student Association, through the Athletic Association, and, most notably, through the Y. W. C. A. These bodies had on occasion sought to represent student opinion and secure faculty action. Moreover, there existed in the student body a prime essen-

tial for successful student government—the democratic spirit, strengthened in later years by the abolition of sororities and social clubs. But there was no tradition or precedent for students having a part in making the rules and regulations or assuming the responsibility for enforcing them. In spite of a rather general institution of student government in colleges and universities in the twentieth century, Mary Baldwin had maintained faculty control. Since the establishment of the four-year college in 1923, there had been a gradual adoption of a system of student monitors to assist resident faculty members in the enforcement of dormitory rules. Thus a little experience had been gained in the administration of the rules made by the faculty. But student government was a new adventure.

The importance of this institution in the opinion of the administration is indicated by Dr. Jarman's statement to the Board of Trustees in January, 1930, that it was "the outstanding and possibly the most far-reaching achievement of the session."¹⁰⁷ Of its origin he said in a later report: "(It) has been set up co-operatively by students and faculty . . . and has been developed after a careful study of the student government systems in many colleges similar to Mary Baldwin."¹⁰⁸

The installation of student government took place on October 23, 1929, in a solemn and impressive ceremony of signing the pledge to uphold its principles. *Campus Comments* compared the significance of the act for the student with the signing of the Constitution of 1787 and emphasized the responsibility that attended the assumption of new rights and privileges. Of the spirit of the occasion it recorded: "There was an atmosphere of dignity and a realization of the true meaning of the occasion which made the simple ceremony beautiful. . . . Perhaps the Alma Mater was never sung with a greater realization of the ideals of love and service and loyalty set forth in its lovely lines."¹⁰⁹

This note of high seriousness has continued to characterize the attitude of Council members and to command the respect of the student body. Students have been proud of the success of their organization and jealous of its integrity. Since its second year the Association has been affiliated with the National Student Federation of America and the Southern Intercollegiate

Association of Student Government. Through these channels and others the members have become acquainted with the history and operation of student government in other schools and have thus acquired a basis for comparison and constructive criticism of their organization. The difficulty of preserving the vitality of student government through the active participation of all students was early foreseen. Frequent editorials such as the following appeared in *Campus Comments*:

Many colleges find themselves living under the shell of an idealistic honor system at which everyone scoffs. Ideals are real; they are practical. We proved it last year. Let us not undo all that we have accomplished. . . . To live together necessitates some form of government. We can have faculty rules, student government by every student in the college, or a shell of a government worse than no government. We can take our choice.¹¹⁰

The Student Government Association of Mary Baldwin can lay no particular claim to originality in form. It has retained perhaps a little more faculty influence than some systems, but the difference in this particular is not notable. Its early evolution was conservative through the desire of the students themselves, who wished to take responsibility gradually. Perhaps its chief distinction lies in the vitality and the apparently excellent operation of the honor system in academic matters, of which it is justly proud. Thus far more attention has been devoted to the immediate problems of government—the evolution of the rules and regulations and their enforcement—rather than to constructive criticism of college policy or plans for the future. Nevertheless, the organization has attained a sufficient degree of sureness and efficiency with respect to its problems of government that it has begun to evolve a broader program. In her report as dean in 1939-40, Miss Poole referred to the adoption by the Council of a system of selected upperclass advisers, each to assist a small group of freshmen in their problems throughout the year, and declared, "It is gratifying to observe that after its first ten years at Mary Baldwin, student government is well enough established to be able to concentrate on a program of constructive activity rather than to limit the scope of its attention to problems of discipline."¹¹¹ The Student Government Association took an active part in the promotion of the gymnasium project and the New Century

Program discussed later. Thus this organization is not only beginning to regard its obligations for student self-direction positively and constructively, but also to figure prominently in the larger policies of the school.

The first formal meeting of the Student Government Association was held September 14, 1929, at which meeting the constitution and regulations prepared by the Council in co-operation with a faculty committee were read and approved and the officers elected the preceding spring were introduced. It is interesting to note the immediate introduction of a question that was to give some trouble to the Association for a year or so—the matter of smoking. According to the minutes:

The very intricate problem of smoking was introduced and thoroughly discussed. Dr. Jarman was recalled. He put the question directly, frankly, and quite fairly to the students: "Is smoking consistent with the ideals of Mary Baldwin College?" This question was then put in the form of a motion. . . . By a unanimous vote the student body decided that smoking was not consistent with the ideals of Mary Baldwin College and will not be indulged in while students are under the jurisdiction of the college.¹¹²

With respect to the attitude of this first Council toward rules, Mrs. Campbell (Miss Pfohl) declared in 1938:

It has been nine years now since that first little group of representative students met within the walls of Mary Baldwin to discuss the problems of the Mary Baldwin student body and to write the constitution of the Student Government Association of Mary Baldwin College. Those girls wanted many regulations and restrictions, for they felt that without them there would be failure. . . . I remember very vividly that in a number of instances the faculty members who were advising the student committee suggested certain privileges which were later curtailed or discarded by the student leaders as being inadvisable in a group upon whom the responsibilities of self-government were resting for the first time.¹¹³

Since that time the Council has gained somewhat in assurance and is not so modest in its suggestion of new privileges, although it might still be considered fairly conservative.

There have been few changes of any significance in the student organization since it was established in 1929 other than in the method of nominations mentioned below. The Student Council consists today of the president of the Association, the vice-presi-

dent, the secretary, the treasurer, the house presidents, the president of the Y. W. C. A., the president of the Athletic Association, the president of the Day Students Club, and a freshman representative.¹¹⁴ For several years there was an additional sophomore representative (the secretary was generally a sophomore). Today the treasurer is a sophomore, but there is no additional representative from that class. The system of dormitory administration has been changed. Until 1936-37, there was a Board of Proctors, consisting of the president of the association, the house-presidents, and the proctors appointed by the Student Council for each dormitory and for the chapel and dining hall. Such a body no longer exists. The dormitory administration has been decentralized. Each house president appoints her own house committee each month. Since the creation of the office of freshman adviser in 1939, the student who holds this place also serves on the house committee of her dormitory.¹¹⁵

The Student Council, the active governmental body, has executive, legislative, and judicial powers. Except that it no longer appoints and removes proctors, its powers have not been changed. It has the usual executive powers belonging to such a board. Its exercise of judicial and legislative powers is subject to the ultimate jurisdiction of the Faculty Advisory Board.¹¹⁶

In view of the small size of the student body one might expect that a more direct democracy like a New England town meeting could function. Nevertheless, there appears to have been no serious criticism of the representative system. The Association has a referendum on all major legislation and is encouraged to take the initiative in proposing such to the Council. Regular monthly meetings of the Association are held, and open forums conducted for general discussion. Proposed amendments to the constitution must be submitted to the Student Council in writing, be passed by a two-thirds vote of the Council, and submitted to the Advisory Board, after which it is submitted to the Association, where a two-thirds vote is necessary for its adoption. Although the Association has no part in the handling of matters of discipline or the fixing of penalties, all serious cases are reported to it and the action of the Council explained.

The Faculty Advisory Board has had considerable restraining influence in the matter of legislation, the extension of privileges,

etc. It has been conservative, however, in upholding the action of the Council on matters of discipline. All minor cases are merely reported to it, and it accepts the action of the Council. In major cases, those involving the penalty of expulsion, not only the Advisory Council but also the faculty reviews the action of the Student Council, in most cases concurring in it. In both legislative and judicial matters the faculty council has tried to avoid interference that would destroy the prestige of the Council before the Association, and the result has been generally satisfactory. Perhaps student government has now reached a stage of maturity such that less faculty action will be required.

Under the constitution adopted in 1929, nominations to offices were made by a committee composed of the president of the Association and one representative from each class. The names were selected for each office and approved by the Advisory Board. Hence the Association had no voice in nominations.¹¹⁷ In the fall of 1931, the system of nominations and elections now in force was put into effect. It is as follows: the Presidents' Forum, consisting of the presidents of all the clubs and student organizations, including the Student Government Association, serves as a nominating committee and conducts elections. It selects one candidate for each office. Every student by secret ballot has an opportunity to nominate one candidate for each office. The two or three highest candidates thus selected and the committee's candidates are posted after approval by the Advisory Board. In nominations and elections the votes of seniors, juniors, and sophomores count one point each, freshmen votes one-half point each. A plurality of votes elects all except the president. If a majority for this office is not secured on the first ballot, a second one is cast on the two highest candidates.¹¹⁸ In the beginning, the Council had some difficulty in getting the members of the Association to exercise their right of nomination. The second year this plan was in effect the Council complained that only a few ballots distributed by the Forum were filled and only one completely.¹¹⁹ Today ballots are generally filled, except possibly for some minor office. Usually there is much similarity between the Forum nominees and those of the students, and generally the Forum nominees are elected. Nevertheless, there are some notable exceptions. Students apparently are not affected by personal friendships or preferences in

voting. There is practically no electioneering, and such procedure is regarded with popular disfavor. In such a small student body there is little need for publicizing the candidates.

The new Council elected in the spring is installed in an impressive ceremony, at which an address is made by an outside speaker. Following the installation, the new Council takes over the duties of student government in co-operation with the preceding Council, which acts in an advisory capacity. Before the opening of the College in the fall, the Student Council and the officers of the Athletic Association, with the dean and the athletic director, hold a "retreat" at some camp near Staunton to discuss plans for the year. The satisfactory evolution of student government in Mary Baldwin owes a great deal to the wisdom and infinite pains of President Jarman and the successive deans, who have sought to guide without obtrusion. To Miss Pfohl particularly, who guided the Council and the Association through their first six years, much credit is due for its success.

On February 10, 1940, the Student Government Association was hostess at a meeting of deans and student government presidents from neighboring Virginia colleges for the discussion of common problems, particularly the vitalization of clubs and other extra-curricular activities and the direction that the Student Government Association might give to that end.¹²⁰ The Council had participated in a similar meeting at Hollins. The old and the new Councils are entertained at dinner by the President in the late spring and problems and plans discussed. In December, 1940, the former presidents of the Student Government Association in Mary Baldwin were invited by Dr. Jarman to return for a week-end. Four presidents were able to attend, and a fifth, Mrs. Wilhelmena Eskridge Beard, the first president, sent a speech which she had planned to give. Each of the presidents present spoke in a special chapel assembly.¹²¹ It is interesting that two of these had served as assistant deans of colleges and two have served as national presidents of the *alumnæ*. Through these various co-operative efforts of students and faculty, the issue of student government as a progressive ideal to be sought rather than an end attained is kept before the Student Government Association and the faculty advisers.

The rules and regulations of Mary Baldwin, which used to occupy a prominent place in the catalogue as decrees of the

administration, now appear in a little white and gold *Students' Handbook* as the rules of the Student Government Association. As inconspicuous addenda to these appear faculty regulations on class attendance and a few administrative regulations for the convenience of the student. In certain respects the regulations of Mary Baldwin retain features more conservative than those of most schools of the same type. Attendance at chapel, which is held five times a week, is still required; and class attendance, except for high honor students, is required beyond a stated number of cuts. All students are required to attend church on Sunday morning. Riding in automobiles is carefully restricted. Drinking is prohibited, and a student is not allowed to have a date with a boy who has been drinking, if this is discovered. On the other hand, the regulations have been continuously revised to give more privileges to students with respect to social engagements with young men at the College, in Staunton, and at dances in Staunton and the neighboring college and university towns. The use of faculty chaperons is now limited to dances in Staunton and in the nearby university towns, the rules for which Mary Baldwin adopted in agreement with neighboring women's colleges, and to riding in cars (except for juniors and seniors who have special riding permission from their parents). For some years freshmen were chaperoned by upperclassmen during the first quarter for evening engagements away from the College with men, but such chaperonage is no longer required. The careful selection of students and the education by the Student Council and administration in the use of privileges has made possible the expansion of social privileges without injury to the traditional standards of Mary Baldwin for the correct conduct of young women. Social privileges are graduated according to classification and academic standing. At a very early meeting, on September 30, 1929, Dr. Jarman suggested the inclusion of a statement which has since appeared in the *Handbook*: "The Student Council is authorized to penalize a student as it sees fit for conduct on or off the campus which is not in keeping with the recognized standards of Mary Baldwin College."¹²² Such a blanket provision of power has not been abused; and it suggests the care of the administration in maintaining those standards of social conduct which might be difficult to reduce to specific rules. The number of young women

who have had to be dismissed from Mary Baldwin as out of harmony with her ideals is relatively small.

Mention has been made of the emphasis placed on the honor system as the basis of student government. This principle applies to all phases of student life, not merely to the matter of honesty in examinations or other academic work. But the matter of honor in examinations has received the major emphasis. The first rule in the *Handbook* defines this to mean that a student is neither to give nor to receive aid and is to report to the Council any violation of the honor system observed.¹²³ The conscience of the students has been cultivated on the latter point, where the honor system frequently fails in colleges. A student spoke with pride in the *Campus Comments*:

It has been said by those who are familiar with life on other campuses that the honor system in academic life functions more perfectly at Mary Baldwin College than at any other school they have known. All of us recognize this fact and point to it with pride; it is fine to be able to say that our honor is above reproach.¹²⁴

When a new teacher, in the fall of 1937, alternated examination questions in a particularly crowded classroom in order to discourage any temptation to dishonesty, the Council sent a petition to the faculty against such practice, as it seemed to question the efficacy of the honor system.¹²⁵ And the Council requested that faculty members not remain the entire time in the classroom during an examination. The Council and the Association, however, insist that books, papers, etc., not be brought to the examination room and that students conduct themselves in such a way that their honor not be called in question. In cases where dishonesty has occurred, the Council has not hesitated to exact the extreme penalty of expulsion.

As a sample of how the Student Government Association functions in the making of rules, one might take the reports of a series of meetings in 1931. At an open forum held on January 10, 1931, a number of changes in the rules were proposed, among which were the following: 1. That students be allowed to spend the night at approved homes in Staunton. The Council disapproved this rule, and the Advisory Board upheld their action. 2. That all students have three breakfast cuts in addition to Saturday and Sunday. The Council voted that appearance in the

dining room at breakfast be optional. The Advisory Board concurred. 3. That students be allowed to attend dances in Staunton and vicinity. The Council approved attendance outside Staunton, the Advisory Board attendance in Staunton only with parents. 4. That attendance at Sunday School be optional. The Council agreed to this, but suggested that attendance at Sunday evening vespers be required. The Advisory Board stated that attendance at Sunday School would be optional beginning September, 1931. (Attendance at church is a regulation of the Board of Trustees, and the matter of Sunday School was left to be decided by the administration.) 5. That two chapel cuts a week be allowed. The Council approved this, but the Advisory Board objected.¹²⁶

The evolution of the smoking regulation forms another interesting bit of student government history. Knowing the rather strict code of conduct for women always upheld by Mary Baldwin, one can imagine that the administration would look with disfavor upon the practice of smoking. And the physical factor presented another problem; there was no safe and suitable place on the campus where the girls could smoke. Nevertheless, the administration faced the situation with common sense. Girls were smoking, and it was considered wise to recognize the fact and regulate the practice. There had been cases of smoking, perhaps in bravado, back in Miss Weimar's day and before it became widespread among women. And students in 1929-30 declared that they had begun smoking in seminary days. Mention has been made above of the interjection of the question in the first formal student government meeting on September 14, 1929, at which time the student body voted against it as not in keeping with the ideals of Mary Baldwin. The first *Handbook* contained the following provision:

Smoking is not consistent with the ideals of Mary Baldwin College, and will not be indulged in while we are under the jurisdiction of the College. By "under the jurisdiction of the College" we mean while we are registered in the College except when we are out of town for a week-end or holiday at home or with permission from home.¹²⁷

But the question would not down. In December, it was again presented to an Association meeting for general discussion on the grounds that dissatisfaction with the rule had been expressed.¹²⁸

Although twenty voted against the prohibition, the majority upheld it, and the *Handbook* of 1930-31 contained the same regulation on the matter. Violations of the rule were among the more frequent cases of discipline coming before the Council. Girls smoked in their rooms and off the campus in the homes of friends in Staunton. Sometimes they reported themselves. In the fall of 1931, the Council, with the sanction of the Advisory Board, amended the rule by allowing girls to smoke in restaurants. Just after this went into effect, however, the College rented the present Alumnæ Club House, and the girls were allowed to smoke there. The privilege of smoking in restaurants was then withdrawn. The administration showed its disapproval of the practice by the *Handbook* regulation of 1932-33, which merely granted negative toleration: "Smoking is not permitted while a student is in Staunton or vicinity. The College does not endeavor to impose this regulation in the Alumnæ Club House or in private homes."¹²⁹ Gradually other places have been recognized for smoking. The present rule reads:

Smoking is not permitted while a student is in Staunton or vicinity except in the following cases: 1. Smoking is permitted in the Club House and in private homes. 2. Smoking is permitted only *at meals* in hotel dining rooms and tea rooms, but not in restaurants, drug stores, or soda fountains. . . . ¹³⁰

In the evolution of this regulation both the administration and the Student Government Association have had a part. Through Association influence the privilege has been gradually extended. Although violation of this rule, even when smoking was prohibited entirely, has not been classed a major offense, it is considered as a serious matter of discipline to be dealt with by the Council and the Advisory Committee at their discretion.

The attitude toward drinking has been more severe. Today it is classed as one of the four major offenses.¹³¹ (The others are dishonesty in academic matters, riding in cars with men without permission, and leaving the campus at night without permission.) Drinking was not mentioned in the *Handbook* until 1934-35, although there were a few cases of expulsion for this offense before that time. The College has an unwritten rule that

girls are not permitted to remain in the company of a young man if it is discovered that he has been drinking. (And drinking is interpreted to include wine and beer.) For some years the *Handbook* has carried the following statement with reference to drinking:

The College requires at all times that the deportment of the student be such as will not reflect discredit upon the College and reserves the right to deal with any breach of good conduct that may occur at any time during the school session. Drinking would obviously be a breach of good conduct.¹³²

But the problems of the Student Council on matters of discipline have only rarely been concerned with major offenses. The Mary Baldwin students are a selected and a select group when judged by the fundamental canons of good conduct. They are not demure and sedate women, however, but lively girls, no doubt much like their mothers and grandmothers, whose pranks used to perturb lady principals. Boisterousness has never been suppressed. If one reads the minutes of the Advisory Committee through these thirteen years, he finds continuous complaint of "noise in dormitories," "noise in Academic," "noise in Chapel," etc. It was thought that the change from the proctor system to the house committee in each dormitory might help to correct the situation, but apparently it has not achieved much. Frequent editorials and letters in the "Open Forum" attacked the problem and appealed to the students for self-enforcement of quiet regulations.

The problem of maintaining quiet, like so many other problems at Mary Baldwin, is in part the result of the physical arrangement and congestion. Dormitories are so near each other that it is a temptation to call from one to another. Academic, the classroom building, is the general route to all the dormitories, offices, and dining hall, especially in winter months, when the Covered Way is popular. From Dr. Jarman and his dogs coming down from Rose Terrace to Mr. Crone on the way to repair a light connection in Hill Top, all go through Academic. This situation and the natural exuberance of the girls have created a constant problem for the Student Government Association.

Another problem resulting in part from the location of Mary

Baldwin is that of dress. Students must cross main thoroughfares going from one part of the campus to another. To get to the Athletic Field they go a mile in public service cars. The tennis courts on the campus can be seen from the street. The modern craze for sun-bathing has created a perplexing problem. There is no satisfactory place to go to get a tan. Since Main Street is only a block away, it is a temptation to a girl to run down town as she appears on the campus. Although inclined to rather strict standards of correctness in dress, inherited from the past and the environment, the attitude of the administration at Mary Baldwin toward dress on the campus is explained also by this habit of going to town in campus clothes. A Vassar transfer in Mary Baldwin wrote in 1934, comparing the two schools:

I notice a certain difference in the characteristic dress of the two campuses. The old tennis shoes, the frowsy Brooks sweaters, and the ancient tweeds, the wool mittens, shapeless caps, and socks which are the pride of the Vassarite are less frequently discovered on the Mary Baldwin campus. Sport clothes, when worn here, are generally immaculate, or intended to be so, and the Vassarite's pride in looking a sloven by day is nonexistent at M. B. C., where we live practically in the middle of town and where we are ready any time to go down on the main streets of Staunton.¹³³

Regulations of dress have not generally appeared as a part of the *Handbook* regulations with defined penalties for infractions. It is true the first handbook and several later ones contained the statement under dining room regulations: "Every student is under social obligation to come to the dining room properly dressed."¹³⁴ One call-down was the penalty for violation. Students asked to be allowed to wear pajamas to breakfast on Sunday morning, but the request was denied by the Advisory Board, who asked that students "be reminded that Mary Baldwin College stands for certain formalities in the dining room, the lessening of which would be out of tune with the spirit and atmosphere of the College."¹³⁵ The Council has always considered itself authorized to penalize a student for improper dress as a violation of the general social standards of Mary Baldwin. But the various *Handbooks* have contained statements under "General Information" or elsewhere on the matter of dress. For example, the *Handbook* of 1935-36 contained the following admonitions:

1. Hats must be worn to town during the day.
2. Students must wear hose when they leave the campus.
3. Every student is expected to dress for dinner in a suitable informal dress. Formal dinners will be announced in advance.
4. Sports apparel must be appropriate. No halters or bathing suits shall be worn for tennis. Skirts must be worn with gym suits to the athletic field.¹³⁶

The struggle for the privilege of wearing socks on the campus began in 1931, but the permission was not granted until 1936. The Student Government Association minutes for March 3, 1931, contained the following: "The question of wearing socks on the campus was discussed. The Dean stated that she was quite sure the faculty would not approve of this request. It was decided that students would not wear socks on campus." But on April 3, 1936, the minutes recorded: "Socks may be worn on campus and on organized hikes." Today the *Handbook* does not state that hats and hose must be worn to town. Socks or hose are to be worn during the day, hose to dinner in the evening. Active sports clothes are not to be worn to classes. Shorts are not to be worn outside the dormitories except on the tennis courts. Students are still expected to dress for dinner and to wear formal dress to certain dinners which all students are expected to attend. The Vassar transfer's comment on the dress at Mary Baldwin would have to undergo some revision to apply today. Mary Baldwin, a little late as usual, but perhaps not the students' fault, has become more "collegiate" in her dress.

One final comment might be made here on student government at Mary Baldwin. It is definitely not a part of the Mary Baldwin tradition of decades past but a new institution. Nevertheless, it has undertaken, with the encouragement of the administration, the preservation of certain customs and traditions which are considered significant. Each year the white and gold *Handbook* includes the history of these customs and traditions for the information and inspiration of new students and the delectation of the old. Perhaps these ceremonies and symbols are safer in the students' hands than in those of their elders. Youth is frequently conservative, particularly with respect to forms. A case in point: the question was raised a year or so ago with reference to the continuance of the use of the shepherds' crooks in Class Day

exercises. The students insisted on keeping them. But the students, led by the Council, have helped also in maintaining more essential elements in the Mary Baldwin tradition than shepherds' crooks; namely, the religious sincerity, the friendly spirit, the social graces, and the customs and institutions through which these are expressed.

THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION ; THE SPORTS PROGRAM

Mary Baldwin has always taken pride in her healthy, happy girls. She depended primarily upon a good climate, wholesome food, and well-kept physical surroundings for the attainment of this end. In 1935, however, a more extensive and constructive health program was instituted. A department of health was organized and a resident physician added to the faculty to teach the course in hygiene required of all freshmen and certain courses in the department of biology. A large part of her time is devoted to health service to the individual student. Through thorough physical examinations and numerous tests a great deal of preventive medical work is done. Attention is given through the dean's office in cooperation with the department of health to any cases of psychological or social maladjustment. The department seeks not only to *serve* those who need such service but to *educate* the student in wholesome living, physical and mental, in order "that she may be able to live intelligently and usefully in her home and community during her life after college."¹³⁷ Lectures are given from time to time to the classes in hygiene or sometimes to the entire student body by members of the excellent medical fraternity of Staunton, and through the lecture and concert program authorities on social health and hygiene, like Paul Popenoe or Ernest R. Groves, are brought to speak to the students. Health Day with its posters and chapel skits and posture contests sponsored by the physical education department help to arouse popular interest in the teachings of the Department of Health.

During the past decade, Mary Baldwin has also enlarged her program of physical education and sports. Three years in physical education are required, the third year to consist of elective sports. Cooperating with the physical director, the Athletic Association

and Council attempt to get the entire student body to participate in a sports program. In 1931, this Association, organized in 1919, was reorganized to bring it into conformity with the democratic trend in student government by providing for the popular election of its officers at the general student elections in the spring. When first organized, membership in the Athletic Association had been conditioned on "scholarship and deportment" and the new council had continued to be selected by the old council from those who had met certain faculty requirements.¹³⁸ The president elected becomes a member of the Student Council. The "Whites" and "Yellows" into which the students of the Seminary were divided each year for intramural contests have given way to class teams in the major sports—hockey, basketball, baseball, and tract. Competition is promoted by cups given at the annual Association banquet in the spring to the winning teams, and emblems and cups are awarded to individual participants in the minor sports. All who earn 650 points—which can only be won by constant participation throughout the year—are admitted to the Monogram Club, an honorary group, and the student who earns the largest number of points is given a sweater. The "best sport," judged by social qualities rather more than physical prowess, is awarded a Mary Baldwin sport jacket. Considerable class rivalry is aroused, particularly in hockey and basketball.

Mary Baldwin had not been outstanding for her promotion of a sports program. Much progress had been made after 1919 through the emphasis of the administration on this phase of college life as well as through the Athletic Association. But there lingered, it appears, too much of the old notion of "exercise" for health's sake rather than play for pleasure in the activities. No doubt there is still something of this attitude in compulsory physical education classes, because there are still girls who do not enjoy sports, who prefer movies, bridge, and dates. Without factual proof for the statement, it would be the guess of the writer that the interest in sports in Mary Baldwin does not equal that of the Northern colleges for women nor perhaps that of some Southern schools. There has been, however, considerable improvement. Sports as sports, as enjoyable activities in which skills acquired will furnish pleasure in after-college days, are encouraged; and sports for the social values of friendships

formed and qualities of character strengthened through cooperation. Some of the major social events of the year are sponsored by the Athletic Association. For many years it had acted in close cooperation with the Y. W. C. A., and in more recent years it has coordinated its activities with those of student government for the balanced development of the individual student. In 1935, the Athletic Association became a member of the Athletic Federation of College Women, and since that time has sent delegates to the regional meetings of this organization.¹³⁹ This contact and certain other inter-collegiate contacts in sports have broadened the outlook of the Association with regard to its own sports program. The Athletic Association picnic at Crafton's Park and Club House near Staunton is an annual event at the opening of the school year in the fall. Both faculty and students participate, and the new members of both groups have an opportunity to become acquainted. The freshmen are the special guests of their "big sisters." The faculty-student baseball game is a regular feature of this picnic, and skits by the four classes and the faculty are given.

The fall sports season is opened with hockey. Interest in this sport has been increased in recent years by participation in the Virginia Inter-collegiate Hockey Convention along with Randolph-Macon, Hollins, Sweet Briar, William and Mary, and other colleges of the state. Mixed teams of students from different schools compete at these tournaments. Although the question of inter-collegiate contests in sports was raised some years ago in the Alumnæ Association and has been mentioned since by individuals from time to time, there has never been shown any particular enthusiasm in the administration nor among the students for such participation. In 1938, members of the Mary Baldwin hockey team went to Fairfax Hall in Waynesboro to receive instruction from the famous hockey coach, Miss Constance Applebee, who introduced the English hockey game into the United States in 1901.¹⁴⁰ In the following fall she spent several days on the Mary Baldwin campus giving instruction. She has attended a number of the inter-collegiate tournaments of the Virginia colleges. The girls were enthusiastic over her coaching: "Miss Applebee is definitely a character—to see a woman of sixty-nine running up and down the hockey field, alert to every player's

flaws, is practically a phenomenon," the sports editor declared.¹⁴¹ Incidentally, Miss Applebee pointed out the fact that the bond between English and American women hockey players had led the American players to contribute an ambulance for British aid.¹⁴² Soccer, introduced in 1934, was soon crowded out by more popular hockey. Volleyball has been played, but has never been a favorite.

Although many girls who come to Mary Baldwin have never played hockey and are not even familiar with the game, a large number have had experience in high school with basketball, the chief winter sport. For some years a special feature of the basketball season has been a game between the seniors and faculty, a hilarious performance. The first faculty-student game was played in February, 1929.¹⁴³ Occasionally there is a faculty-student spring baseball game. Baseball and track compete for interest in the spring season at the Athletic Field. Field Day closes the season and is followed by the Athletic Association banquet, at which the awards for the year are made.

Among the sports called minor, although several of them to-day enlist many participants, are riding and golf. The use that can be made of these in after-college days no doubt in part accounts for their popularity. And a few enroll in them because they already have acquired some skill. When one considers the environment, the beautiful rolling country of the Shenandoah Valley, the traditions of horsemanship and hunting as a part of the social tradition of Virginia, and Mr. King's very special interest in horses, it is rather surprising that riding came so late. It was introduced in the fall of 1930, and a Riding Club was formed.¹⁴⁴ Horses are secured from the stables of Mr. F. T. Taylor at a nominal fee, and often special professional instruction is given to those who wish it. Two Mary Baldwin alumnae, Eugenia Sproul May and Agnes Sproul Bush have served as riding instructors. The Riding Club picnic with a ride home by moonlight is the event of the fall. Early morning rides, long afternoon rides, and an occasional moonlight ride continue through the year. On one occasion the president of the club hired horses and sleigh and took students sleigh-riding during a major snow to replenish the treasury of the club.¹⁴⁵ The Horse Show and the Riding Club Banquet close the year in this sport. Mem-

bers of the Glenmore Hunt Club have assisted much in making the show a success by lending horses, serving as judges, and often by giving a special exhibition as a feature of the show. The first prize offered in the show was a cup given to the best rider in 1932 by the late Mr. Thomas Hogshead, member of the Hunt Club.¹⁴⁶ On several occasions outstanding members of the Riding Club have entered the hunter trials and won places.¹⁴⁷ And the riders have been guests of the Hunt Club and have been invited to participate in the hunt.¹⁴⁸ An honorary Riding Society was formed in 1934, the three best riders of the year in the advanced class being the charter members. Each year the expert riders are chosen by this group to be added to its membership, and the Society furnishes the chaperons, guides, and assistant instructors to the other members of the Riding Club.

Golf was one of the earlier sports at Mary Baldwin, but never became very popular until recently. Several things have contributed to its popularity. Dr. Jarman is an enthusiastic exponent of the sport and an expert who has won in a number of tournaments at the Stonewall Jackson Club. The College has secured for the student body the use of the Stonewall Jackson (now Ingleside) golf course, reputed to be one of the best in the country. This privilege was secured in 1934.¹⁴⁹ Since 1928, the students had been using the Gypsy Hill course, but before that time they played on a poor four-hole course at the farm. Today juniors and seniors may go with their dates to the golf course, which adds to the attractiveness of the game. Students can secure instruction in golf from the club professional coach. There is a tournament in the spring. Golf claims an increasing number of devotees.

Tennis, like golf, was an early sport, introduced near the end of the nineteenth century. Although it has had generally a more steady following than golf, more and better courts have added recently to its popularity. In 1933, the winner of the tennis championship, Grace Sager, of St. Louis, had the unique distinction of receiving the award from Bill Tilden, a player of national reputation, who was giving an exhibition in Staunton.¹⁵⁰ Badminton, introduced in 1935, has been a fairly popular winter game played in the college gymnasium.¹⁵¹ In September, 1934, the following announcement was made with reference to the swimming program of the year: "Swimming meets and exhibitions

may be given this year now that the "Y" pool is available. Swimming heretofore, has been a rather minor activity due to the microscopic nature of the Mary Baldwin College pool."¹⁵² And swimming grew in popularity through the continued use of this facility of the Y. M. C. A. building. Today a beautiful pool of adequate size is provided in the William Wayt King gymnasium. For bowling the Mary Baldwin students also make use of the Y. M. C. A. This game reaches its height of popularity during the examination season, when the Athletic Association makes special efforts to encourage healthful living. In the spring the ancient sport of archery attracts a small following to the hill above the Maids' Cottage.

No sport has a more ancient or honorable standing in Mary Baldwin than walking. In the old days perhaps it could hardly have been called a sport—it was exercise of a rather mild and genteel variety. Today hiking means cross-country jaunts of five to ten miles, sometimes with a picnic supper at the end. Saturday afternoons are set aside for longer hikes, now that there are classes on Saturday morning. The hike up Betsy Bell is one of the traditional jaunts; another favorite walk is out to Fort Defiance. The shorter trip to the orchard forms a good walk after classes on a week-day with apples as a practical inducement. And the adventurous set out to discover new routes with the hope of getting lost. Some members of the faculty inherit Miss Wright's fondness for this sport, and join the students especially in the fall and spring, when the Valley compels one by its beauty.

The season of snow and ice is not sufficiently certain or continuous to encourage much planning for winter sports. Occasionally ice-skating can be enjoyed on the pond at the Fairgrounds or coasting on the many hills. Not equipped for these sports, the girls exercise much ingenuity, coasting on old rocking chairs from the attic, boxes, or on their stomachs. Some have suggested the possibilities even of skiing. Spring usually leads some to rollerskates and bicycles as it lures small boys to marbles. Occasionally roller-skating parties are given at the Y. M. C. A. during the winter season.

Fencing was introduced in Mary Baldwin in 1932 by Herr Schmidt, who "still carries the scars of former combats (a bout of honor from his school days on the Rhine)," the *Campus*

Comments announced.¹⁵³ He combined "in his exercise a touch of the Italian as well as the French method." Professor Schmidt wrote an extended history of the art of fencing, which was published serially in the *Campus Comments*. Instruction in fencing is continued today under two instructors from the Augusta Military Academy.¹⁵⁴ Fencing demonstrations add variety to chapel programs. Another teacher, Dr. Martinez, Professor of Spanish, gave the first informal instruction in the game of billiards, introduced in 1934.¹⁵⁵ Raymond, whose postman's duties brought him into close proximity to the pool table on the Post-office Gallery, was an able assistant. Pool has become so popular with both students and faculty that the table is in constant use. Another popular indoor game is ping-pong, found on the Upper Back Gallery and in the Game Room. The Athletic Association contributed to the cost of tables and equipment purchased in 1933.¹⁵⁶ Ping-pong is very popular on week-ends, when dates may be entertained on the Upper Gallery. Tournaments in ping-pong and billiards are sometimes held, particularly during examination week.¹⁵⁷

In recent years, Miss Mary Collins Powell, the physical director, has given increased attention to instruction in dancing, particularly natural dancing. Classes in dancing are given in the winter months. From these classes dancers are chosen for the elaborate out-door pageants given at commencement. In 1941, Richard Chase, the Virginia representative of the Country Dance Society, was invited to Mary Baldwin to give some days' instruction to the classes in dancing. He has been associated since 1934 with the well-known White Top Festival of Southwest Virginia, an assembly of folklorists and folk musicians, and has worked since 1936 with colleges and communities to encourage interest in group singing and dancing and in the revival of regional music and related art forms.¹⁵⁸ And in 1942, a group of professional dancers, Dancers en Route, gave a concert and several days of instruction to the dancing classes.¹⁵⁹

Mary Baldwin has managed to provide a wide range of sports on and beyond her campus with her faculty and certain professional services. She has developed an appreciation of the social and cultural values of these activities. The new gymnasium, which was ready for occupancy in September, 1942, provides greatly

enlarged facilities. The national emergency has added a new seriousness to efforts to attain physical fitness and social balance and efficiency.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE COLLEGE

Mary Baldwin has continued to emphasize the religious life and religious development of the student, not merely in the observance of forms and ceremonies but through a positive program of education and activity. The study of Biblical literature is given a large place in the curriculum. Freshman Orientation includes lectures and discussions of the religious problems of the student. The course, Problems in a Philosophy of Life, in the philosophy department is "a constructive approach to such questions as the meaning of religion, . . . the relation of science to religion, and the criteria of the good life," and the Sociology Department offers a course in the sociology of religion. Both of these courses are taught by professors who have had special training in the field of religion and religious education. And, indirectly, the students may secure an appreciation of religion in life from many other courses. Each year the college brings to the campus a religious leader to conduct a series of lectures on religious questions and to hold conferences with the individual student or groups of students who may want to discuss their personal questionings in ethics and religion or the religious issues of the day. These leaders are very carefully chosen and their presence on the campus is welcomed and made use of by the students. The students seem generally to accept religious experience as a part of the normal life and are not timid in discussing these questions. Religious Emphasis Week, as this week of lectures and conferences is called, in a sense takes the place of the old time revival or "protracted" meetings held at the First Presbyterian Church generally in the spring, which the students of Augusta Female Seminary and Mary Baldwin Seminary attended. Students serve on the Religious Exercises Committee, which selects the speaker each year, and sometimes they insist on a second visit of a popular leader. Dr. William P. Merrill of New York, the speaker for 1940, was invited back in 1941 upon the request of the student members of the committee.¹⁶⁰ Incidentally, these leaders also include the employees of the College

in their services, arranging special hours for lectures and conferences when they can attend.

The discussions of Religious Emphasis Week make no attempt to evangelize in the sense of a stress on emotional appeals in religion. Occasionally, however, the students become very interested in attending the First Church evangelistic services. Several years ago the Reverend Peter Marshall of Washington "had a profound influence upon a large number of Mary Baldwin students, of whom eighteen signed cards in re-dedication of their lives to Christ," the dean reported.¹⁶¹

The faculty-student committee on chapel programs devotes one program a week to a special religious theme, in addition to the daily devotional which forms a part of each program. Local pastors or other religious leaders are frequently invited as speakers. The missionary is still welcomed on the campus, as in Miss Baldwin's day, and many who come today are alumnae of Mary Baldwin. Two years ago the Algernon Sydney Sullivan award was given to a missionary alumna, Mrs. Nettie DuBose Junkin of China. No speaker has aroused the student body so much on the situation in the Far East as Dr. Walter Judd, returned medical missionary from China, who spoke last year.

At times the College has fostered Miss Baldwin's custom of Sunday afternoon religious discussions, although from a somewhat different approach, perhaps to appeal more effectively to the present-day student. In her report as dean in 1933-34, Miss Pfohl stated that certain social and religious problems suggested by the students were discussed in such meetings by her, by Dr. Jarman, or by members of the faculty.¹⁶² Among the questions were the basis of successful marriage, how religion and science can live in the same world, finding God's will for oneself, and what it is to be a Christian. Similar questions were discussed in a special Sunday School class taught by Mary Baldwin teachers at the First Church for some time after attendance at Sunday School was made optional.

Until the beginning of the present administration students were required to attend church twice on Sunday and also to attend Sunday School. At the meeting of the Board of Trustees in January, 1930, the question of dividing the Presbyterian members of the student body and sending a part to the Second Church

was again raised. The Board decided that students should attend Sunday School and one church service on Sunday but that the procedure as to carrying out the policy should be left to the president. The catalogue of 1929-30 provided: "Every student attends Sunday School and the morning service at the church of her own denomination, or at one of the Presbyterian churches."¹⁶³ Since 1931, the Sunday School requirement has been dropped. Until 1938-39, the catalogue suggested that the student choose her own denomination or one of the Presbyterian churches as her home church. Today the statement reads: "Every student attends Sunday morning service at the church which she chooses as her home church for the year. Usually this is the church of her own denomination."¹⁶⁴ The College looks upon required church and chapel attendance as a part of its broader educational program.

Most students who come to Mary Baldwin are already affiliated with some church. One young lady who was applying for admission several years ago became perturbed over the item on the questionnaire as to church membership, since she was not a church member. Not wishing to be different, she became a member of the Episcopal Church and insisted that her entire family become members! Some students are active in assisting in the work of the church by teaching in Sunday School, leading in young people's work, singing in choirs or on special programs, or helping the pastors with outlying small churches on Sunday afternoons. The local churches attempt to make a home for the college students. For many years the various churches have given receptions, teas, etc., to students, and at one time these church socials constituted a chief form of outside entertainment, although it was 1929 before they introduced the attraction mentioned in the following *Campus Comments* story on a Trinity Church social: "For the first time in the history of the school the girls of Mary Baldwin College and the boys of Staunton Military Academy sat side by side at dinner."¹⁶⁵ Church entertainments no longer have the relative importance they once had, because they compete with many other forms of entertainment.

The college Y. W. C. A., the chief intramural religious organization, likewise has to compete today with social activities that consume a large part of the time of a number of students. Nevertheless, the Y. W. C. A. has been able to attract the active sup-

port of a considerable part of the student body for its various activities and the co-operation of the entire group for some of them. Its former heavy responsibilities for the intramural social life and even athletic life can now be shifted largely to other organizations and more attention directed to religious activity and various philanthropic interests. The Y. W. C. A. still assumes chief responsibility, however, for the accommodation of the new girl to the group and to the new environment. It sponsors the "Big Sister" organization through which each new girl is put in contact with a "big sister" before she arrives. The Y. W. C. A. party on the first Saturday night is still the first general "mixer," preceding as it does the Athletic Association's picnic; and the Peanut Party in January is a Y. W. C. A. function. The Front Terrace forms a beautiful background for the girls in white bearing lighted candles in the recognition service for new members, which introduces the student to one of the several impressive ceremonials of the year and adds a dignity and solemnity to the Y. W. C. A. The Christmas service and the installation of new officers in the spring are other ceremonials in which all participate. Sunday evening vespers in the Chapel are continued, and mid-week devotionals in each dormitory on Wednesday evenings take the place of the former Thursday Morning Watch. Several special vesper services and devotionals for Thanksgiving and Easter have been arranged by students. In these services the Y. W. C. A. has recognized the spiritual appeal of simplicity and beauty in physical arrangements and solemnity in performance. Perhaps no aspect of the work of the Y. W. C. A. has so much influence on the student body as these ceremonials. From time to time, the young men from the Staunton and Augusta Military Academies conduct the vesper service.

The officers of the Y. W. C. A. are elected at the time of the general student elections in the spring and by the same method. The president is a member of the Presidents' Forum, which conducts the election, and is a member of the Student Council. Incidentally, it was the Y. W. C. A. which initiated the custom of a "retreat" for the discussion of plans for the coming year. In the spring of 1931, it held such a retreat at Crafton's Park.¹⁶⁶ Later the idea was adopted by the Student Council and the Athletic Association. Today the Y. W. C. A. retreat is held

separately at Miss Lakenan's home. Since 1935, the organization has had the use of the small house, the Hut, back of Martha Riddle for study groups, devotionals, and small social gatherings. The college Y. W. C. A. is a member of the national organization of the Y. W. C. A. and makes contributions to that office. Any student may be a member of the organization, but, according to the constitution adopted in 1930, "Office-holding and voting power shall be vested in those members of the Association who are members of the Protestant Evangelical Churches."¹⁶⁷ This does not appear to the writer to be in keeping with the spirit and philosophy of the organization.

Many of the activities of the Y. W. C. A. are an inheritance from the past. It continues to give aid to the King's Daughters' Hospital and to a poor family in Staunton at Christmas time (the same family for years), to help the Negro orphanage in Staunton, and to give support to foreign missions, especially to certain schools with which Mary Baldwin has had close connection through alumnæ. Most of these were in the Far East and are now not in operation, but aid to Chinese students serves much the same objective. In all of these activities and in certain newer ones a personal connection has been established which removes the student activity from mere "organized philanthropy."

Among the favorite "causes" of the Y. W. C. A. is the Hayes Memorial (Queenie Miller's) Orphanage in Staunton. This remarkable institution, chartered in 1910, has been largely the work of one woman, Queen E. Miller, a Negro with a passion for mothering destitute children of her race. Through it over two hundred children have found a home and the beginnings of an education. Each Thanksgiving the Y. W. C. A. sponsors a gift in food to Queenie's home, and offerings in money, food, or clothing are made at other times during the year. Since 1932, the Y. W. C. A. has invited her to speak in Chapel and give a program of music with her "children" of all ages. She is a master in the art of speaking. The students of Mary Baldwin look forward each year to her appearance. "It's been a long time since we enjoyed anything so much as the Friday chapel service. Queenie Miller's joyous children were refreshingly and delightfully unself-conscious," the *Campus Comments* declared in 1933.¹⁶⁸

Through Ruth See, an alumna who teaches in the Stillman Institute, a Presbyterian school for Negroes in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, the Mary Baldwin Y. W. C. A. has become interested in this work for Negroes and for several years has given a scholarship to a girl there. Two other special aids in education are given annually: one to a student in the Boys' Industrial School, Covington, Virginia; another to a little girl in the American Mission Girls' School, Tanta, Egypt. With these young people the Y. W. C. A. corresponds and a personal tie is established, inter-racial and international in the case of two of them. Until recently the Y. W. C. A. maintained a scholarship also in the Crossnore School in North Carolina and sent in addition boxes of clothes, which the school used or sold to pay off its debts. At Christmas time presents are given to a large number of under-privileged children, many of them mountain children in Virginia. Last year two hundred children received gifts. The name, age, and sex of each child is secured and each girl selects her child and purchases the gift to fit.¹⁶⁹ In 1941, one British child was aided and during the last two years contributions have been made to Chinese student relief.¹⁷⁰ Each year the Y. W. C. A. presents the Golden Rule Foundation work to the student body, which has approved its plan of a "dessertless week" in December to help the Chinese with the money thus saved. During the past year it has helped to furnish a day nursery in Staunton for the use of working mothers of under-privileged children. Money was given in 1942 to the American Bible Society for Bibles for soldiers. A new project of this year is the Negro Nursery School in Staunton.

At the Centennial commencement the President of the College announced a gift of \$1,000 made by the Y. W. C. A. to the College as an Endowed Scholarship Fund. In 1936, the organization had set this goal to be achieved by 1942. Aside from the one-dollar membership fee most of the money expended by the Y. W. C. A. is raised through certain favorite devices, most of them long established and based on the insistent demands of the college girl for food. Teas, sandwich sales, candy sales, and the cake store have been productive. Sometimes flower sales are added. In recent years the second-hand book store and the rummage sale have been popular. In addition to the money donat-

ed, the Y. W. C. A. sends delegates each year to regional and national conferences.

Perhaps the outstanding new departure made by the Y. W. C. A. since 1929 is its larger interest in certain local needs where personal service rather than money is required. Members of the organization have conducted Sunday morning services at the Western State Hospital for the Insane in Staunton for some years. In 1933, the Y. W. C. A. became interested in two other local institutions—the Bettie Bickle Home and the Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind. The Bettie Bickle Home for elderly ladies of insufficient means was erected by Miss Minnie Bickle, a Mary Baldwin alumna, as a memorial to her mother. Dr. Fraser was the custodian of the bequest, and the final decision as to its use was left to him. It was from Mr. W. B. McFarland, a member of the Board of Trustees, that the house was purchased. He gave \$1,000 to it. Thus Mary Baldwin had several rather close personal connections with the establishment of the home. Since the fall of 1934, Mary Baldwin girls have made regular visits to this home, usually once a week, and have given several parties for the women. But the most extensive local work has been done at the School for the Deaf and Blind, particularly with the blind. This work, which began with Sunday afternoon reading to the blind, has expanded to a much wider range of activities. The Y. W. C. A. Cabinet acts as the Woman's Council for the Girl Reserves of this school. The Cabinet helps the Girl Reserves with their projects in nature study, dramatics, and dancing, and assists them with their own charges, the Sunbeams. The Girl Reserves in turn are invited to give programs at Mary Baldwin and to come to teas or dinners. Real friendships have been established and a number of Mary Baldwin girls have received excellent training for social work while rendering service.

The Y. W. C. A. has also been the first organization on the campus to take a positive and aggressive stand on national and international affairs. In 1930, for example, it sent a cable to the London Naval Conference in favor of reduction of armaments and a telegram to President Hoover supporting his policy on this question.¹⁷¹ Through the influence of Charlotte Taylor, President of the Y. W. C. A., Mary Baldwin students voted unanimously to send a telegram to President Hoover urging the

appointment of a student representative on the Geneva Disarmament Conference of 1932.¹⁷² The student representative was appointed. And, in 1933, a telegram was sent to President Roosevelt requesting revision of the motion picture code and the prohibition of foreign films tending to impair international good will.¹⁷³ In the summer of 1931, a Mary Baldwin student, Helton McAndrew, went to Europe on a pilgrimage sponsored by the National Student Conference of the Y. W. C. A. in the interest of the world fellowship of students.¹⁷⁴ The Y. W. C. A. had a college float featuring world unity in the Staunton Armistice Parade of 1931. Through its World Fellowship Committee it seeks to acquaint its members with world issues and to educate them to look upon these without national or racial prejudice. This committee has also fostered an active interest in missions, both in contributions to the cause and in personal service. Mary Baldwin continues to send out foreign missionaries, even in wartime. Bessie Stollenwerck Carper left in the summer of 1940 for the Belgian Congo. For some years Upper Memorial was known as Missionary Row. The lower floor, Peacock Alley, discovered, however, that the dwellers on Missionary Row could be the life of the party.¹⁷⁵ In 1930 and 1936, Mary Baldwin was hostess to the Virginia Student Volunteer Conference, and Mary Baldwin girls have held offices in this organization. Interest in home missions and in social service work has been promoted through the Y. W. C. A. organization and other religious activities of the College. A number of recent graduates have taken graduate work in religious education and are serving as pastors' assistants or in other work in the field of religion. In all its activities, the Y. W. C. A. has been indebted to the inspiration, the work, and the good will supplied by the faculty sponsor, Miss Mary Lakenan, who spends much time in the careful training of new cabinets as well as in assisting them after they are in office.

In conclusion, one might add that the influence of the Christian religion is best expressed in Mary Baldwin not by formal activities of a religious nature but in the spirit pervading human relationships in the College—between administration, faculty, students, and employees. It has always been thus.

STUDENT ACTIVITY ON THE CAMPUS AND BEYOND

How much time, energy, and interest should be directed into extra-curricular activities is one of the problems of present-day college organization and life. Perhaps the ideal balance between academic work and activities is never reached by the individual or the group. Distinction must be made, too, between activities that are more or less closely identified with class work and those that are extraneous. Most educators would agree that the work in student organizations is a useful feature of college training, even though no two could agree probably upon just what weight such activities should be given nor just what organizations should be included. But aside from the problem of determining the relative weight that should be given to these in comparison to academic work, difficulty arises from the opposite direction—how to keep activities active.

Both of these problems have been faced and studied critically at Mary Baldwin by the administration and by the students themselves. There is an organization, the Presidents' Forum, that attempts to co-ordinate and act as a sort of clearing house for the work of all organized activities. The function of this body (or of its senior members) in the nomination and election of student officials has been discussed above. But the Forum, which is entirely an ex-officio group, had its origin in the need for a co-ordinating agency and acquired its electoral functions later. As the Forum minutes of September 18, 1931, record: "By a unanimous vote it was decided to organize this group of the presidents of organizations, clubs, and editors of publications into a forum to meet once a month for the discussion of problems arising in extra-curricular activities." It was decided at this first meeting that the Forum should assume responsibility for the student chapel on Friday mornings, and arrange for programs by different clubs. A schedule for club meetings was discussed and the plan for the combination of the music, art, and dramatic clubs into a Three-Arts Club was discussed and approved. This meeting is a very good sample of the nature of the work done by the Presidents' Forum. In 1939, it undertook to effect certain reforms in club standards which had been discussed for several years. To secure representation on the Forum, all clubs must

have an approved constitution, a definite program for the year with at least three meetings a semester, a membership of fifteen, and must make a definite contribution to the College as a whole.¹⁷⁶ No student can belong to more than two clubs (exclusive of the Glee Club and organizations such as the Day Student Club). The point system, which limits the offices that a student may hold, applies to club offices also and hence secures a more democratic distribution of opportunities for leadership.

The Presidents' Forum as a discussion group for club problems has functioned well, although it naturally cannot insure the effective functioning of every club. Incidentally, it has sponsored a study of parliamentary law for its members. Moreover, the Forum has sought to make a constructive contribution to the College, particularly in the direction of a fuller and more gracious social life in planning monthly birthday dinners, open house to students from neighboring men's colleges, in the improvement of morale (for instance, it conducted a song contest for college songs), and in the education of new students in the customs and traditions of Mary Baldwin. The Forum, like the Student Council, has the counsel of the Dean and the President. The extent to which the President is intimately acquainted with and interested in the functioning of all student activities is remarkable even for a small college.

These student organizations vary considerably as to size and relative importance in the College. Some of them have made significant contributions, both material and intellectual, to the entire college group. The Student Government Association, the Athletic Association, and the Y. W. C. A., which include all students, are essential to the realization of the program of the College. Each club presents to the entire college one chapel program a year and a number prepare a program for one of the birthday dinners. Perhaps the most notable new development in student activities during this administration is the multiplication of intercollegiate contacts and action through those groups. The writer has seen the statement made frequently in the college press of several years ago that debating was the only form of intercollegiate activity sponsored by the College. Even in the limited sense of contests this statement is not entirely correct. For several years the Glee Club appeared in such contests. And the college publications are

regularly entered in competition for places with those of other schools. Aside from competitive relationships, there has been an increasing amount of intercollegiate association through the Glee Club, the publications, the International Relations Club, as well as through the Student Government Association, the Athletic Association, and the Y. W. C. A.

The Debating Club, sponsored by Mrs. Martha Stackhouse Grafton, had an interesting history, although for several years intercollegiate debates have not been held, and the club has ceased to exist. The first intercollegiate debate was held at Mary Baldwin on February 21, 1931, with Bridgewater College. In view of the occasion the subject is interesting: "Resolved, That the emergence of woman from the home is a commendable feature of modern life." Mary Baldwin supported the negative and lost the debate.¹⁷⁷ Debates continued to be held up to 1937 at Mary Baldwin or the competing school—with Bridgewater, Hampden-Sydney, William and Mary, Radford State Teachers' College, Harrisonburg State Teachers' College (now Madison College), Cambridge University, Westhampton, and the University of Virginia. Among the questions discussed were: Resolved, That the nations of the world should adopt a plan of complete disarmament excepting such forces as are needed for police purposes; that the practice of installment buying as developed in the United States during the past ten years is a menace to economic stability; that socialism as advocated by Norman Thomas is preferable to the present capitalistic economic system; that the principles of the National Recovery Act should be made permanent; that the President's powers should be increased; that arms manufacture should be controlled by the United States government; that international shipments of arms should be prohibited; and that Congress should have the power by a two-thirds vote to override any decision of the Supreme Court that declares an act of Congress unconstitutional. In the spring of 1933, two of the Mary Baldwin debaters took part in a post-season debate with Hampden-Sydney featured as an event of the commencement of that college. The Mary Baldwin debaters won all the debates on their 1934 schedule—with Hampden-Sydney, William and Mary, and the Harrisonburg State Teachers' College, and a number in other years.¹⁷⁸ The debate with the Cambridge

University Union Society, a non-decision debate on the question, Resolved, That the increase in advertising is a menace to society, was held at Mary Baldwin in the fall of 1935.¹⁷⁹ Toward the end of her debating history Mary Baldwin returned to debate the question of the position of women—in the spring of 1935 in a debate with Hampden-Sydney on the subject, Resolved, That emergence of woman from the household is to be deplored; and two years later and with the same college on the subject, Resolved, That the increasing equality of the sexes is deplorable.¹⁸⁰ Whether the Mary Baldwin debaters were convinced that women's participation in debating was objectionable or not, they held only one other debate—with William and Mary on the subject, Resolved, That utility rather than culture should be the basis of the college curriculum.¹⁸¹ It seems to have been generally recognized that intercollegiate debating had been a useful activity, and for a time it aroused much interest in the College. Along with the Student Government Association and the Y. W. C. A., the Debating Club sent delegates to the Conference of the Women's International League for Peace at Hollins in 1934.¹⁸²

The Debating Club incidentally gave origin to the International Relations Club, which is today affiliated with the clubs sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace. In the spring of 1935 the Debating Club sent delegates to the Southeastern Student Conference of International Relations Clubs at Davidson College.¹⁸³ In the following fall an International Relations Club separate from the Debating Club was organized under the sponsorship of Dr. Mary Swan Carroll, head of the History Department. This club has had a very large membership and has done much constructive work for its members and for the College. Members of the club have participated regularly in the regional conventions of international relations clubs and have presented papers and led forum discussions. The club has brought a number of outside speakers to the College. Last year it sponsored several projects for the benefit of the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Restoration Foundation.¹⁸⁴

The Dramatic Club is one of the oldest of the present-day organizations. It appeared in the 1920's as the Sock and Buskin club; then for a few years, it was the Green Masque. Since 1934,

it has been the Dramatic Club. This organization furnishes theoretical and practical training in the theatre and the drama to its members. The plays of the Dramatic Club presented for the College and the city in the spring and fall are two of the big events of the year. Among the productions of recent years have appeared *The Great Broxopp*, *Hedda Gabler*, *The Swan*, (in 1931 and in 1936); *Seven Sisters*, *First Lady*, *Fresh Fields*, *Stage Door*, *Brief Music*, and *A Comedy of Errors*. An innovation appeared in the play, *Ladies in Retirement*, given in the fall of 1941. Dr. Mary Latimer, Speech Director, took the leading role and a young man from the University of Virginia, the principal man's part. Dr. Latimer had appeared in this play professionally. A play still remembered from more than a decade ago in part because of certain stage and properties difficulties and the fact that it threatened to last the night is *Cyrano de Bergerac*, produced in 1931. The Dramatic Club brought the Washington and Lee Troubadours to the College in *Ah, Wilderness* in 1937.¹⁸⁵ It has made considerable contributions to the College in stage improvements and additions to the library.¹⁸⁶ The senior class usually gives a play in the fall, with the assistance of the Speech Department and the Dramatic Club. Among these plays have appeared *Quality Street*, *The Rivals*, *Cradle Song* (also given later by the Dramatic Club), *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Dear Brutus*. In 1930, the sophomores presented *Lady Windemere's Fan*; and other organizations have occasionally staged productions more or less ambitious. At Mary Baldwin "the play's the thing."

The Glee Club, like the Dramatic Club, has been very active in productive performances. In the early 1930's it entered the contests with the women's college glee clubs fostered by the Virginia Federation of Music Clubs.¹⁸⁷ In 1931, it won the cup in this contest. This contest formed a part of the Virginia Music Festival and the Mary Baldwin Glee Club took part also in the chorus of a thousand voices in Schubert's *Mass in E Flat*, directed by Dr. Tertius Noble, English organist and choirmaster of St. Thomas Episcopal Church in New York.¹⁸⁸ In 1932, the Glee Club had a part in a similar performance under the same director, in which Brahms's *Requiem* was sung. In the same year the club gave a concert at Harrisonburg State Teachers College, apparently its first concert away from home. In recent years joint con-

certs have been given with several men's colleges—Washington and Lee, Hampden-Sydney, the University of North Carolina, and with the Harvard Symphony Orchestra. It has also appeared in concerts with the men's choir of Staunton, directed by Dr. Broman. The outstanding program given by the Glee Club recently was Mozart's *Requiem Mass* sung in concert with the Hampden-Sydney Club in Staunton and in Richmond in the spring of 1942. The Glee Club furnishes the choir for commencement Sunday and has usually given an Easter program in Staunton.

The Music Club, also one of the older clubs, organized in its present form in 1928, plays a less spectacular role than the Dramatic or Glee Clubs. All who are interested in music whether performers or not may become members. Its main function has been to provide music in formal and informal programs for the Mary Baldwin student body. It has arranged for music hours after dinner or on Sunday afternoons in the Faculty Room or Red Parlor. The music faculty may give the informal program or records from the excellent collection owned by the College may be played. The Music Club has also responded to the still surviving predilection of the Mary Baldwin girl for the men's Glee Clubs by bringing the Emory, Davidson, Hampden-Sydney, and Washington and Lee clubs to the campus. Since the Glee Club has begun to have joint concerts with these organizations, the Music Club has sought other types of programs to sponsor. In 1941, Emma Ricci, the young violinist, gave a program sponsored by the Music Club. The Music Club was one of the first organizations on the campus to arrange programs for the Western State Hospital for the Insane.

The Art Club, comprised ordinarily of most of the students of art and a few others, had always held open house for the exhibition of its own work at commencement and had brought a number of other exhibitions to the College. Among these earlier exhibitions were the works of a New Zealander, G. T. Pritchard, who gave the College one of his landscapes, "Autumn-Landscape in Somerset;" and those of an alumna, Miss Catherine C. Critcher, formerly on the staff of the Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington, and now head of the Critcher School of Painting and Applied Art, Washington.¹⁸⁹ In 1930, the Art Club brought Rosina Lynn, director of the oldest school of fashion in the coun-

try, the McDowell School of Fashion Design of New York, to speak at the College.¹⁹⁰ She had been brought by the Presidents' Forum in 1933. Nevertheless, the Art Club felt that it had not played a part in the College comparable to the other fine arts groups. Hence, it was happy to announce in the fall of 1937:

The Art Club has at last come into its own. Each year that very worthwhile club is overshadowed by most of the other clubs—the Language Club with the French Table, the Dramatic Club with the plays, the Music Club with the sponsored men's Glee Clubs (always a big attraction). . . . They've stuck on an idea that's going to start the ball rolling, not only at Mary Baldwin, but will create a rage in other colleges throughout Virginia and the South. The Art Club is going to have a circulating library . . . of pictures. . . . ” (Their) motto says: “A good print of an old master in every room. . . . ”¹⁹¹

This project has extended over the years since and is well on the way to realization. Many exhibitions of paintings, particularly the work of contemporary Virginia artists representative of new movements in art, have appeared on the Upper Gallery or in the new Art Building. Prominent among these have been the woodcuts of the well-known (Waynesboro) Virginia artist, Charles W. Smith, now director of art at Bennington College. Lecturers on various phases and types of art have been brought to the College. The primary objective of all the fine arts clubs is to educate the student body to the appreciation of the arts and to engage as many as possible in some form of participation, rather than to produce professional performers.

Of the other organizations, the language groups—French, Spanish, and German—the Science Club, and the Secretarial Club have functioned primarily for students studying in those departments, with an occasional lecture or other special program for the entire College. Until 1937, there existed a Psychology Club, which has been combined with the Science Club, the latter group comprising divisions of both physical and social science. The Psychology Club, as well as the classes in psychology enjoyed as laboratories for special investigation the Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind and the Western State Hospital. Dr. J. S. DeJarnette, a widely known specialist in mental diseases and head of the Western State Hospital, frequently lectured to the club. Students in natural science have been brought into contact with

students and professors of other Virginia schools through the Virginia Academy of Science, to which a number of Mary Baldwin girls have been admitted as junior members and before which one student was invited to read a paper in the spring of 1942.¹⁹² The Garden Club, sponsored by Mrs. Helen Eyster, who cultivated the Martha Riddle garden, appeared in 1936. This club has studied gardens and the arrangement of flowers. In 1938, it won for its arrangements a prize in the Augusta Garden Club contest held at the College.¹⁹³ The club has itself sponsored contests in table decorations for the Christmas dinner. Tours to some of the famous gardens of Virginia are made occasionally, and Virginia Garden Club leaders have addressed the club. The Granddaughters and Little Sisters Club receives its traditional emphasis, but does not function except in a social way. The big event of its year is October 4, when its members are entertained by the alumnæ.

The Day Student Club has not only united these students, but has brought them into closer union with the entire college group and given them a means of group expression through their representative on the Student Council. And today they also have a special representative on the Y. W. C. A. Two traditional social functions of the Club are the party for the faculty in the fall and the tea in the spring for the girls in the senior classes of the local high schools. From time to time it has entertained the resident college students, and has been entertained at the College each year.¹⁹⁴ The day students have enjoyed and appreciated the much larger place they occupy in college life. Members of the group are frequently elected to high positions in the student organizations.

In 1932, the Dean reported the passing of the Cotillion Club which "had outgrown its usefulness to the College."¹⁹⁵ The regional clubs have also disappeared, although a few of them, a Georgia Club and a Southwest Virginia Club, functioned in the early thirties. A China Club appeared, too, for a short time. "A China Club is the only organization of international importance at M. B. C. Its chief purpose is to provide social fellowship for those of far distant lands who flee to American cities for their education."¹⁹⁶ The occasion for this announcement was a Chinese dinner, consisting of "beef, onions, bean sprouts, bamboo

sprouts, and water chestnuts, all cooked together in a brass *suh-yahi* dish" and eaten with chop-sticks. Among the guests was a "Chinese" student from the University of Virginia. Apparently, however, the Chinese Club, as well as the other "geographical" clubs soon disappeared.

The origin and early history of the student publications have been related above, except that of the *Students' Handbook*, first issued in 1929. This little book, which appears once a year as the catalogue does, contains, besides the rules and regulations, an announcement of the programs of the Athletic Association, the Y. W. C. A., and the clubs, and a description of certain customs and traditions for the information of the new students. It has won a first place in the Virginia Intercollegiate Press Association Contest. The *Bluestocking*, the *Miscellany*, and the *Campus Comments* had become members of the Virginia Intercollegiate Press Association in the 1920's and had entered the contest conducted by the National Scholastic Press Association. These relationships have been continued. One interesting fact about all these publications in the 1930's is the emphasis they have given to the history of Mary Baldwin. As the College approached the centennial year there has been a growth of interest in "how she came to be what she is." The one-hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Miss Baldwin in 1929 initiated this special interest in background. The *Bluestocking* of 1930 sought to depict the sentiment of seminary days of the nineteenth century with its quaint figures in crinoline and bonnets. The next year's annual, though it went beyond the history of Mary Baldwin to commemorate the two thousandth anniversary of the birth of Vergil, memorialized the classic tradition on which the Seminary had been established. The 1935 *Bluestocking* was dedicated to the memory of Miss Baldwin, and various other issues have given special emphasis to the traditions of the school, up to the beautiful Centennial issue of 1942—a memory book of a hundred years. The Vergil number and the issue of 1937—an old-fashioned album in design—won first place in the Virginia Intercollegiate Contest, and Mary Baldwin received the cup for "keeps." The *Bluestocking* has also received honors in the National Scholastic Press Association; the Centennial issue has just been awarded the First Class Honor Rating. Improvements in photography

have added greatly to the beauty of all college publications. Many of the pictures today are made by Dr. Lillian Thomsen, head of the Biology Department and an expert photographer on the side. With the movie camera, a gift of Jean Diescher, a recent graduate, Dr. Thomsen has also made some beautiful moving pictures in colors of Class Day and other ceremonial functions. The *Bluestocking*, published by the Junior Class, has had for some years the faithful services of Miss Fannie Strauss as sponsor.

The *Miscellany* has a more restricted function today than in its earlier history, when it was both news organ and literary magazine. It has changed its emphasis, too, with respect to literary materials, away from the more formal critical essay to creative writing, usually in a lighter vein. This change has only come in recent years. In the early 1930's the more serious literary criticisms and editorials still appeared. In addition to its book review section, it has added sections on the cinema, radio, and stage. It has won honors in both state and national contests. In 1929 and 1935, it won first place in the Virginia Association and in 1926, 1936, and 1937, the all-American honor rating in the national contest.¹⁹⁷ For several years the *Miscellany* has conducted a contest among students on writing, offering prizes for the best short stories. Until her death in 1933, Mrs. Roselle Mercier Montgomery encouraged creative writing by a prize for the best poem. Mrs. Laura Smith Krey, another notable alumna, spoke in defense of the literary art at a visit to the College several years ago. These alumnæ also serve as worthy examples and models. Among others who have spoken on the business of writing was Bernard O'Donnell, of Harpers, who discussed it from the publisher's viewpoint.¹⁹⁸ The *Miscellany* itself has sponsored instruction in the art of writing. In 1935, it held a series of "literary half-hours" for the discussion of books and writing.¹⁹⁹ In the following year the *Miscellany* brought Mrs. Anna Byrd Stewart, a writer and a lecturer on writing, to the campus for a series of talks and individual conferences and criticism.²⁰⁰ The *Miscellany* has also encouraged participation in certain intercollegiate efforts. In 1931, the Virginia Intercollegiate Press Association sponsored an intercollegiate magazine, the *Southern Collegian*, to which Mary Baldwin students contributed.²⁰¹ The *Foolscape*, a comic publication of the same organization, also re-

ceived contributions from Mary Baldwin writers when it appeared in 1936.²⁰² And in 1941, the *Miscellany* submitted material to the literary magazine of Washington and Lee, the *Southern Collegian*, to be used in a special intercollegiate issue of that magazine.²⁰³

The leading organ of college news and student opinion, the *Campus Comments*, a weekly newspaper, has made great advancement in size and scope beyond its beginnings in 1924. It became a weekly publication in 1928, but remained a small four-column paper of four pages. In 1929, its size was increased. During the depression years of 1931-33, it returned to a bi-weekly paper, but since 1933, it has been issued each week. In 1933, it was enlarged to regular newspaper size and began to include more cuts. Its scope has expanded to give much larger space to national and international news and editorial comment on such news. Its primary function remains, however, to record the college news and to express student opinion on college affairs. It has received recognition from both state and national intercollegiate press associations and in 1937 received the all-American honor rating from the national association.²⁰⁴ Twice it has won first place among Virginia college and university newspapers. In a feature story, "*Campus Comments* Gets Around—Even to London," published in the issue of May 22, 1942, occurred the following interesting notice:

Campus Comments has achieved an international reputation, for this week the editor received a letter from London, England, requesting detailed information concerning the paper. The Mitre Press of London is now compiling a "Dictionary of Collegiate Publications" in which *Campus Comments* is included.

Through open forum comments and letters to the editor student opinion on campus life may be presented formally. Informally and more continuously one gets student reaction in the "columns." "Between the Dogs," which appears to have begun in 1940, had a number of predecessors—"Brave new World," "Through the Looking Glass," "The Pied Piper," "Over the Back Fence," and others. Today's "Things We Adore" and "Things We Deplore" are the most inclusive comments on college affairs. How representative they are of general student

opinion the author would not venture to say, but it is perhaps very gratifying to make the one and escape the other. One feature of the *Campus Comments* of several years ago seems to have been discontinued—the book reviews; and the *Miscellany* gives less space to reviews than it did for many years.

The editors and business managers of all these publications are elected by the student body in the annual spring elections. The other members of the staff are appointed by the elected officers. The *Campus Comments* receives many of its staff members from the journalism classes, and the professor of journalism, Dr. Mary Swan Carroll, is faculty sponsor of the publication. There is no college press. But the staff gets excellent training in practical journalism, and a number of them go immediately into the profession. Incidentally, last year's editor of *Campus Comments* has gone at once following her graduation to her home-town paper, the *Binghamton Press* (N. Y.). Each year representatives from the publications attend the conventions of the Associated Collegiate Press and of the Virginia Intercollegiate Press.

STUDENT LIFE AND THOUGHT IN MARY BALDWIN

The social pattern in Mary Baldwin is "always changing, ever the same." Students are their mothers' daughters and their grandmothers' granddaughters. And they still sit in the Chapel, walk on the terrace, and climb the Covered Way to Hill Top. They love "the white surprise of the school." They begin singing carols a month before Christmas and counting the days, hours, and minutes. January brings its "great depression," which "peanuts" can hardly dispel. But Spring still "comes up the Shenandoah," and not even a world at war can quite suppress the outbursts of delight which greet it. Cadets still come down the Hill. The girls investigate culinary accounts to discover how many chickens are eaten at Sunday dinner. And they still keep their napkins under the table! And yet there are many changes. The young ladies no longer wear uniforms, nor walk in procession (except on ceremonial occasions), nor go in "sections" to church. And the cadets not only come down the Hill, but they fill the porches and the parlors and stay for dinner.

This study has given, perhaps, more space to student life,

organized and unorganized, than the usual college history. To the writer this anonymous record of the actions and reactions of successive generations of students on matters on and off the campus forms an essential chapter deserving large proportions in the history of the school. It is recognized, however, that the generalizations made about student life and philosophy may necessarily be so broad that they express only the more obvious characteristics of all college students, or even of all young people of college age; or, if an attempt is made at a more local and particular and specific description, it may run into the incidental and perhaps the trivial. This present generation of students at Mary Baldwin, being less withdrawn and "sheltered," is perhaps less different in their activities and their reactions from other college students than past generations. Nevertheless, it is also true that what the student does outside the classroom constitutes a more important part of her life at Mary Baldwin than in the past. Thus the writer assumes the risk of recording what some may judge the obvious or the incidental in student life.

To begin, it must be admitted that on questions such as the students' reactions to policy and action in national and international life and to the currents of thought in their generation, it is difficult to make judgments capable of adequate proof. Such as are offered appear to be true from expressions of opinion in the student press, from their reactions on certain specific questions mentioned here, and from the observation of students on the campus. Mary Baldwin students have become more conscious of the life beyond the campus and of their own responsibilities as citizens. Whether this interest and sense of responsibility are as general or as acute as that of college and university students generally, the writer cannot affirm. Perhaps not. Yet the difference is perhaps negligible; there are always a number of students of serious and mature thought. But there is a youthfulness and a joyousness about the Mary Baldwin students that arises in part, it appears, from the fact that they are in a sense still spiritually "sheltered." To be sure, we have all lived more or less so until this present; and perhaps the present will change the students' attitudes. But it is to be hoped that their sense of responsibility may be deepened without too much damage to the gaiety, the exuberance of spirit, and the sense of pleasure in all

the little things of daily life that have characterized generations of Mary Baldwin students as happy creatures. In the world today and tomorrow these qualities may prove as valuable as arms and men and ideas. Perhaps the relative economic security of the Mary Baldwin student has made her less concerned about current economic and political problems up to the present crisis.

On the other hand there are many indications of the Mary Baldwin students' concern about these questions and their ability to criticize themselves and the public for not being more concerned. In 1930, the student press recorded the passing of the flapper age in college life. "The wild young college girl is a thing of the past."²⁰⁵ Or as the Foreword of the winter issue of the 1931 *Miscellany* declared: "The more recent college statistics tend to show that we are losing our reputation as frivolous, thoughtless youth; jazz is losing its hold over us, . . . and taking firm root in the good brown earth, we have steadied ourselves with an unlooked-for resolution that is none the less gay."²⁰⁶ To be sure, the outward aspects of the flapper age had been little in evidence in Mary Baldwin, because it passed over the country during the strict regime of the Seminary. Nevertheless, those girls who lived "in the world" three months of the year must have exhibited many of its emotional aspects. The depression sobered college youth, and Mary Baldwin students appear also to have been consciously trying to live up to their new-found college dignity. The *Campus Comments* and *Miscellany* of the early 1930's contain many articles on college education, its values, what sort of education should be sought, etc. As educators today plead for the preservation of the humanities, so did they urge students in their pursuit of the practical not to miss the "clear vision which lies in the study of the humanities."²⁰⁷ They reacted, as the public generally did, to unemployment and the shorter working day of the depression by advocating education for leisure in an age of technocracy. The simple and profitable joys of reading were advertised not only in the editorials, but in feature articles on the library, in book reviews, and in investigations of student reading. For example, *Campus Comments* noted: "Mary Baldwin students are going in for higher literature. *Ballyho* has taken a back seat this season, and we are now scrambling for copies of *Strange Interlude*, *Death Takes a Hol-*

day, *Candida*, etc., and one energetic and inquisitive group are even perusing Boccaccio's *Decameron*." ²⁰⁸

Not only were students urged to take their college education seriously and critically, but also their responsibilities as citizens in their own student government and other organized activities and in the larger national and world relationships. The following editorial, "Students and Tomorrow's World," which appeared in *Campus Comments* in November, 1931, is typical of the sentiment of many student expressions:

China and Japan at each others throats—a League disarmament conference in February, which will powerfully influence world history in the years ahead—India agonizing in her struggle to work out her national destiny—a tottering economic system that produces industrial conflicts and unemployment the world over—shall we in America be mere spectators, or can, should, *will* thinking students have any small part in helping toward the solution of these and other similar crises that are racking the world today? Is there any contribution they can make, any part where their thinking can dig in right now? . . . ²⁰⁹

The action of the student body, led by the Y. W. C. A., on the Disarmament Conferences of 1930 and 1932 has been mentioned above. The occasion of the bi-centennial of Washington's birth led to a plea for a less superficial and more critical knowledge of American history, and the visits of the Contemporary Thought class to Washington provoked a criticism of narrow nationalism and a conscious and expressed desire that the United States might set the example for an international view. ²¹⁰ And the discussions of technocracy provoked questionings about national pride and conceit in scientific advancement in the midst of "the many imperfections, the filth, the wrong, the injustice everywhere," and doubts as to "whether this (technocracy) may be called a progressive step." As this editorial on "Conceit" continued:

Most of us cannot help feeling a twinge at the oft presented statement that people are starving in a land of plenty; but because we have enough to eat and have never really known the gnawing pangs of hunger, it all seems so far away, so unreal. . . . We know that it is true, but we cannot *feel* it.

No one appears able to formulate the causes of our present world conditions—moral as well as economic—but it does seem queer that any

of us can be so blind as to get that satisfied feeling of "All's right with the world." We certainly are not advocates of discontent or complaint; we merely think we should be more alive to conditions in the world. . . . and should not look only on the sunny side because we have food and clothes and comparative safety. . . . ²¹¹

But the *Campus Comments*, noting the criticism that European students made of the lack of "awareness of their (American students') national responsibilities," thought that in view of student discussions, etc., there was coming to be less grounds for such criticism. ²¹²

Aside from the various conventions discussed above in which Mary Baldwin students were represented, students attended the Youth Congresses which met in Washington in 1940 and 1941. The latter meeting was condemned by *Campus Comments* for its un-American action, although it deplored the failure of the Congress to achieve what it had seemed to promise in the previous year. ²¹³ Students also participated in a Virginia Youth Congress in February, 1940, the purpose of which was to co-ordinate the work of all youth organizations of the state "to make a better Virginia," and "to serve as a link with other Southern organizations to restore the South to its proper place in the nation." The two students who attended were both Northerners—one from Michigan, the other from New York! ²¹⁴ In the fall of 1940, the student body was aroused by an address by Dr. Walter Judd, of China, to vote a boycott on Japanese silk, to raise money for Chinese students, and to express approval for a total embargo against Japan. The Presidents' Forum outlined a program which the entire student group endorsed. Each student agreed to write the President and Secretary of State in favor of aid to China, and plans were agreed upon for organized efforts to influence parents, home towns, churches, newspapers, civic clubs, etc. by letters and by a distribution of Dr. Judd's speech. Enthusiasm ran high, letters were written, and the Y. W. C. A. raised money for Chinese relief. ²¹⁵ But succeeding issues of the paper recorded a decline of ardor for the Chinese cause. In "Things We Deplore" in the *Campus Comments*, November 29, one finds: "The way the Chinese relief furor is dying out." ²¹⁶

These instances of student opinion and action are suggestive. Examples could be multiplied. Student sympathies had been

stirred during the depression by the reported distress. Students recognized both their own and the public's lack of deep concern for our own national crisis and that of the world, and were stirred to some united action. As the depression receded, the concern of the college press about the students' responsibility for affairs seems to have declined somewhat until the Second World War. The faculty-student program on the war emergency is discussed below. For some years, the committee on chapel exercises has fostered the education of the student in current affairs by a special program on each Monday in which the President, a member of the faculty, or a student group gives a survey and interpretation of the week's news. Many students have expressed appreciation of the value of these programs. In one of the Sunday discussion groups in 1934, Miss Pfohl introduced the question, "What we talk about in informal conversation," in an effort to get the students to analyze and think critically of their life outside the classroom.²¹⁷ Reports from different dormitories included: knitting, clothes, fall of the French cabinet, movies, and men. This represents perhaps as large an inclusion of public affairs as would be found in informal conversations of college graduates or even of professors except in times of crisis.

In the meantime, *Campus Comments* had undertaken to sound student opinion on national election issues by straw votes. In announcing in November, 1932, that it would take this vote, *Campus Comments* declared that this was the first time Mary Baldwin had held such an election.²¹⁸ This statement is incorrect, however, for votes were taken in 1912 and 1916 and perhaps in certain other years. In the student poll of 1932 Roosevelt received practically twice the votes of Hoover, the results being 81 to 43, and Norman Thomas received five votes. "The number of votes cast for the latter was one of the surprises of the poll," the *Campus Comments* declared. "It was rather expected there would be more Socialists in the College. The outcome was in a way a surprise for, although the College is a Southern one, there is a larger number of Northern girls than Southern girls in the enrollment." These observations are interesting. One acquainted with the background of the students would not have been surprised at the small Socialist vote. And, unless one count Virginia Northern, there were more Southern girls in the enrollment

In the vote taken in 1936, a larger percentage of the student body cast ballots, Roosevelt receiving 185, Landon, 112. The "election" of 1940 aroused far more excitement in Club House talk as well as in formal discussions; Wilkie posters, Wilkie buttons, etc., were very much in evidence.²¹⁹ Nevertheless, Roosevelt won by 156 votes to Wilkie's 122. The *Campus Comments*, computing the electoral vote, declared it for Wilkie. Canada and Cuba went for Roosevelt.

Another straw vote taken by *Campus Comments* in 1932 revealed some judgments that may appear interesting as well as amusing today. On the question, Whom do you consider the greatest living American? thirty-two answered Roosevelt; thirty-two, Lindbergh; twenty-six, Hoover; seventeen, Will Rogers; six, Henry Ford; and a wide range of other names of men and women were included. As the outstanding "dead American," Wilson got forty-five votes; Lincoln, thirty-six; Washington, thirty-five; Edison, thirty-two; Robert E. Lee, fifteen. There was less scattering of votes in this than on the first question. As the outstanding living foreigner, Gandhi got sixty-six votes; Einstein, twenty-seven; Mussolini, twenty-two.

Although the "geographical" clubs soon disappeared, students are still conscious of and interested in regional and national differences, always more noticeable in and noticed by the freshmen. *Campus Comments* in 1932 observed that in freshman room decorations "every college from San Francisco to Scotland" was represented and went on to say of the new girls:

Many of the Northern girls like the Southern hospitality; many of the Southern girls like the Northern "brogue." In fact, they all seem to like each other—not to mention the fact that the two girls from China are hung on to like tar babies by curious freshies, who want to know "why they don't look like Chinese," "why they don't talk Chinese all the time." We hope these two girls find us half as interesting as we find them.²²⁰

In the fall of 1933, one freshman was heard to announce to another: "We have a girl from Prussia, one from France, one from Puerto Rico, and even one from Salt Lake City."²²¹ The girl from Puerto Rico, Raquel Fajardo, aroused much enthusiasm by her skill in dancing the tango. The main feature of

the *Bluestocking* dinner of 1932, in which the Spanish theme was used, was her dancing with Alfredo Ramírez.²²² As to dancing, it was observed after the Y. W. C. A. opening dance for new girls in 1933: "Such varied forms of the waltz, tango, and hop are rarely seen in one place, all because the girls come from every part of the country."²²³ Mary Baldwin girls have frequently been chosen to represent their states at various festivals from Apple Blossoms to Potato Blossoms. In 1932, she had four princesses at the world-famous Winchester Apple Blossom Festival, representing Utah, Indiana, Arkansas, and South Carolina.²²⁴

Not only do the geographic and sectional differences arouse curiosity, but the "famous connections" of the students, if they become known, are a source of romantic interest. For example, students discovered and announced that cousins of Bobby Jones, Don Marquis, and Robert Montgomery were in their midst.²²⁵ Mary Baldwin girls place no importance on "first families" in choosing their friends. Many of them are aroused or annoyed, according to temperamental reactions, at the importance they believe some Virginians still attach to their "trees." But they can become excited over such an incident as one of their number playing golf during vacation with John D. Rockefeller, Senior.²²⁶

As privileges were extended and students were able to "get around" more, they began to explore "the mysteries of Main Street," about which they had pondered in earlier days. How girls signed out to go to town interested the curious commentator:

Girls from all sections of the country must naturally have different expressions for our southern "downtown." So many have spoken of it in past years as "down street." But the latest vogue has been created by Eleanor Miller, good New Yorker that she is. Eleanor signed out to "the village" the other day. ²²⁷

And historic Staunton had been a "city" for many years!

The city of Staunton and the county of Augusta have an interesting history, of which they are justly proud. And they have had their local historians in J. Lewis Peyton and Joseph A. Waddell. And as Mary Baldwin has become more historically minded about her own evolution, there has also developed an interest in Staunton not merely as a background but as an inter-

est in itself. A member of the faculty, Mrs. Martha Stackhouse Grafton, wrote a history of Staunton as a Master's thesis some years ago. And there appeared a number of articles in the *Campus Comments* written by students on the history of the city, of the Manse, Trinity Church, and the Old Stone Church out in the county. It would seem that one motive behind these articles was to educate the uninformed "outlander" about the beauties and virtues of Staunton, which it was feared they might miss. A day student, for instance, wrote:

Maybe you are one of the number of girls who, when they saw Staunton for the first time, exclaimed, "My, what a little dump!" . . . Staunton is not a large city; Staunton is not a wealthy city; but Staunton is an individual and interesting city. If you remember this on your walks about town, I think you will notice more than you ever thought there could be in "this little dump" called Staunton.²²⁸

Apparently the interest of the "foreign" students has been primarily social and utilitarian rather than historical. Among the first "points of interest" they observed was Saturday night in the city (perhaps because they were not allowed to go down town on Saturday night for some years after they received shopping privileges). On "Saturday Night in Staunton" a student wrote:

It's a queer place, the town called Staunton and particularly on Saturday night. The narrow streets are so jammed with shoppers from both the city and the country that in order to make progress one finds it necessary to walk in single file. Even the elite of the metropolis come to town along with the ordinary man, the C. C. C., and the multitude of Negroes. . . . It is just a typical small town Saturday night.²²⁹

And eventually the enterprising student found the market, open on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and now a favorite resort. Admitting that she did not hear of it until her sophomore year and then only in vague rumors but declaring that she was now well acquainted with its "romance and utility," a girl wrote in 1934:

At the Staunton market can be found the answer to many a college girl's prayers—chocolate pies and spiced cookies, cheese straws and home-made fudge, devil's food cake as well as "angels". . . . And what fun it is to mingle with these country people, to meander from table to table,

seeing all sorts of things from sausage to baby caps, to touch new and different personalities in the casual, genial fashion of the market. ²³⁰

On the campus one finds significant changes—frequent formal dinners, teas, and receptions, in addition to the customary informal ones; dates as the usual and not the rare privilege; dancing with young men; the “sessions” at the Club House; and the week-end exodus to ball games and dances in neighboring towns, or to plays, an opera, or a musical program in Washington or elsewhere as far as New York.

Mary Baldwin has sought to encourage the amenities and social graces in everyday living through her program of activities on the campus rather than through specific instruction in social forms such as some schools provide. Formal class banquets off the campus had been a feature of the social life for some years. Early in this administration formal dinners in the college dining room became an established custom: for October 4, when the seniors are honored, for special concerts and lectures during the year, and once a month in celebration of the birthdays of faculty and students falling within the month. As mentioned above, the Presidents’ Forum is responsible through one of the clubs for the decorations and programs for each of these dinners. The custom arose in part, it is said, from the following dilemma. A new teacher had suggested at her table the celebration of a birthday of one of the group with the singing of “Happy Birthday.” There followed such a succession of “Happy Birthdays” that the routine of the dining room was almost daily disturbed; hence, the monthly dinners. The dining room administration has given invaluable assistance in preparing special dinners—steak and mushrooms or chicken, with birthday cakes and candles and all the other fixings. The office of the dietitian has also served admirably in providing for the innumerable special occasions throughout the year. Formal receptions are frequently given in the Green Parlor for faculty and students after recitals by members of the faculty or visiting artists and lecturers. The visiting glee clubs are usually entertained at a reception. Since the opening of the President’s home, Rose Terrace, it has been a center of much of the social life of the campus, both formal and informal. The freshmen are always entertained in small groups with a real social hour and with entertainment furnished

frequently by the fine arts teachers or other members of the faculty. No doubt hundreds of students will recall Dr. Vandiver's "*Burning of Rome*," always a request at these entertainments. Incidentally, Dr. and Mrs. Jarman's home has become a favorite spot for faculty and student weddings and even a retreat for honeymoon visits.

Aside from the regular social events of the year, the College is a host sometimes to large groups—it has entertained the members of the Virginia Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of which Miss Baldwin was a member (1933), the Lexington Presbyterial (1933), the Presbytery (1934), and the Synod (1942). Parents and alumnæ are frequent visitors. Lecturers, religious leaders, and many other visitors are entertained. Only the capacity of the dining room sets a limit to the dinner guests. Since girls are usually glad to go out for an occasional meal, there are always some places. The girls are free to entertain their dates at dinner. The redecoration of the parlors has made possible a more attractive hospitality and the provision of several rooms on the second floor for social purposes relieves the congestion in the parlors to some extent. Visitors are delighted with the "home atmosphere" and the gracious welcome they receive. No doubt many would agree with the little girl from Czechoslovakia that they have "not found so much of good-will anywhere." A visitor from Columbia University wrote Miss Pfohl in 1933:

Ever since my delightful day with you at Mary Baldwin, I have been carrying in my mind the many pleasant things you introduced me to there—all so refreshing in these days, I assure you. For I felt that I was transported into another kind of world, where there was real living, and always there kept coming Madariaga's phrase: "That one live life more and be less lived by it." You seem to do that at Mary Baldwin. The response of your girls delighted me; I felt something very genuinely sincere in the entire student group. ²³¹

The Y. W. C. A. party for the new girls; the "peanut" party (the idea of the "peanuts" with a peanut party by the dean and dietitian has been extended also to include the dining room and dormitory maids); the *Bluestocking* tea, dinner, or party; many Saturday night gymnasium parties with dancing; and class and

inter-class teas are among the many informal social events. Members of the faculty entertain groups of students frequently in their rooms, apartments, or homes. Some hold open house regularly on Sunday evenings. Dr. and Mrs. Shedd have maintained this custom for a number of years. Miss Fannie's is still a favorite resort of some of the students, and she still has the horse and takes the new girls buggy-riding. Two particular privileges enjoyed by the students are refreshments served on the Post-office Gallery on Sunday evenings, when they come down at 9:30 in pajamas and get a glass of milk or fruit juice and crackers, and tea for faculty and students served in the afternoons during examinations by the Faculty Advisory Committee. "The teas each afternoon are the one bright spot found by the students in looking back on examination week," declared a student soon after this custom was instituted.²³²

The high peak in the informal social events of the year is the Christmas dinner and party and the caroling on the evening before the Christmas holiday season. After the special Christmas dinner, a party is given in the Chapel by the faculty and students to the employees of the school. The Senior Class provides the tree, the decoration, Santa Claus, etc., and arranges a program, after which gifts are distributed to the employees. Sometimes some of the latter furnish music. After the party, the Seniors, the Council, the Cabinet, and the Forum go caroling over Staunton, with their lighted tapers. This custom arose in the 1920's, although there was some variation in the composition of the group until recent years. This event is one of the treasured memories of those invited to go: "It is their way of saying good-bye and wishing the town a Merry Christmas."²³³ After the carols the girls formerly were served hot chocolate in the Red Parlors. Then for some years, until she gave up her home, Mrs. Margaret Kable Russell invited the carolers to her home for a party after the singing. If a snow fell, the occasion was made perfect.

In the pattern of social life a number of customs and traditions have evolved. Of these Miss Pfohl said in her report as dean in 1933:

The observance of college customs and the building and fostering of college traditions are the keynote of many details of daily living as well

as of those academic and social occasions which mark the college year. Prayer after dinner in the dining room, the services rendered by the colored maids, the celebration of Miss Baldwin's birthday, the class teas and dinners, the Christmas party, the faculty-student basketball game, the peanut party, the events of commencement—all these and many more have grown into the Mary Baldwin memories of every student of this year, 1932-33.²³⁴

In spirit these observances embody the ideals and traditions of Mary Baldwin, although their expression of this spirit may hardly merit the term *tradition*. Some of them were still new as specific practices when Miss Pfohl wrote of them, and others have taken on a different form, the commencement ritual, for example, and the prayers in the dining room (now before rather than after dinner). In Miss Baldwin's day a devotional service of Scripture and prayers was held after dinner, a favorite reading of hers being the fifty-fifth chapter of Isaiah, it is said. But these practices all embody and reflect the gracious living in Mary Baldwin and are now well-established customs highly prized by the students as a part of their "rights and privileges" as members of the Mary Baldwin family.

A pretty "custom" begun by the Senior Class of 1930 has not been maintained—to go a-maying. Thus the *Campus Comments* described the event:

The sun, still very young, shone on the green terraces of Mary Baldwin. . . . From Memorial came the members of the class of '30 to celebrate the coming of May with flower and song. They carried bouquets of lilac, the immortal flower of May, which they left, according to an old and lovely custom of another land, at the doors of the various members of the faculty. Favorite songs, sung by this class renowned for its serenades, wakened Mary Baldwin students to the beauty of the perfect May morning. Across the street to the President's home (Dr. Jarman then lived in Fraser) they carried lilacs and sang their class song. Out on the front terrace they ended this charming celebration of the coming of May. . . .²³⁵

A custom of the campus that had been "in and out" for many years is now "out" by the voice of the students concerned; or rather a more pleasing custom has been substituted. That is the practice of hazing. Since the fall of 1940 the sophomores have given a picnic for the entire school in the place of the former

Freshman Day. The picnic of the fall of 1942 took place at the Apple Orchard, where students and faculty gathered a thousand bushels of apples for winter use. Incidentally, the "Apple Basket" has become an established custom in the College. Apples are placed on the Post-office Gallery for students and faculty to get after the daily chapel.

To an alumna of the old school perhaps the most radical change apparent on her first visit would be the presence of young men, most numerous on afternoons and week ends, when underclassmen may have visitors. Although the dating privilege was only gradually expanded, Ima Freshman, comic correspondent to the paper, could write in 1931, "It seems that Mary Baldwin is going co-ed from the amount of boys that came to dinner last Friday night."²³⁶ As the number increased, the Faculty Parlor, the Game Room, and the Upper Back Gallery were opened to them; and in good weather boys and girls fill the front porch, the steps, and the terraces. The privilege of walking with one's date, finally extended to the freshmen, was in part an effort to solve this lack of room for entertainment in the parlors. Many go to the movies. Sunday afternoon was and is (in spite of the walking privilege) the most serious problem. Local visitors are not received then, since this is the only time that young men from certain out-of-town schools can come, and there is not room for all.

To provide means by which the young men from the various schools may meet the girls, the administration, with the assistance of the Student Council, has held Open House for the last several years. At the first Open House, held in October, 1935, young men from Virginia Military Institute, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Washington and Lee, the University of Virginia, and the senior classes of the local military schools were invited, along with the Davidson College football team, which had just played the University, and the Davidson band. The band furnished music from Hill Top steps. The court was used on this occasion and the porches of the dormitories, where the faculty and the Student Council received the guests. Open House has been continued, although it has been found more satisfactory for separate classes to hold Open House on different evenings.

The Dean's office takes an active interest in making it possible

for the girls to meet young men. Studies have been made in an effort to determine whether the dating privilege has an adverse effect on grades. Miss Pfohl concluded from such a study made in 1934 that dates did not interfere with academic work.²³⁷ However, students whose work is not satisfactory may have their social privileges curtailed. The Dean's office has also taken an interest in compiling statistics on dates. In 1934, for example, the number of dates at the College was 2,617, an average of ten for each student in college and more than eighty per cent of the girls had had dates. During the past year Mrs. Stollenwerck's record book, into which the names of all young men visitors go, contains 8,000 recorded dates. More than ninety-eight per cent of the students had dates. Mary Baldwin does not consider the encouragement of and provision for adequate social contacts with young men unimportant, although an effort is made, by basing the extent of this privilege on academic standing, to prevent its abuse.

Not only do the girls have an opportunity to meet young men on the campus, but they may go under chaperonage to dances in the neighboring college and university towns. Week-end privileges are limited except for high honor students. In 1939-40, the Dean's Report indicated that students had been guests at seventy-six dances in Staunton, Lexington, and Charlottesville and at college parties from New Hampshire to Florida.²³⁸ And a *Campus Comments* reporter observed that Mary Baldwin College on a big week end in Lexington or Charlottesville "resembled a Scots village on Tag Day."²³⁹ According to a student estimate in 1935, Washington and Lee ranked first with the girls and the University of Virginia a close second. The writer admitted, however, that V. M. I. with its military dances was very popular and that the Ring Figure, in which each second classman got his ring and the privilege of having it put on and sealed with a kiss from his date, was the most spectacular event of the year.²⁴⁰ But "one of Virginia's most beautiful dances is Washington and Lee's traditional Fancy Dress Ball," in which many Mary Baldwin students have appeared.

This year, 1942, for the first time in her history, dances have been given at Mary Baldwin with young men as guests. Several years ago, 1936-1937, the privilege of informal dancing with

"dates" on the Upper Back Gallery on Friday and Saturday evenings was granted.²⁴¹ Mary Baldwin has not had a convenient place for dances. The dining room was used on two occasions during the session of 1941-42 with, of course, a good deal of inconvenience. Now with the new gymnasium a satisfactory place is provided. On October 4, 1942, the first dance of the year was given there.

Students still enjoy the history, the activities, and the philosophy of the employees: Raymond, who taught them pool; "Fru" who had served so long in Hill Top; Nellie, the successor of Mary Scott, and Rachel; Ed, the genial philosopher of Academic, whose hobby is flower gardening; and many others. There is little change in many of these places from year to year—although the attractions of war industries may take away the dining room maids.

The devotion to Mary Scott, Negro maid in the Seminary and College from 1910 to 1934, exemplifies the fine appreciation of personality and human dignity in Mary Baldwin. Upon her death a memorial bulletin was published by the College in honor of her and a tablet erected in her memory by the student body and alumnae. Mary Scott had spent her early years in the home of President Blackwell of Randolph-Macon College for Men in Ashland, Virginia, and maintained correspondence with the family throughout her life. Her services at Mary Baldwin are described in the following statement of Mrs. Martha S. Grafton, who knew her for several years before her death.

In 1910 Mary Scott came to Mary Baldwin Seminary. For a number of years she was maid in Hill Top and later in Sky High. Recent alumnae will remember Mary Scott best as the person who met them and their guests at the front door of the college, who wrapped their packages for them at vacation time, who found dozens of lost articles, who walked to Memorial or Hill Top any number of times each day with messages and clothes from the cleaner, who made those cheerful fires in the office on dreary days, who looked for girls when their dates called long after roommates had given up the search, and who always had sympathetic advice to offer on many matters of import to a college girl.²⁴²

She died on August 31, 1934, and was buried in Fairview Cemetery just across the road from the Mary Baldwin Athletic Field.

In her last illness she remembered to tell Miss Pfohl, the Dean, that the parlor curtains were ready to be hung and regretted that she would not be able to help open "her school." Of her place in Mary Baldwin life, Dr. Jarman declared: "All who came to Mary Baldwin were sensible of her presence here; all who stayed felt her influence and loved her. . . . Her personality and her loyal service had brought her finally to the very center of college activities." She remains fresh in the memory of "old girls" whose other recollections of the Seminary may have become a little dim with the passing of years.

Of other servants, many of the *alumnæ* will remember Lewis, about whom interesting anecdotes were collected, some of them concerning the visit of Woodrow Wilson in 1912, or his "stage appearances" on Herr Schmidt's recital evenings; or Raymond, who died early in the present year. Raymond inherited Uncle Chess' responsibility for carrying the mail, which he fulfilled so efficiently that he could inform the faculty members who lived in the college from what places they had received letters. He was especially interested in "foreign correspondence." For some years before his death, his health prevented his working, and he was retired on a pension, only coming up to superintend the handling of luggage at the opening and closing of the school. There are many others whose names might be recalled. And there are loyal employees like Bill Crone, who came to Mary Baldwin as a young man and still serves as the supervisor of grounds and buildings. Mr. Crone has many recollections of the old days; he likes to tell how Miss Weimar would call upon him to button some of the numerous buttons on her dress. Mr. Thomson, the night-watchman, who chased away loitering cadets, has been followed by the faithful Mr. Rowe and Mr. Rowan. They have all made up a part of the household.

Beauty and Midget have had a long series of re-incarnations—Scram (Dr. Jarman's dog) who used to accompany the girls on their longer hikes; Count, who wandered up from Walter's Drug Store (Bailey's) and stayed; Hitler (Frances Woolford's); Bismarck; or Wally's various descendants, Flat Foot Fluggie, Penny, and others. And Dr. Fisher's Duke of Windsor (now dead) was an interest of the Riding Club. Ham and Jam are

still a source of speculation. Current tradition says that they are "cadets who came to see their dates but had to wait too long."²⁴³

Current fads and fancies may be collegiate, or just "Mary Baldwin." Knitting has been "in and out" for a number of years and at times provoked student editorials against knitting on formal occasions. Ruth Laué, the German student, taught the girls to knit "fast and furiously."²⁴⁴ Until public orders discouraged promiscuous knitting, a new wave occurred this year for war objectives. There have been waves of yo-yo and jack rocks (even tournaments); and all the new dances and songs.

A student of 1937, writing in the Centennial Commencement issue of *Campus Comments* expressed a conviction (and hope) that, in spite of changes from her day to 1942, changes in part consequent upon the war, the essential pattern of life at Mary Baldwin, "the little things," remained the same—picnics, weekend dances, singing the Alma Mater, formal birthday dinners, "bull sessions" at the Club with cokes, games, long walks about Staunton, vespers, Miss Fannie's brownies, open house at Dr. and Mrs. Jarman's, Sunday nights at the Shedd's, May Day, and the "colorful excitement of commencement."²⁴⁵ Aside from these daily or recurrent joys and pleasures there are the little surprises, sometimes the delight of recognizing in oneself a keener perception or appreciation of the meaning and significance of things. As one student interpreted the influences of life on the campus: "Every day there are hundreds of interesting things happening in our little world here—little bits of things that please or amuse—and it's the consciousness of them that makes being alive and at Mary Baldwin so very grand."²⁴⁶ Mary Baldwin, like a family, may suffer some of the strains consequent upon very close contacts, but she knows likewise the delight of the little kindnesses and pleasures of a home. As a recent new member of the faculty expressed it, she has a distinctive "quality of living."

OCTOBER FOURTH AND COMMENCEMENT

These two foremost ceremonial occasions of the year embody the accumulations of history, but have at the same time undergone considerable evolution in recent years. October 4, Miss Bald-

win's birthday, now designated as Founders' Day in recognition of both the founder, Dr. Bailey, and of Miss Baldwin, has been observed as a holiday since the death of Miss Baldwin. For many years the alumnae have observed it as their homecoming day. Up to 1929, however, there had been no ceremony of the Seminary or College commemorating the day. In 1925, Miss Higgins reported to the Board of Trustees: "On October 4, 1924, the College and Seminary commemorated the ninety-fifth anniversary of Miss Baldwin's birthday. In connection with that event I have read the faculty and students Miss McFarland's "Brief History of Miss Baldwin's Life."²⁴⁷ In the recollection of members of the faculty who were here in those years, this reading must have taken place on the preceding day, as they recall no assembly of the school on October 4.

In the fall of 1929, the ceremony of senior investiture was instituted. Since that time it has been a custom on October 4, for the members of the senior class to be invested formally with their caps and gowns, which they wear to the daily chapel exercises during the remainder of the year. This ceremony underwent some changes before it reached its present form. A student writing for the *News Letter* thus described the first observance, which was unique in that it commemorated the centennial of Miss Baldwin's birth:

The terrace in front of Hill Top formed a beautiful setting for the ceremony. The freshmen, sophomores, and juniors marched from Hill Top and took their places in front of the platform, the freshmen identified by their pink and blue hair ribbon, the sophomores in white suits with capes of purple and gold, the juniors with regalia of green and white.

The prologue to the investiture was read by Miss Elizabeth Fields, '31. As she read of each class, a girl dressed to represent a period in the school's history and that class passed across the platform. As she passed the class grouped on the terrace sang its class song.²⁴⁸

The Seniors led by the President and Dean then advanced up the court from Academic, a sophomore page carrying the cap and gown of each senior, and the formal investiture by the President and Dean followed. After the singing of *Alma Mater*, the Seniors led the procession from the court.

In 1931, the investiture ceremony was transferred to the Front Terrace, and the entire faculty in academic dress took

part in it.²⁴⁹ All students wore white as they do today, and each senior had two attendants. Several talks were given by students, faculty, and alumnæ on the history of the school. In 1932, the Ivy Ceremony, the planting of the ivy by a student representing each class and by Dr. Jarman representing the faculty as the school sang the Ivy Song, was instituted.²⁵⁰ Dr. Jarman made an address on the significance of the investiture. In 1933, occurred the first formal address by an outside speaker, a practice continued since that day. In 1934, the student press spoke of the Ivy Ceremony as traditional, and in 1935, as "a tradition at Mary Baldwin for many years!"²⁵¹ The ceremony of senior investiture is impressive in its dignity and in the seriousness with which it is received by the entire student body.

The ceremony, pageantry, and social events of commencement have likewise undergone change, although retaining certain events and forms of the past. The art exhibition, for instance, has been a feature since Miss Baldwin's day; Class Day and May Day since the early years of the twentieth century, and the Garden Party began in the 1920's. In its more formal academic events, the baccalaureate sermon and graduation program, commencement at Mary Baldwin presents the characteristic aspects of the college world. Academic costume had been introduced by the College in 1924, but the retention of the Seminary gave much of the aspect and atmosphere of the old "sweet girl graduate in white" to the commencement season until the Seminary was closed in 1929. Commencements have been further formalized by college marshals in special dress and by Dr. Mildred Taylor's efficient direction. Preparing for commencement now consists in responding to her insistent whistle instead of "bleaching" and practicing "to receive medals." Only the copious tears of "sweet girl graduate" days remain. Mary Baldwin girls are still romantic and sentimental about personal relationships and the "old school ties."

The events of commencement week open on Thursday evening with a high tea given at the Country Club, or occasionally at Rose Terrace, by Dr. and Mrs. Jarman and the two deans. A breakfast for the class by the sponsor, the Garden Party on the Front Terrace for the entire faculty and student group on Saturday evening honoring seniors and their guests and other commencement visitors, Sunday dinner in the college dining room

for seniors and their families, and the alumnae banquet, to which they are invited constitute other social functions for the graduates. The former commencement students' soiree or recital has given place to a concert by the fine arts faculty on Saturday evening. On Sunday evening the seniors conduct a farewell vesper service.

Class Day retains from year to year its ceremonies of the laurel chain, the presentation of the class gift to the College, and of the class colors to the incoming freshman class, but the programs are varied. The tendency at present seems to be to go back to the combination of Class Day and May Day Pageant on Saturday afternoon. The pageant deserves special mention. The May Queen chosen by the student body has as her court the Senior Class, before whom the pageant is presented on the Upper Terrace between Sky High and Hill Top. As the Queen, her two attendants, and her court of seniors march down from Hill Top to the throne by Sky High, one can recapture in imagination a picture of the days when Hill Top was made gay and glamorous by the four daughters of Judge Thompson, reputed far and wide for their beauty, just as Hill Top was known in ante-bellum days for its elaborate social festivities.

The May Day pageants are interesting and significant both in theme and in manner of production. The art and physical education directors cooperate in the production with the assistance of students who help with the music and the dances. Students also assist the art director in the planning of costumes. In 1934, students were asked to suggest themes and a plan for the pageant, and an idea worked out by two students was accepted. This pageant suggested by Van Loon's *Geography*, just published, consisted of two parts presenting humanity in conflict (Van Loon's "So These are the people who live in the world we live in") and the forces of nature ("So this is the world we live in"), with a final accord between Humanity and Nature and a dance of peace. Among the other themes of the pageants have been Mother Goose (1930) and Alice in Wonderland (1932), always favorites in Mary Baldwin; Pandora (1931), with the classic theme and dances; Gareth and Lynette (1933), with medieval background; Virginiana (1935), based on Mary Johnston's poem "Virginia," depicting Queen Elizabeth's dreams of Raleigh's new-found land; Coronation and a real English

May Day and Maypole in 1937 with court and folk dances; Austria in 1860 (1938), with the queen attending a country fair with its variety of peasant dances of the different nationalities of the old Empire; Americana (1939), a panorama of modern America with sports, regional culture, new themes in art and music, surrealism, jazz, etc.; and Fiesta Day in Mexico (1940), with bull fights and Spanish, Indian, and Mexican dances featuring Irma (Sally) Salinas of Monterey, Mexico. Thus the romance of the past and the realities of today have been artistically combined in the cooperative work of students and faculty. In spite of the satisfaction of the final beautiful display, perhaps the chief significance of the pageant lies in the fact that it is a laboratory in which the student can see and participate in the process of artistic creation.

The program of lectures and concerts offered by the College to students, faculty, and the people of Staunton has no particular relation to these events of October 4 or commencement, except that one of the chief features of the concert program is secured for the evening of October 4 to follow the formal dinner honoring the newly invested seniors. But these programs deserve special mention here or elsewhere. They are not a mere incidental feature or addendum to the program of education. Indeed, until the final word is said, it is perhaps difficult to say what is incidental and what is fundamental in the process of education. In the "busyness" and distractions of modern college life, students do not always find time to enjoy these opportunities offered, but many do accept them and express their appreciation. It has been the policy of the administration recently to have many of these programs at the chapel hour when all students are present. The following *Campus Comments* account of the concert of the Saengerknaben of Vienna, whom the College secured on their first American tour, indicates the spontaneous and generous enthusiasm of student response as well as its youthful romanticism:

If angels wear sailor suits, and ride in buses, twenty-two little angels stood on the chapel stage on Saturday night, November the 5th, when the Saengerknaben of Vienna appeared in concert at Mary Baldwin. The little one in red brocade, who crouched on the stage and sang an aria replete with magic words, would make an angel work very hard to excel

him in voice, poise, personal charm, or dramatic ability. Was the "coquettish Bastienne" with the lovely soprano voice a little girl-angel? Was it because the Saengerknaben were celestial that scores of Mary Baldwin girls swarmed after them down the halls, and outside to their bus? Not at all. It is because the Saengerknaben have the most beautiful and best-trained children's voices in the world that people want to touch them and hear them say hum-drum words like "I'm sleepy" (and who wouldn't be exhausted after a day of traveling, and an evening devoted to the faultless rendition of difficult music).

There was tremendous applause after the solos and dances of the Mozart opera. After the "Blue Danube" no one could endure for an instant letting them go. One of the encores, "Dixie," appealed so strongly to the southern audience that almost as one person it went behind the scenes to see the little singers in their navy blue coats, and round caps with "Saengerknaben" across the front. ²⁵²

It would not be profitable to list the many programs of music, drama, and lectures, but its general character and scope may well be indicated and certain objectives sought by the administration. As to the latter, an effort is made to enlarge the educative values and the artistic or intellectual appreciation of the students through visits of artists and lecturers from a few hours or a day to several days in order that students and faculty may become acquainted with the visitors. Perhaps one of the more pleasing and fruitful memories of the students of that day is the visit of Maurice Hindus, outstanding authority on the Russian peasant, who sat in the Dean's office and smoked (unusual privilege since no one smokes there, not even visitors) and talked with the students and faculty. Later he returned for an October 4 lecture (1941) and entranced a packed Chapel for two hours. Another privilege accorded to artists is a visit to the Club House, where several have participated in "bull sessions" and "sings." Many spend the day and talk to some of the classes. In 1937, Harold Bauer, internationally known pianist, secured through the Association of American Colleges, spent two days at the College, during which time he gave a concert, spoke in chapel on the importance of intellect in music and the relation of music to other branches of study, and visited classes in an advisory capacity. Artists and lecturers are frequently entertained in the college dining room and at receptions for students and faculty. These are only instances of a general use of the concert series for the cultural education of the student body.

In the field of music there has been a generous variety of programs both as to type and as to national origin of the performers. The Don Cossack Chorus has appeared twice (sponsored on one visit by the Alumnæ Association); among others are Efrem Zimbalist, famous violinist, incidentally of historic Rostov; the Byzantine Ensemble, under the direction of Christos Vrionides; the Trio Italiana; Ruggiero Ricci and his young sister, Emma; the Paris String Quintet; the English singers with their sixteenth century madrigals; Metropolitan Opera stars, such as Julius Huehn, Rose Bampton, and Josephine Antoine; the English baritone, Arthur Fear, on his first tour; Carl Weinrich, organist; the National Chamber Orchestra of Rudolph Ganz, and the Little Philharmonic of George Shapiro; the notable pianists, Josef and Rosina Lhevinne; and the Virginian, John Powell. In the field of drama and dramatic criticism John Mason Brown has appeared for several programs; more recently Elissa Landi spoke on "The Play's the Thing—or is it?"; and Edna St. Vincent Millay and Carl Sandburg have read from their poems. Art has been interpreted through the dance by Hanya Holm, Sophia Delza, and others.

Among other lecturers, Alfred Adler and Arthur Compton have spoken in the fields of psychology and physics; Amelia Earhart (sponsored by the alumnæ) on aviation; Vincent Sheean (also an alumnæ program), Alfred Duff Cooper, Alice Salomon, Hilary Newitt, Max Brauer, Thomas Ybarra, Massimo Salvadori, William Henry Chamberlin, and others in public affairs. Alice Salomon, pioneer German social worker, discussed women under Nazi rule; Hilary Newitt, Canadian lecturer, talked on the place of women in international affairs; Max Brauer, ex-mayor of Altona, German refugee in the United States, spent a day at the College in lectures and round-table discussion on the underground anti-Nazi movement in Europe. During the past year Mary Baldwin was honored by a visit of the venerable Helen Keller, whose niece, Katharine Keller is a student in the College. Since the audience overflowed the Chapel, the program was transferred to the First Presbyterian Church, and the students from the Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind were invited as guests.

One other feature of the programs offered the students (and

faculty) by the College should be recorded—the Hampton Institute Quartet. The problem of race relations in the United States, intensified by the war situation, gives added significance to the work of this famous Negro school and especially to this internationally known quartet, which has labored for years to promote better interracial relations. They appear almost every year at Mary Baldwin and are among the most popular guest artists. The leader of the group is incidentally one of the most effective speakers that has appeared on the Mary Baldwin stage in recent years.

THE COLLEGE IN WORLD WAR II

Needless to say, it is not possible now to conclude what will be the ultimate contribution of Mary Baldwin to the prosecution of the war or the definition of the peace nor the effects of the war on the College. Long before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the College faculty and students had begun to feel the impact of the war to some degree at least. Lecture programs featured European leaders in politics and public affairs, as indicated above. Student assembly discussions and course content in science, history, and other fields were oriented toward the war in Europe and the East and its relation to the United States. Students and faculty had contributed to Bundles for Britian and Chinese relief. The presence in the faculty of a Canadian of strong British sympathies, of a Jew of German parentage, and a Nordic of German ancestry colored attitudes toward the question of the active participation of the United States, along with differences of temperament, age, philosophic bias, or perhaps of sectional and political preconceptions. It would be incorrect to say, however, that the war had seriously aroused the faculty or student body to definite action or to an organized effort to hasten action before the entrance of the United States into the war on December 7. Some members of the faculty had participated in national pressure groups, such as the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, and others of a similar character.

The administration had already had to consider the effect of priority rulings on its building program, discussed below, and had begun to consider the revision of its centennial plans in the face of the world crisis and the probability of the entrance of

the United States into the war. In view of the impossibility of predicting the effect of the war on student enrollment for 1942-43 (which at the date of opening is up to capacity) the administration had suggested to the faculty, as in World War I, that it agree to share any possible failure of the current income to cover expense in order to avoid drawing on the endowment; and the group unanimously accepted such conditional contracts. Also the catalogue contained a statement that "due to the rapidly rising cost of food and supplies, the College reserves the right to increase the general fee (\$800) in the sum of \$50 prior to July 1, 1942," but this increase was not put into effect.

In demonstrations, or lack of demonstration, this war has differed from previous wars in the absence of parades, flag-waving, etc. Thus one finds no "patriotic parades" or pageants at Mary Baldwin as there were in 1917-18. The administration and faculty have sought to discourage any tendency to psychological upset and to maintain the normal routine of the school so far as possible and with gratifying success. President Jarman cut short his usual mid-winter vacation (taken instead of a summer one) to return to the College for the January opening in 1942. In a chapel talk he spoke to the faculty and student body on "College Women in the War Emergency," emphasizing the importance of educated women both for the war and the reconstruction which must follow and their responsibility for the maintenance of morale and the preservation of spiritual values in civilization. Women need to prepare, he pointed out, for an enlarged sphere of duty and opportunity which will doubtless follow the war, just as new fields for women were opened up by the Civil War and World War I. "We commit ourselves not to education 'as usual' but to education *more and better* than usual," he declared. He anticipated certain changes in or additions to the curriculum and to the extra-curricular program, and emphasized the importance of meeting in good spirit the "smaller demands of the days before us," the privations and inconveniences.²⁵³

In an emergency meeting of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools held early in the year, in which President Jarman participated, it was decided that the colleges would offer their resources to win the war, but that they would continue to maintain scholastic standards. The Association dis-

approved the policy of Hutchins of Chicago to grant a degree after two years of college work.²⁵⁴ President Jarman also took part in the conference of the presidents of the standard colleges of Virginia to discuss college war measures; and he and Mrs. Grafton, Dean of Instruction, attended a meeting of the Virginia women's colleges held at Randolph-Macon for the same purpose.

In the meantime an emergency organization was set up at Mary Baldwin, consisting of a faculty committee on academic matters and joint faculty and student committees on morale, physical fitness, books for soldiers, defense savings, and emergency preparedness. The faculty approved the recommendations of the committee on academic matters arising out of the war that there should be no institutional acceleration but that individuals meeting certain requirements, mental and physical, might be permitted to accelerate their programs through summer study at accredited colleges with the approval of the dean and the major professor.²⁵⁵ Certain curricular changes have been made for the current session, 1942-43. A course in Household Physics is offered to teach the student to attend to simple plumbing needs, to repair electrical equipment, and to attend to the various mechanical needs in the home; Problems of a World at War is a two-hour session course on the geographic, economic, social, and political problems of the present taught by professors in history, economics, education, and sociology; and Current World History is a new course. The administration anticipates the need for other curricular changes, although it is recognized that considerable change can be made within the present curriculum by changes of emphasis and of course content. In counseling students, emphasis is placed on courses in science and mathematics and on courses needed for entering the profession of teaching. In the fall of 1942, Dr. Philip Davidson, Dean of the Graduate School, Vanderbilt University, led a Work Conference at Mary Baldwin in which the faculty undertook a critical study of the curriculum and of teaching procedures both from the standpoint of war emergencies and of possible future needs. The analysis begun in the Work Conference is being continued by the faculty at its monthly conferences.

During the spring of 1942 emergency courses were organized in automobile mechanics and first aid for all students who desired them. Fifty-eight students took the course in first aid and

seventy-five completed the mechanics course. These courses are being given again in 1942-43. Other non-credit courses given are photography, home nursing, and Keeping up with the War.

Another effect of the war on the academic life of the school results from the recent policy of the administration to employ men for one-third the positions in the faculty. Three members of the faculty have gone into the armed service, and others will probably go. Thus far these have been replaced by other men.

Through the physical education department and the special faculty-student committee on physical fitness, members of the faculty and student body were urged to make a special effort to keep well in order to render better service and to save essential drugs and the services of physicians. Students and faculty agreed to observe a "siesta" of one-half hour after lunch, made possible through a slight change of the afternoon schedule. Special emphasis was put on daily exercise; faculty members were chosen as captains of rival student teams for baseball; and the faculty participated with students in other sports. An organization of students and faculty was set up to institute and enforce the blackout regulations. With minor changes these activities are continued this year.

Through the committee on books for soldiers satisfactory results were obtained. Faculty, students, and employees agreed to a regular plan of investment in defense bonds and stamps. In addition, a quiz program with Hampden-Sydney and a Defense Dance following it were given as a benefit for the purchase of defense stamps. The dance held in the dining-room was an innovation instituted during the past year. Incidentally, another result of the war was an increase in May and June weddings among the students. Although the enrollment for the years 1942-43 is up to capacity, the percentage of returning students is slightly lower than usual, a fact attributable perhaps to war conditions.

Mary Baldwin alumnae are entering the WAACs and the WAVES and other phases of war work, including industry and nursing. Special mention might be made of the appointment of Miss Winifred Love, '35, Executive Secretary of the Alumnae Association, as an ensign in the WAVES.

The College recognizes the possibility that more radical changes in curriculum and college life may be necessary and de-

sirable, and the administration is ready to anticipate and meet such demands. It believes, nevertheless, that a cultural education in the liberal arts is as essential, even more essential, for the future than in the past as a preparation for the intellectual leadership that the college and university should provide.

PROGRESS IN THE ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITY OF THE ALUMNÆ

The Alumnæ Association, the organization of which was begun in 1893 and perfected in 1894, has been referred to many times in connection with the movements for a standard college and an endowment. Nevertheless, it deserves a special section devoted to its problems and achievements. Those who attempted the organization of Mary Baldwin alumnæ faced more than the usual difficulties that attend such an effort. The wide geographical distribution of a relatively small body made contacts of many alumnæ with others difficult. Moreover, many students came only for one or two years, and the great majority did not graduate. Some went on to other schools or colleges, and thus their loyalties were divided. There was, it is true, a number who came for all their education, entering as primary students, and many who came for one or two years only retained a deep affection for and loyalty to the school. For many years the Alumnæ Association was operated with very limited funds, a condition which restricted its work of effecting an organization. Like most women's schools Mary Baldwin lacked intercollegiate athletics as a means of promoting the interest of the alumnæ.

That alumnæ long separated from the Seminary and with no recent contacts or information still retained a strong sentimental attachment for the school is indicated by the following letter, which was written to Miss Weimar and the faculty of the Seminary in 1907:

Dear Teachers in our Beloved Seminary:

It was my very great pleasure to take the initiative in organizing the ex-students of the Seminary now residing in Dallas. . . .

One object is to unite the "old girls" to do honor to our Alma Mater and the memory of her who has inspired all who came within her beneficent influence—the great and good Mary Julia Baldwin—and also to enjoy each other and closer weld the precious tie. Any recognition from your body or suggestion for our duty, progress, or pleasure will be gratefully appreciated.

We would like to have catalogues, yearbooks, pictorial advertising matter, or other souvenirs which would interest or benefit our members or serve the institution. We would ask your help in securing the addresses of the Texas students and ex-students and any information on the subject at your command. It will be our historian's duty to secure accurate data relating to the Texas students and to print it in a book for our delectation and perhaps to secure funds for a Texas scholarship in the Seminary.

Dear Miss Nannie Tate is perhaps the only one of you who remembers Mary Thompson, of Alabama, and Louella Styles, of Georgia, for the world was young when we attended together. But we love all of you and wish you to know that many Texas women realize the debt they owe to Mary Baldwin Seminary. Several of us wear the Augusta Female Seminary pin and have seen no other, nor do we know the colors of the school. Will some one tell us these things and that we are still remembered and loved?

With loyal affection,
LOUELLA STYLES VINCENT²⁵⁶

The sentimental attachment, the desire to perpetuate school-girl friendships and to recall "old days at the Seminary" remained for many years the chief bond uniting the *alumnæ*. Reminiscences of the past rather than plans for the future were the themes for general *alumnæ* meetings and for chapter meetings, as these local groups began to be organized. The members loved to have teas with elaborate decorations and refreshments in Mary Baldwin colors, to give programs reminiscent of old times, to read letters from absent members, or to memorialize the dear departed ones. The origin of the organization lay in the devotion to Miss Baldwin and the desire to please and honor her in her last days. Its continued existence for some years rested primarily on the devotion to her memory. Among other personalities around whom the *alumnæ* later drew together Miss Strickler, Miss Riddle, Miss Tate, and Mr. King were outstanding. But personal devotion and loyalty very soon began to find practical forms of expressions in material contributions and constructive criticism of the Seminary program; and, in later years, co-operative effort toward the achievement of such aims became a main bond of unity and of progress in organization.

Reference has been made in the preceding chapter to the early publication of the *Alumnæ Association*, *The Record*, issued in 1896, 1898, and 1902, which contained a full history of the or-

ganization up to 1902, in addition to a wealth of material on the history of the Seminary. The writer has at hand bulletins of the Association of 1907 and 1911, and from 1913 to the present. Whether others were published, she does not know. That they were not issued regularly in the early years is indicated by a statement of Mrs. Nellie Hotchkiss McCullough in her short history of the Association written in 1919 that an annual booklet was issued from time to time.²⁵⁷ The *Bulletin* of 1907, a very small pamphlet of fifteen pages, announced that the annual meeting of the year would be held in Jamestown. The prominence of Southern sentiment among the alumnae is suggested by the fact that the date set was June 8, "immediately after the unveiling of a monument to Jefferson Davis in Richmond." "It is thought," the *Bulletin* went on to state, "that many of our 'old girls' from the South will be in Richmond on that occasion and would desire to go on to Jamestown directly after. . . ." ²⁵⁸ (This was the year of the Jamestown Exposition.) If there were organized chapters at this time the general organization (referred to as the Home Association) knew nothing of them, but it urged the members to form such units. The *Bulletin* of 1911 included a list of members, which contained one hundred thirty-nine names.²⁵⁹ The annual meeting, held for some years in September, had been changed to May and made the first event on the program of commencement week, a place held since that time. Again there were no reports of chapters but an earnest appeal that chapters be formed. In 1913, however, chapters were reported in Harrisonburg, Virginia (1912), Knoxville, Tennessee (1912), Washington (1913), and Birmingham (1913).²⁶⁰ The Staunton Chapter was not organized until 1914.²⁶¹ The chairman of the general membership committee announced one hundred eleven new members at this meeting and new chapters in Selma, Alabama; Roanoke, Virginia; and Columbia, South Carolina. The Staunton Chapter came as a result of a suggestion at this meeting. That Staunton was the center of the "Home Association" no doubt accounts for the fact that no separate local organization had been formed. In 1915, chapters were reported in Norfolk, Virginia, and Charleston, South Carolina, and in 1917 a chapter in Atlanta, Georgia.

In 1911, it was proposed that the constitution of the Association be amended to provide that vice-presidents be chosen from

the classes instead of by states, as the constitution had provided, "with the expectation of inaugurating and fostering class reunions at the annual meetings."²⁶² This change was made. And, in fact, the reunions were begun in that same year through the initiative of Mrs. Sue Stribling Snodgrass, who brought together her class of 1891. One of the early reunions created much enthusiasm—that of the Class of 1912, the first organized class, which held a reunion in 1914.²⁶³ Indeed, this class sought to include all ex-students of 1912 as well as its own members. In the meantime, the Association, with the assistance of the class vice-presidents, was beginning the work of preparing class lists. Certain Staunton members, Luise Eisenberg and Louise Rawlings, did loyal service in making up lists from the Seminary records; and, where these did not exist (prior to 1891), they used the records compiled by Mrs. Nellie Hotchkiss McCullough when she was president of the Association from 1900-1904.²⁶⁴ Mrs. McCullough, an early Seminarian, has been, indeed, a "sort of living archive" of Seminary history, personal and institutional.

Under the impetus of the endowment campaign the membership increased to 700 in 1926.²⁶⁵ The status of the organization was considered far from gratifying, however, as the following report of the president, Mrs. Margaret Kable Russell, indicates:

We have the names of 5,800 old girls and the addresses of 3,500 of this number. The total membership in the Alumnae Association is 700. Therefore, to be an Association worthy of the name, we must enroll those 5,100 eligible girls.

We have small local chapters in Atlanta, Knoxville, Washington, New York, and Western Pennsylvania. In Staunton and Augusta we have what appears to be a large chapter—109 members—but there are 230 additional girls who should be members, so here at home we are as derelict as we are in the field at large.

Therefore, it is apparent before we can hope to be of real service to our Alma Mater, we must become an Association that in numbers, enthusiasm, and loyalty, takes rank with the associations of the women's colleges, which everywhere in these United States are doing yeoman's service for their Alma Maters.²⁶⁶

It will be noted from this report that a number of the earlier chapters had disappeared, in some cases due primarily perhaps to the removal of the persons who had promoted them. Mrs. Elizabeth Hanger Chalenor, for example, had organized the Nor-

folk Chapter; and she moved soon to Atlanta and started a chapter there.²⁶⁷ After two years the Norfolk Chapter ceased to function. Under Mrs. Chalenor's leadership the Atlanta Chapter grew into one of the finest units. The campaign for the endowment had resulted in special efforts to establish contact with alumnæ who had never been reached before, but, according to the report of the president, Mrs. Russell, to the Board of Trustees in 1928, the failure to follow up the campaign effort with an attempt at organization had proved almost disastrous.²⁶⁸ (The Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees reported that sixty organized chapters had been formed but apparently they were not sufficiently permanent to be recorded in the alumnæ *Bulletin*.) Some alumnæ did not approve the transfer of the Seminary to Synod control, and the failure of the campaign to achieve its objectives discouraged others. The education of the alumnæ as to the needs of Mary Baldwin had proved difficult. Although a few had worked loyally and contributed generously, the percentage was small. The subscriptions in the campaign up to 1927 had been gifts of only three hundred thirty-one out of more than five thousand alumnæ. No doubt the impression existed among them as well as in the public at large that Mary Baldwin was self-sufficient as a business concern and needed no assistance.

From 1926, the Association expanded its organization and activities through the able leadership of Mrs. Russell, elected president in 1926, and with financial assistance granted by the Board of Trustees. In 1928, Mrs. Russell reported the formation of seven new chapters, which brought the total to fifteen, and an increase of membership to 1,023, representing forty-two states.²⁶⁹ The work on a register of all alumnæ made progress through the faithful labor of Miss Fannie Strauss, the national treasurer, who had been chiefly responsible for maintaining the national organization, Mrs. Russell declared, and through the efforts of Mrs. Ellen Howison Christian, the campaign secretary.²⁷⁰ In March, 1927, a list of all alumnæ with all the addresses known and a request for aid in locating the "lost" were published.²⁷¹ This list constituted a great step toward the preparation of an alumnæ directory, which was published in 1930.

In the meantime new methods of contact with alumnæ had

been devised. The annual *Bulletin* was replaced by the *News Letter* to be issued four times a year and mailed to all alumnæ whose addresses were known. A birthday list was prepared by Mrs. Mary Benham Mitchell Black and Mrs. Dorothy Hisey Bridges and birthday cards mailed; and an information service was instituted to aid those who moved into new communities to establish contact with Mary Baldwin alumnæ, or to give other information requested. The birthday cards had great appeal. The first of these contained Roselle Mercier Montgomery's poem, "Across the Years," in a form suitable for framing. Among many letters of appreciation one wrote: "'Across the Years' is lovely, and I read it several times a day. It is like a refreshing glimpse of Mary Baldwin and old friends."²⁷² In 1926, October 4, Miss Baldwin's birthday was observed by the national organization for the first time, and the Mary Baldwin Granddaughters were invited to the alumnæ luncheon. The new constitution published in 1927 stated: "October Fourth, Miss Baldwin's birthday, shall be celebrated by the National Association in a suitable manner each year and shall be known as 'Mary Baldwin Day.'"²⁷³ Alumnæ were invited to return to the College, and local chapters were requested to observe the day. For some years the Staunton Chapter had observed it and had invited neighboring alumnæ as guests. Since the institution of Mary Baldwin Day, now known as Founders' Day, many chapters have held meetings in commemoration of the founders of the school.

In recent years the alumnæ have made considerable progress in active membership and in chapter organization in connection with their support of the New Century Program discussed below. In 1940, the Executive Secretary reported an active paid membership of 13 per cent of all ex-students, a percentage considered high in alumnæ association circles.²⁷⁴ The Association had the second highest percentage of paid members reported at the Southern District Convention of the American Alumnæ Association that year. In 1942, the secretary reported fifty-five active chapters extending from California to New York and down to Florida and a paid membership of more than 17 per cent of the alumnæ. In 1938, the Washington Chapter celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in a special meeting at which Miss Margaret Daniel, secretary of the chapter for thirteen years, presented a

history of its activities. In 1939, the New York Chapter held a similar anniversary, and Mrs. Jeannette Baker Felter, founder of the chapter, presented its history. News from the chapters in the *News Letter* reveal many interesting activities, social and educational, undertaken by these groups. A considerable amount of chapter activity has been concerned with raising money for the missionary scholarship or the New Century Program, to which both individuals and chapters are contributing; or with contacts with Mary Baldwin students in their localities. Nevertheless, these groups of college women have also undertaken social service beyond the immediate interests of their Alma Mater, such as the project of the Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania) Chapter to have one meeting a month to sew for charity or the study club sponsored by the Staunton Chapter as an enterprise in adult education, to the success of which much credit is due Gloria Jones Atkinson, the chairman.²⁷⁵ The Staunton Chapter, under the leadership of Mrs. Emily Pancake Smith and other chairmen, has contributed much to the College and the city through sponsoring opera, drama, and lectures. Often the College has cooperated with this chapter in bringing these entertainments. If space allowed, many other faithful alumnae who have done constructive work in chapter organization and activity might be mentioned.

Mention might be made incidentally of a recent project of the national organization for increasing its budget, which has served also as a beautiful memento of Mary Baldwin—the Wedgwood plates with a picture of Main Building. Hundreds of these have been purchased by alumnae.

Although the alumnae have subscribed to the endowment of the College and have contributed in other ways, outlined below, to its program, the Association has not been self-supporting. Both campaigns among the alumnae have been financed by the College. Since 1926, the College has included the Alumnae Association in its regular budget. Up to 1926, the Association had lived from its membership dues of one dollar a year. There were no paid officers. But the increasing volume of correspondence and of publication consequent upon the effort to effect a better organization and to do more constructive work for the College demanded a larger budget and secretarial help beyond voluntary services of the Staunton alumnae, who have always contributed gener-

ously of their time. The first appropriation of the Board of Trustees to the Association (in 1926) was for \$200 only, to aid in the cost of printing and postage, but since 1927 an annual grant of \$1,200 has been made.²⁷⁶

The College has also provided an *alumnæ* office. In 1913, the *alumnæ* secretary was granted a place in Mr. King's office to keep her records.²⁷⁷ In 1927, the Board of Trustees appointed him custodian of the *alumnæ* files and authorized him to spend a reasonable amount in preserving them.²⁷⁸ For a short time the *alumnæ* had an office in the Y. M. C. A. Building. During the first year of his administration Dr. Jarman provided an office for the *Alumnæ* Association in Main Building. Since 1931, the Association has had a permanent home in the Club House, which was rented and later purchased by the College. The executive secretary is granted residence at the College, and thus is able to function more happily as a tie between the *alumnæ* and the students.

In 1927, the *Alumnæ* Association secured a part-time executive secretary. Two *alumnæ*, Eugenia Bumgardner and Dorothy Morriss Fauver, held this position in turn. Since 1929, four full-time executive secretaries have rendered loyal service to the College and the *alumnæ*: Mary Houston Turk, Constance Curry Carter, Mary Moore Pancake, and Winifred Love. The *Alumnæ* Association is a member of the National *Alumnæ* Council, and participates in its regional conferences. In 1936, the Executive Secretary, Mary Moore Pancake, spoke at the regional meeting of the body on "The *Alumnæ* Institute and Adult Education," with particular reference to Mary Baldwin's first *Alumnæ* Week-end.²⁷⁹

Through the years since 1893 the following *alumnæ* have served in succession as national presidents of the *Alumnæ* Association: Miss Nannie Tate, Mrs. Betty Guy Winston, Mrs. Mattie Beggs-Spratt, Mrs. Nellie Hotchkiss McCullough, Mrs. Sallie Spear Hicks, Mrs. Anne Hotchkiss Howison, Mrs. Margaret Peale Wright, Miss Kate Earle Terrell, Mrs. Elizabeth Hanger Chalenor, Mrs. Annie Cobb Toms, Mrs. Reba Andrews Arnold, Mrs. Margaret Kable Russell, Mrs. Mary Edgar Hebbard Parmelee, Mrs. Maggie Bell Roller Robinson, and Mrs. Mary Bell Archer Mapp. The present president is Mrs. Anvilla Prescott Shultz.

From 1940-42, Mrs. Russell served the Association again as president at a very important period in its history (she was president from 1926 to 1932).

To Mrs. Russell belongs also the distinction of having been the first alumnæ member of the Board of Trustees of the College and the only woman who has served as a member of the Executive Committee. Perhaps no service of Dr. Jarman to the alumnæ has been more vital to the integrity of the organization than this recognition which he secured for them in 1933. As related above, there are today three women on the Board, two of them alumnæ, the other the daughter of an alumna and mother of two alumnæ.

Dr. Jarman has emphasized continuously the service of the alumnæ and encouraged their activities. And the Alumnæ Association has worked energetically to establish more effective contacts with the college group. The permanent office and secretary on the campus have been the main agency, but the Staunton Chapter has been active in bringing the alumnæ interest to the students, just as the various local chapters have been in their communities. Ties between the alumnæ and the Seminary and College have always been close in sentiment and in informal personal associations, but have not always been directed toward a constructive objective for the institution. Nevertheless, these informal associations have rendered a very distinctive service in the transmission of traditions, customs, atmosphere—those ideas and attitudes and sentiments that are a part of the heritage from the past. Students of today enjoy chapel talks or other contacts with alumnæ who knew Miss Baldwin and of some whose mothers were students under Dr. Bailey. From such associations memories are lengthened into the past and the generations of Mary Baldwin are united.

Association between student groups and the alumnæ organization, although more numerous today, had their beginnings in the past. Before the alumnæ had a regular publication, the *Blue-stocking* and *Miscellany* carried news of the activities and the achievements of the alumnæ to such an extent that they served as real alumnæ bulletins. Students patronized the Christmas bazaar conducted for some years by the Staunton Chapter with gifts furnished by other chapters and individuals. The Staunton alumnæ

in turn helped the students in their projects to raise funds for the *Bluestocking*. Under Mrs. Russell's direction the social ties were drawn closer. The members of the Granddaughters Club were the guests of the alumnæ on October 4, and the seniors and sometimes the juniors at the alumnæ banquet. Mrs. Russell's home became a sort of retreat for student groups.

Nothing has contributed so much toward effective association of students and alumnæ as the Alumnæ Club House, in which are combined a social center for the students and the alumnæ office and residence of the executive secretary. Here also are found rooms where visiting alumnæ may be entertained. The Club House is under the immediate supervision of a committee of the Staunton Chapter, which works in cooperation with the student government organization. The alumnæ secure a resident manager on a commission basis. The Club House has proved a satisfactory financial asset as well as an effective social one.²⁸⁰ Through the assistance of the College the alumnæ have been able to realize in it an improvement on a dream of twenty-five years ago. In 1917, representatives of the alumnæ had discussed certain proposed reforms with the Board of Trustees. "An attractive tea room at the farm, to which teachers and girls could go for their Monday holiday and leisure afternoon hours... was recommended as a restful and luxurious innovation which would prove a great drawing card to the school."²⁸¹ In addition to teas or receptions to seniors at the Club House, the Staunton alumnæ occasionally entertain the entire student body there.

Today the Alumnæ Association undertakes a definite orientation of the student into alumnæ needs, interests, and activities. The freshman receives a letter of welcome before she arrives, the College provides a place in the freshman orientation program for a lecture by the alumnæ secretary, and on the chapel program for talks by the national president of the association and other officers, or by outstanding local or visiting alumnæ. The result of this program of education is observable in the enthusiasm and active support of recent alumnæ, not only of graduates but also of those who leave before graduation.²⁸²

The Alumnæ Association has not confined its activities merely to organization, the development of alumnæ interest among the students, and the "remembrance of things past." In those

activities the alumnae have had practical and constructive objectives in view. A main objective had always been to bring students to the Seminary. The little *Bulletin* of 1907 stated this aim beautifully:

The object of the Alumnae Association is to cherish and perpetuate that feeling of loyalty to her Alma Mater which beats in the heart of every daughter of the Seminary, and to engender that same loyalty in the hearts of the daughters of the daughters.

To which end the Association has bent its energies first to bringing together at its annual meetings as many of the old girls as possible, that they may renew the happy memories of their schooldays; second, in order that the coming generation may be instilled with the same spirit which imbues their mothers, aunts, and cousins, all members are urged to disseminate their own enthusiasm throughout their circle of young acquaintances. By so doing, they would uphold the arms of the institution and insure to her the presence of pupils whose loyalty would be an inheritance.

As there are a number of such ambitious young girls who cannot afford a higher education, it is the plan of the Association to devote its dues other than the necessary current expenses to the endowment of scholarships.²⁸³

That the individual alumnae as well as the Association have contributed to the perpetuation of the institution is indicated by the long list of daughters, granddaughters, cousins, nieces, and friends they have sent. That the Association could not contribute much in its early years in the establishment of scholarships from its dues is evident from the fact that the dues were at that time fifty cents a year and the membership was only one hundred thirty-nine by 1911. Nevertheless, the Alumnae Scholarship, proposed in Miss Baldwin's day and established in 1900, paid for the books and stationery of a day student, the Board of Trustees granting the tuition.²⁸⁴ By 1911, a fund of \$500 had been accumulated, the interest on which maintained the Alumnae Scholarship. Through this aid a number of local students benefited, one of whom later became a president of the national organization. The Board of Trustees granted the tuition to the student selected to receive this Alumnae Scholarship.

In 1901, it will be recalled, the alumnae had placed the memorial window in the Chapel in honor of Miss Baldwin. In 1919, the Association established in her memory a scholarship to be granted to the daughter of a missionary. Perhaps no action of the

Alumnæ Association had or could have a wider appeal to the students who knew Miss Baldwin than this one. Its reception is suggested by the following statement from the report of the Missionary Scholarship Committee in 1921:

A letter in the interest of the Scholarship Fund was sent to the church papers by Mrs. Annie Hotchkiss Howison and aroused much interest among alumnæ who had been out of touch with the Seminary for many years. A number of new memberships and life memberships in the Alumnæ Association have been turned in by the Committee.

We wish that all the alumnæ might read the letters that have been received by the Missionary Scholarship Committee. They have been most interesting, showing so clearly how noble a character was Miss Baldwin's, and how deep was the impress of it upon those with whom she came in contact. The response of the alumnæ of more recent years has also been noteworthy, since it shows that her principles are still taught in the Seminary.²³⁵

This scholarship has been financed from special contributions of alumnæ and of chapters, and an endowment of it has been slowly built up from its foundation. Today it is about \$3,000. The Board of Trustees contributes half the expenses of the missionary scholarship pupil, who has always been a boarding student. Recently Miss Hope Stuart, a loyal and active alumna, left \$5,000 by will, the income from which is to be used for the education of missionary daughters. Seven students have held the missionary scholarship since 1920-21, and an eighth received it during an interim of one year until the appointee could accept it. These girls are: Virginia Bull, Elizabeth Woods, Kathryn and Ruth See, Rosa Phipps (one year), Janie Stevens, Margaret Wardlaw, and Frances Taylor. They are all daughters of foreign or home missionaries, and most of them are daughters or granddaughters of alumnæ. Among these are several who were reared in China and to whom America was strange and far from home. They felt a very special gratitude for this "college home."²³⁶ And the letters of Mrs. Bull are eloquent evidence of what the scholarship meant to the mother.²³⁷ Administration of the missionary scholarship has been faithfully performed by a committee, which has been served, since its foundation in 1921, by Mrs. A. H. Howison, Miss Nancy McFarland, and Mrs. Herbert Taylor, as chairmen.

The Association found no difficulty in discovering daughters or granddaughters of alumnae for the scholarship. The *Bulletin* of 1924 gave the following list of missionary alumnae then living, and there were others: Elizabeth Alby Bull, Mary Leyburn Junkin, and Lottie Witherspoon Bell, in Korea; Sophia Peck Graham, Nettie DuBose Junkin, A. Woods Harnsberger, Ida Albaugh Vousden, Josie Woods, Lily Woods, Jennie Woodrow Woodbridge, Bessie Woods Smith, Nellie Van Lear Webb, Pauline DuBose Little, and Ellen Bell Magill, in China; Fannie Leake Patton and Mary Fletcher Smythe, in Japan; Ruth See and Charlotte Kemper, in Brazil; Ada L. Womeldorf, Texas; Janet Houston, Cuba; Evelyn Pratt Secrist, Mexico; and Carrie Ballagh, Evelyn Adams, and Sadie Smith.²⁸⁸

Carrie Ballagh, mentioned above, was a missionary to Japan, whose death the *News Letter* recorded in 1936 with a story of her interesting life.²⁸⁹ Eight years after Commodore Perry opened Japan to foreigners, she was born in a Buddhist temple in Yokohama with horse guards detailed by the Emperor riding by outside. Her father established the first Protestant church in Japan, and her mother was the first to demonstrate the capability of the Japanese voice to master the occidental musical scale and to begin the culture of foreign music in the country. Carrie Ballagh married Dr. F. W. Harrell, founder of a hospital in Japan. She introduced the Braille system into the country, and for her distinguished service among the deaf and blind she was received by the Emperor.

Although the name of Cornelia Morgan, granddaughter of former Senator Morgan of Alabama, does not appear in the list above, she went out to China in 1913 and was later a member of the China Inland Mission. The *Alumnae News Letter* of March, 1929, related the story of her experiences during the civil wars of the 1920's:

The past two years have been difficult ones. . . Time after time her house has been occupied by rebels, bandits, and soldiers of all descriptions. She has cooked, and nursed them, the conquerors today who are the conquered tomorrow, entertained them with her Victrola, which seems to be a never-ending source of pleasure to old and young alike, taught and preached, and performed the innumerable duties of every day life.

She was ordered to evacuate, but because she could not take her four adopted children, and would not leave them, she refused to budge a step.

And there she stayed through chaos that makes one's hair stand on end to read about, the only white woman for miles around. . . . All this time soldiers came and went, sleeping on the floor, packed like sardines, demanding food and bandages, medicine and ointment. She said the iodine had been watered until there was no color and no odor left, but they were satisfied with a small portion and went away contented. . . .²⁹⁰

Since 1931 the missionaries in Japan, Korea, and China have felt the increasing encroachment of the Japanese. In 1936, Mrs. Bull wrote from Korea: "School work is hard as government regulations are many. . . . (We) have been cut and re-cut until it is with the greatest difficulty that any work is carried on."²⁹¹ Soon schools there and in China had to close. In 1940, she and her husband returned after a service of forty-one years. Mary Baldwin is justly proud of the heroic work of her missionary *alumnæ*. In recent years other *alumnæ* have gone out (some of whom had to return almost immediately). Among these are: Elizabeth Woods and Nettie Junkin, to China; Virginia Brand and Bessie Stollenwerck Carper, to the Belgian Congo; Anna Bruen Klevekooper, to Alaska; Imogen Bird Preston, to Korea; Laura Brown Logan and Charlotte Taylor, to Japan. In religious work on the home field, the *alumnæ* have contributed notably as pastors' assistants, directors of young people's work, and on the editorial boards of church publications. Several have written Sunday School and other church literature for both the Northern and Southern Presbyterian Churches. Miss Janie McGaughey, a teacher, who, like Miss Charlotte Kemper, was so closely identified with the school that she came to be considered an *alumna*, is now director of the women's work in the Southern Presbyterian Church. The religious spirit and emphasis of Miss Baldwin have been ably maintained by her successors.

In the difficult and gratuitous work of organizing the *alumnæ* and directing their work many have served whose names have not appeared above. Likewise when one attempts to describe or evaluate the contribution of Mary Baldwin *alumnæ* to the world's work, it is possible to give a limited and suggestive statement only. To begin, Mary Baldwin has been rather proud of the "noble wives and mothers" she has contributed, in number above the percentage usually found in women's colleges, it is safe to say. However, no exact data can be given on this point. The long lists of weddings and births in successive *alumnæ Bulletins* and

News Letters would suggest the truth of the statement. Miss Higgins kept figures on the weddings during her administration. In 1927, she reported 534 marriages since 1916—an average of one a week. Of the ninety graduates of the collegiate course (later university course) of the Seminary living in 1942, seventy-five per cent were married. It is probable that the percentage married among those who did not graduate would be higher still. Many married immediately after leaving school; it is likely that most of them married young. One alumna at the age of fifty had had daughters in the Seminary for a total of forty-eight years—four daughters, who attended twelve years each. Mary Baldwin alumnae have achieved notice through their husbands and have often found their chief service through their husbands' work as pastors, professors, presidents of colleges and universities, governors, members of cabinets, and diplomatic or military officials. Many have achieved recognition and some distinction through their individual endeavors, sometimes after marriage and the rearing of a family. About twenty per cent of the recent graduates enter graduate schools and receive higher degrees, including the Doctor of Philosophy degree. The writer would not say that the alumnae of Mary Baldwin include a large percentage in the top rank of achievement or fame, as the world generally measures distinction. It is safe to say, however, that the percentage of those who have rendered distinctive service outside the home as well as in it has been high, in spite of the fact that "careers" for women have not been stressed. The question might be raised: Was there essential connection between the training received in Mary Baldwin and success in later years? Or was it the result of later training? To which questions, no definite answers can be given. In individual cases, however, successful writers have given much credit to Mary Baldwin for their inspiration or for the thoroughness of their training in appreciation of form—Hope Summerell Chamberlain to Miss Wright; or Roselle Mercier Montgomery to Miss Strickler; or Laura Lettie Smith Krey, author of *—and Tell of Time* and *The Long Tide*, who has said: "It was at Mary Baldwin that I first learned that I wanted to write. How well I remember sitting up in the library trying to compose essays that sounded like Cicero."²⁹² And there are many others who attribute their achievement to inspiration and training received in Mary Baldwin.

In turning through the pages of news of alumnæ in the Association's reports one is impressed with the rich variety of occupations, which suggests certainly that Mary Baldwin did not discourage individual inclinations but rather the opposite. It is true that as the years have passed the number of teachers and missionaries and special religious workers has remained large. But Mary Baldwin alumnæ began to appear in other professions or occupations even in the nineteenth century, and in far greater numbers as the twentieth century has advanced. For example, one finds: sheriffs, mayors, post-mistresses, aviators, county superintendents of education, actresses, radio announcers, opera singers, dancers, osteopaths, journalists, army nurses, superintendents of hospitals, technicians, dress designers, lawyers, doctors, farmers, farm managers, baby specialists, occupational therapists, librarians, editors, business women, lecturers, interior decorators, sculptors, landscape architects, artists, illustrators, advertisers, secretaries, Y. W. C. A. workers, directors of girls' camps, settlement workers, civil servants in state and federal government, and many others. In recent years social service, medicine and nursing, and journalism have drawn an increasing number of graduates. Today, of course, the WAACs, WAVEs, and other war and industrial services are receiving a considerable number.

A few years ago the *Alumnæ News Letter* published a short Who's Who of alumnæ considered as a representative group.²⁹³ Among these were Mrs. Cordell Hull (Rosa Witz); Mrs. Isabel McIlheny Nichols, of Pennsylvania, member of the Art Jury of Philadelphia, trustee of Wilson College, vice-president of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church of the United States; Miss Ann Preston Bridgers, actress, and author and producer in collaboration with George Elliott of *Coquette*, a popular play of the 1920's; Mrs. Florence C. Floore, member of the Texas Prison Board, among other offices; Miss Tallulah Bankhead; Mrs. Jack Stearns Gray, an early woman aviator, in 1934 President of the Women's National Aeronautical Association; Doctor Mary Yost, Dean of Women, Leland Stanford University; Mrs. Anna Jarvis, founder of Mother's Day; Mrs. Ida Smith Austin, for many years teacher of an outstanding Bible Class in Galveston, Texas, which did notable work for home and foreign missions, among other things maintaining a scholarship

in the Martha Riddle School in Korea and the Charlotte Kemper School in Brazil; and Mrs. Lucille Foster McMillin, first woman on the Democratic National Committee from Tennessee, one of the two women on the Executive Council of the Department of Political Education of the National Civic Federation, State Chairman of International Affairs of the League of Women Voters, and now member of the Federal Civil Service Commission. In 1924, she was the national chairman of the Mary Baldwin College Campaign. And she is a dramatic artist of ability. Her husband has been minister to Peru and Governor of Tennessee. Mrs. William Hodges Mann and Mrs. George C. Peery, wives of former governors of Virginia, and Mrs. J. C. Beckham, wife of a former governor of Kentucky and United States senator, are also Mary Baldwin alumnae.²⁹⁴ To shift to an entirely different category, one might mention Carrie Preston Bell Caldwell, mother of Erskine Caldwell, author of *Tobacco Road*; or Helen Park Thomas, wife of the noted sociologist, W. I. Thomas, and herself a prominent leader in the Woman's Suffrage and World Peace Movements, and associated with Jane Addams in Chicago, whom she accompanied on a mission to the Hague.²⁹⁵ She said that she "had been born again" at Mary Baldwin in an intellectual way and that here she grew to love learning for learning's sake.²⁹⁶

And the alumnae list contains material for many Who's Who. The writer has found the following intriguing:

Mrs. Lila Ripley Barnwell, Hendersonville, North Carolina. . . is a widow and devotes her time to the duties of a government position, visiting prisons and poor houses in the interest of female prisoners and inmates, meeting with much success. She was the first delegate from North Carolina to the convention in Detroit to consider the welfare of little children and also a delegate to the last woman suffrage convention.²⁹⁷

It is to be noted that this statement appeared in 1899. Later Mrs. Barnwell became mayor of Hendersonville.²⁹⁸ And there was Miss Lucy Beech Johns (Lucy Johns Grier) of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, of whom the Staunton *Daily Leader* reported in 1911: "Miss Johns has been deputy sheriff of Fayette county for about a year (and). . . has assisted in the capture of several men, including an escaped murderer."²⁹⁹ But Miss Johns soon gave up her position and was married. Another alumna of Mary Bald-

win who aroused much interest in Staunton, was a young lady of Savannah known as the "prettiest girl in the South." She maintained the Southern tradition in another respect, it seems, in being the cause of a duel, or an attempted suicide, resulting from disappointed love.³⁰⁰ And in a more sober vein, there was Elizabeth W. Brooke, author of *American Marriage Laws*, published by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1919, and county probation officer in 1925 for the Spartanburg (South Carolina) Juvenile Court;³⁰¹ or Margaret Irving Handy, graduate of Johns Hopkins Medical School, Junior Chief of Pediatrics in a Wilmington (Delaware) hospital in 1925, and member of the State Board of Health and Welfare Commission of Delaware;³⁰² or Alice Aunspaugh Kyle, pioneer club woman in Virginia, called "the mother of the Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs" (incidentally it is said the first three active presidents of the Federation were Mary Baldwin alumnae);³⁰³ or Ellen Louise Mehurin, artist and topographic draftsman in the Forest Service, Department of Agriculture;³⁰⁴ or Effie Lacy Hale, president of the famous Natchez Garden Club and director of the Pilgrimage;³⁰⁵ or Passie Fenton McCabe Ottley, called "The Light in the Mountains" for her work for mountain children in Georgia; or Josephine Timberlake, assistant editor of *Volta Review*, a publication for the deaf, and founder of the Boy Scout organization in Staunton, apparently one of the first in the country;³⁰⁶ or Edna Umbach, now a lieutenant in an Army Nurses Corps in Iceland, who lives in a Neissen hut;³⁰⁷ or Julia Alexander, about whom the following notice appeared in the Charlotte (North Carolina) *Observer*, on October 26, 1916:

Miss Julia Alexander, attorney at law, was the first woman in North Carolina to enter into the independent practice of law, and the third woman to be admitted to practice by the Supreme Court of North Carolina.

Miss Alexander, who has now been actively engaged in the practice of law for a period of almost two years, took a private course in law, completing the course at the University of North Carolina. While at the University of North Carolina she enjoyed the unique distinction of being elected president of the law class, an honor never before bestowed upon a woman. . . .

Miss Alexander is a member of the North Carolina Bar Association, and at its eighteenth annual session was named a delegate to represent

the North Carolina Bar Association at the meeting of the American Bar Association. . . .³⁰⁸

Czarina Colbert Conlan, part Choctaw, part Chickasaw Indian, descendant also of a well-known New England line, native of the Indian Territory, later Oklahoma, won recognition in Staunton for her beautiful voice when she was a student in the Seminary about 1890. Back in her home, she became foremost representative of Indian interests and of women's interests, organized the first study club for women in the Indian Territory, became the first president of the Indian Territory Federation of Women's Clubs, and was the first woman in Oklahoma to be a member of a school board. As the supervisor of the Indian Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society, she has done much to collect and record the history of the Indians; and as Chairman of Indian Welfare in the Federation of Women's Clubs, she has promoted the health interest of girls in Indian schools. In recognition of her work the State of Oklahoma named her the first woman to its State Hall of Fame.³⁰⁹ One could continue at great length the list of interesting, varied, and socially useful activities of the Mary Baldwin alumnae. In the final section of this chapter is related the contribution of the alumnae to the New Century Program and their participation in the events of the Centennial year.

THE CENTENNIAL AND THE NEW CENTURY PROGRAM

Mary Baldwin did not celebrate, as some schools do, periodic anniversaries of her founding during her first hundred years. The *Alumnae Bulletin* referred in 1918 to the postponement of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Seminary because of the World War, but the matter was not revived afterwards.³¹⁰ Since the last years of Miss Baldwin's administration, however, the sense of the past has grown in the administration and among the alumnae. The organization of the alumnae in 1893-94 was the first prominent expression of this appreciation. Out of this historical interest came Mr. Joseph A. Waddell's *History of Mary Baldwin Seminary* prepared upon the request and commission of the Board of Trustees and published in 1905. The Board believed that such a work would be not only "of great present value but of large interest to those who may come after

us.”³¹¹ Mr. Waddell’s position as secretary of the Board of Trustees from 1855 and as friend and adviser of Miss Baldwin throughout her administration lent a special weight and quality to his history. Among the alumnæ Mary Baldwin found an annalist and an historian in Mrs. Nellie Hotchkiss McCullough, whose writings have been recognized in preceding pages. Student publications began to feature the history and the legends of the Seminary, beginning with Augusta Bumgardner’s “Seminary in War Times” published in *The Augusta Seminary Annual* of 1893. Since 1929 this interest in the historical background has grown and has produced much writing in the student and alumnæ press and in other newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets. It has led also to an effort to discover and preserve records of the Seminary and College.

In 1929, on October 4, the centennial of Miss Baldwin’s birth was observed as a college affair, but with considerable elaboration of setting and program. This was the occasion of the first Senior Investiture, described above. In the evening the Trustees of the College and the alumnæ were hosts at a reception at the Stonewall Jackson (now Ingleside) Golf Club—a reception both to commemorate the occasion and to welcome Dr. Jarman, the newly-elected President of Mary Baldwin, and Mrs. Jarman.³¹² After a buffet supper, which reminds one in its bountifulness of the first banquet provided by Miss Baldwin for her “old girls” when they met to complete their organization as alumnæ, a pageant of the history of the school was presented. This pageant was written by Kathryn See, former missionary scholarship student and author also of *Alma Mater*, and directed by Miss Mary Collins Powell.

Since the beginning of his administration in 1929, Dr. Jarman has promoted an active and constructive anticipation of the centennial year, 1942, in an effort to reach certain goals by that date and to initiate other objectives for the new century. In 1932, President Jarman outlined the ten-year program he hoped to realize, to include: in physical expansion, a new gymnasium, dormitory capacity for fifty additional students, a music building, and the acquisition of adjacent real estate to provide a more nearly adequate and a better defined campus; in financial progress, an increased endowment and added scholarships; in

educational advancement, an increase of faculty, of departments and course offerings, and of laboratories and libraries, and a better correlation of aim and curriculum; and in administrative organization and control, a broader representation of interests on the Board of Trustees and the addition of women and alumnæ. As the preceding pages have indicated, all these goals have been reached, and in some directions exceeded; for example, a science and an art building have been added and other buildings have been remodelled to make them serve a larger social purpose. President Jarman's success in the attainment of these objectives has secured the recognition of the highest accrediting agencies for the work of Mary Baldwin as a standard college of the first class. To his constructive educational leadership in a critical period, Mary Baldwin College is deeply indebted.

Plans for the expansion of Mary Baldwin have looked beyond the goals set for 1942. In 1938, the Board of Trustees appointed a Committee on Survey and Planning with Dr. Jarman as Chairman. In May, 1939, the Board approved the following recommendations of the committee: That the Board adopt a twenty-five-year plan to raise \$2,500,000, to be divided equally between campus development and endowment, and a five-year plan, as a part of the twenty-five-year plan, to raise \$500,000, to be divided in the same manner; that it set as the immediate goal the procuring of funds for the erection of a physical education-auditorium building and one dormitory; that the New Century Program be the official name of the movement; and that a fitting celebration be held in 1942 in commemoration of the first century and in anticipation of the second.³¹³ At the commencement meeting of the Alumnæ Association these plans were endorsed by this organization.³¹⁴

To assist in the work of initiating the New Century Program the Board of Trustees had approved the appointment of Mr. Lucien Giddens as Assistant to the President. Mr. Giddens, Master of Arts of Vanderbilt University and-Rhodes scholar, rendered valuable service to this movement for something more than a year, when illness made necessary his resignation. Dr. Karl Shedd was given leave of absence from teaching duties to assist Mr. Giddens in the campaign among the alumnæ for funds for the first objective of the New Century Program—the gymnasium-

auditorium. Miss Winifred Love, Executive Secretary of the Alumnae Association, gave enthusiastic service to the organization and enlistment of the alumnae, and many members of the organization assisted. President Jarman, Mr. Giddens, Dr. Shedd, and Miss Love visited alumnae from Michigan to Texas and from Florida to Boston. The results of this effort in effecting the better organization of the alumnae have been related above. From the alumnae \$57,000 in money and subscriptions was raised by the spring of 1942, the College bearing the cost of the campaign. This sum added to the \$30,000 raised in the campaign of 1925 and now increased by wise investment to \$36,000 brought the alumnae contribution to \$93,000.

In the spring of 1940, a campus campaign was instituted that received the support of the student body as no other cause has done. A student organization, headed by Hilda Brown, president of the Student Government Association, set out to raise \$20,000 among students, faculty, and employees for their adopted baby, "Ensie" (N. C. or New Century). Class rivalry assisted in the attainment of their goal; the art department contributed clever posters; a minstrel, rummage sales, food and flower sales, etc., added to the sum raised by individual subscription. Contributions were made by the entire college group, and the successful attainment of the goal set was rewarded by a holiday and picnic.

In the fall of 1941, a campaign for funds was launched in Staunton, sponsored by the local Chamber of Commerce with Mr. Gilpin Willson, Jr. as general chairman. Mr. Fred C. Reid, president of the Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. Finley Tynes, secretary, aided in the direction with a considerable committee from the city, including local alumnae. Anvilla Prescott Shultz, now national president of the Alumnae Association, was chairman of the women's division. Through this campaign almost \$20,000 was raised.

Progress on the William Wayt King Gymnasium-auditorium had reached a point to allow the laying of the cornerstone on October 4, 1941. So far as records reveal this was the first ceremonial of such a character observed since the laying of the cornerstone of Main Building in 1844; and it constituted the opening event of the centennial celebration. The Centennial gave added solemnity to the customary Investiture and Ivy ceremonies, as an

introduction to which Mrs. Edmund D. Campbell gave the Founders' Day address on the theme, "We March as We Remember," emphasizing the educational heritage of Mary Baldwin and the responsibility of the educated to give direction to the future.³¹⁵ Following this address in the Chapel and the Investiture on the Front Terrace, trustees, guest speakers, faculty, students, alumnæ, and the local chapter of the Masonic order marched to the building site on the corner of New and Academy Streets. Mr. James D. Francis, President of the Board of Trustees, presided over the dedicatory ceremonies. After a beautiful prayer by the Reverend Dunbar Ogden, pastor of the historic First Presbyterian Church, short addresses were made by Dr. E. G. Gammon, President of Hampden-Sydney College, and Governor Price (now ex-Governor) of Virginia.

Brief words were spoken by others chosen to place deposits in the cornerstone. Both the memorabilia and the speakers chosen reflect the sense of the past back to the beginnings. Governor Price, two of whose sisters were alumnæ and one of them, Mrs. Nina Price Darling, a teacher in the Seminary, placed a copy of the original charter of the Seminary in the cornerstone; Mr. Edmund D. Campbell, of Washington, D. C., a great-grandson of the founder, deposited a picture of Dr. Rufus W. Bailey; Mrs. Herbert J. Taylor, cousin of Miss Baldwin and faithful alumna of the Augusta Female Seminary, records of the Seminary in its Golden Age; President Jarman, a copy of the Bible, "first textbook of the Augusta Female Seminary and last textbook of Mary Baldwin College"; and Mr. S. I. Davis, representing the City of Staunton, a copy of the charter of this Valley city, with whose life that of Mary Baldwin has been so intimately associated, and a history of the city to date. Sketches of Mr. King, records of the alumnæ, a copy of Mr. Waddell's *History of Mary Baldwin Seminary*, and a catalogue and viewbook of the College were deposited by outstanding representatives of the alumnæ and the College. The president of the Student Government Association placed a copy of the *Students' Handbook* of the year. General Hierome L. Opie, of the *Staunton News-Leader*, put in copies of the morning and evening paper.

Letters of congratulation on the opening of the centennial year were received from President and Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs.

Cordell Hull among many others. President Roosevelt emphasized "the contribution which Mary Baldwin has made to this end [the process of establishing women in their rightful place in the social order] in sending out into the body politic five thousand alumnæ. You have a special distinction," he continued, "in the intimate association which the college has had with the family of Woodrow Wilson, the great statesman and friend of higher education."³¹⁶ And Mrs. Roosevelt congratulated the College on its Centennial "as well as the beginning of higher education for women in Virginia." Mrs. Hull's letter was that of a loyal and proud alumna. Elsewhere she has said of her association with Mary Baldwin as a student: "I remember Miss Baldwin as a very superior woman, noble in character, firm but kindly and loved. The school ranked high, with the finest teachers obtainable—Mary Baldwin is a college of physical beauty and distinction, known as such all over the land. I am proud of being an alumna of this great institution."³¹⁷

Other events of the Centennial were to include the Centennial Commencement, in which the social and educational history of the institution and the alumnæ contribution were emphasized; the meeting of the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia as guests of the College in September, 1942, in which the religious traditions of Mary Baldwin and her relation to the Church were stressed; and the formal academic program of October 4, 1942, to which representatives of other colleges and universities would be invited. This last feature of the program has been postponed indefinitely because of the war.

The Centennial Commencement, June 5 to 8, 1942, was a most satisfying family reunion in spite of, perhaps in part because of, the anxieties and tragedies of war.³¹⁸ Plans for it were trimmed down to avoid excessive expense and any suggestion of display or ostentation. It is probable that the simpler program was more gratifying and more representative of the historic traditions as a whole than a more elaborate one would have been, although Mary Baldwin had had her parades and "purple patches" at times.

Class Day in the Court on Friday evening opened the commencement season, with its presentation in costume of school days in the Seminary and its customary shepherd's crooks and

sweet girl graduates in white. The senior gift, boxwoods for the entrance to the William Wayt King Building, was presented at this time. Saturday, June 6, was the Day of the Alumnæ. In spite of distances and gas rationing, three hundred fifty "old girls" returned for the Centennial Commencement and marched in the academic procession to the First Church for the Saturday morning program. Dr. Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Professor of English of Columbia University, spoke on "The Debt We Never Promised"—the responsibility of alumnæ, faculty, and trustees for the preservation of our institutions of higher learning. President Jarman's address, "Two Centuries—the Old and the New," followed, and is found in the appendix to this history. Miss Nancy McFarland paid a beautiful tribute to Mr. King. The alumnæ gifts of \$93,000 were presented to the College by Mrs. Margaret Kable Russell, president of the Association, and accepted by Dr. Herbert S. Turner, vice-president of the Board of Trustees, who drew a fitting parallel between Mary Baldwin and Daniel Webster's Dartmouth, "a small college, but there are those who love her." In recognition of the services of the alumnæ of a hundred years, Dr. Jarman presented the Algernon Sidney Sullivan award to "all the alumnæ." Following this program the College was host in Southern fashion to the alumnæ and other guests at a bountiful buffet luncheon in the dining room. The chicken, Virginia ham, and other delicacies brought forth a chorus of praise for the characteristic Mary Baldwin "company" dinner.

On Saturday afternoon, the centennial pageant, "Within the Past," was presented before the May Queen and her Court, the Senior Class. Grandstand seats for the audience filled the street and the entrance to the First Church opposite. Less elaborate in setting than originally planned, this pageant was enthusiastically acclaimed a beautiful appreciation in narrative, music, and dance of the foundation of Mary Baldwin and her evolution through a hundred years. It was written by Mrs. Elizabeth Pfohl Campbell, a former dean of Mary Baldwin College, and directed by Miss Mary Collins Powell in collaboration with Mrs. Campbell and with the assistance of the directors of art, speech, and music. Some of the music was furnished by the Stonewall Brigade Band, organized in 1845 and closely identified, as Mary Baldwin has been, with the history of Staunton. The part of

Dr. Bailey was taken by his great-grandson, Mr. Edmund D. Campbell, that of Miss Baldwin as a student by Dorothy Bridges, daughter of an alumna, and of Miss Baldwin as Principal of the Seminary by Miss Mary Garland Taylor, an alumna and cousin of Miss Baldwin through both her mother and father. Reverend B. M. Smith was represented by Mr. B. M. McKelway of Washington, D. C., his grandson; Mr. Jacob Baylor by Major W. McC. Yarborough, a grandson, of Fort Defiance, Virginia; Dr. Addison Waddell by Dr. James Alexander Waddell, his nephew, of Charlottesville, Virginia; Miss Nannie Tate by Miss Janet Bell, a cousin, of Staunton.

The alumnae banquet at the Stonewall Jackson Hotel on Saturday evening continued the "remembrance of things past." An immense wall-piece, "the family tree," filled the space behind the speakers' table and covered the hundred years of history, and tableaux of past events were presented in costume as the narrator told the story. At this meeting the alumnae made additional gifts to the College: \$1,000 raised by various chapters to be used in the completion of the William Wayt King Building; \$650 by the New York Chapter for a curtain for the stage; and \$100 by the Washington Chapter for a lectern. Among the alumnae present were several who had attended the Seminary in the 1870's.

The baccalaureate sermon on Sunday morning by Dr. Henry Wade DuBose of Dallas, Texas, father of an alumna, emphasized the importance of Christian culture in the world today. On Sunday afternoon, preceding the customary open house at the President's home, the ninety graduates of the Seminary university course were formally admitted to the Mary Baldwin Honor Society, to which they had been elected by the faculty in recognition of the high scholastic character of this course and the contributions of these women to society. No honor could have been more fittingly bestowed nor more happily received. Twenty-four were present for the induction. Several others of the ninety were inducted at the October meeting of the Society.

Mr. Herbert Agar, the commencement speaker, brought his audience away from its sense of the past into the insistent present in his address to the Centennial class on the subject, "Our Men are Not Dying in a Charade," a title suggested by Saint-Exupéry's *Flight to Arras*. It was a solemn challenge to Americans

to rise above national irresponsibility, to define our objectives, in domestic as well as in foreign policy, on the basis of justice to all races and classes of mankind. President Jarman awarded diplomas to the class of sixty-four, the largest graduating class in the history of the institution. Thus closed the one hundredth session of the Augusta Female Seminary, Mary Baldwin Seminary, and Mary Baldwin College. All agreed that it was good to have been here.

During the centennial year, the city and the college group had watched the growth of the William Wayt King Gymnasium-auditorium. As it stands completed it is the crowning feature of the physical beauty of Mary Baldwin and the particular pride and joy of President Jarman, to whose vision and energy its construction is primarily due. With a front on Academy Street the building provides convenient entrance to those outside the College without the necessity of crossing the campus; and it is the purpose of the College that the building be used for civic functions as well as for college activities. The Board of Directors of the Staunton and Augusta County Chamber of Commerce had declared it "the City's number one business, civic, and cultural asset."³¹⁹ Staunton has long needed such an auditorium. Incidentally, a rally held on September 8, 1942, for the sale of Defense Bonds, with Greer Garson as the main speaker, was the opening event in the use of the building. On Navy Day, October 27, 1942, the City again made use of it for its program.

Constructed of brick, painted cream, the new building rises to a height of three stories, with the main entrance opening to the second story, due to the elevation at the front. The massive white pillars conform to the style of Main and the other buildings of the quadrangle. In its simplicity, the complete absence of decoration, its purity of line, and an impressive solidity and sturdiness, the building gives a rare satisfaction to the eye. The mellow brick of the Williamsburg type add attractiveness to the front walk and steps, and the immense boxwoods, gift of the Class of 1942, adorn the entrance. Incidentally, other gifts might be noted and details added. The front lights were given by the Class of 1941, and the interesting old lamp posts by Dr. and Mrs. Harry C. Galey of Key West, Florida, and Ruth Rose Galey, graduate of the Class of 1938. They were formerly lamp posts of the city

of Key West, turned over to the Galeys by a special act of the city council. In the background of the entrance to the east is a picturesque picket fence of chestnut, importation from France.

Inside on this middle or entrance floor is the auxiliary gymnasium and social room, with space to the rear of it for class rooms, offices, locker rooms, etc., not yet completed. Two immense mirrors, a gift of Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Messer and Gertrude Messer Cheek, '35, adorn the opposite end walls of the social room, which is already called the Mirror Room. On the third floor is the gymnasium-auditorium, which will seat one thousand persons. Seats for this room have been donated by Mr. James D. Francis, President of the Board of Trustees, and his wife, Permele Elliott Francis, an alumna of Mary Baldwin. Special mention should be made of the excellent interior lighting, the soft tones of green in the walls, the beautiful floor, and the gratifying achievement in acoustics. Mention has been made above of the alumnae gifts of curtain and lectern for the stage. This room is designed for use as a gymnasium and a social room for dances as well as for an auditorium. On Saturday evening, October 3, a formal dance was held there. This event constitutes a landmark in the history of the institution. Lack of space had always restricted the social activities offered by the school. The ground floor opens upon the quadrangle to give convenient access to physical education classes. The center of interest on this floor is the beautiful sixty-foot swimming pool. The cost of the building was approximately \$150,000.

On October 3, the William Wayt King Memorial Building was dedicated. In front of it the Planting of the Ivy took place. Inside Dr. John Rood Cunningham, President of Davidson College, delivered the Founders' Day and dedicatory address on the subject, "Distinctive Education," and President Jarman spoke in appreciation and commemoration of Mr. King's fifty years of service to Mary Baldwin.

On September 8 to 10, the College had been host to the Synod of Virginia in a program that commemorated its one hundred years of association with the Presbyterian Church. In an address on Christian Education made to the Synod at a meeting held in the William Wayt King Building, President Jarman reviewed the history of the relations of the Church and the Semi-

nary and College, which he designated a sort of informal personal and family relationship and approved as less restrictive and more effective than complete synodical control. Recognizing the importance of the Church influence for the College, he insisted that the College was even more necessary to the progress of the Church through providing educated leaders in religion, and that to continue this connection with and benefit from the College, the Church should insure subsidiary material aid necessary to its maintenance.

Mary Baldwin has survived wars and crises in the past and has, each time, emerged several laps ahead of the place they found her. No test has been *total*, as is the present one. Nevertheless, it is believed that her human resources will enable her to live and serve another day and another world. She begins her second century with courage and faith.



APPENDIX

TWO CENTURIES—THE OLD AND THE NEW

Address of President L. Wilson Jarman delivered at the
Alumnæ Convocation of the Centennial Commencement
June 6, 1942

From Geneva to Staunton is a far cry; yet when in early 1842 Dr. Rufus William Bailey rode into Staunton, there were merging again by his coming two currents of Calvinism three hundred years from their source—separated long before from the parent stream on the continent and divided again by geography into the Puritans of England and New England and the Presbyterians of Scotland and Virginia. Thus in simple quietude were the beginnings of an institution that came to be an early part of one of the most significant movements of all time, a movement that was inevitable from the central core of Calvin's thought—the dignity and worth of the individual. I speak of the movement designated as the emergence or emancipation of woman, implicit in the Christian concept—a seed planted eighteen hundred years, beginning to come to fruit by way of formal higher education of women about one hundred years ago.

Thus was the Augusta Female Seminary—the Mary Baldwin of today, oldest of the Virginia colleges for women founded solely for the higher education of women—born in Staunton, a community of two distinct and rather well defined cultures, that of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and that of the Church of England communion.

And into what kind of a world was this infant born? The historian tells us that this "was a great Age of Reform. After the reaction which followed the French Revolution, there had arisen in 1830 a new revolutionary movement, initiated in France, which gave impetus to similar movements in other parts of Europe and to the Great Reform in England. Jacksonian Democracy was the expression of this great liberalizing social philosophy in the United States, a movement born in part from the currents of thought from Europe, perhaps much more from the influences of the frontier on the older East. This reform movement embodied far more than a demand for a more democratic form of government;

it was a great wave of uplift, of humanitarianism. World peace, foreign missions, the emancipation of slaves, labor reforms, temperance, popular education, woman's rights: these were some only of the more general objectives."

This century through which our institution has lived has been alive with the stirrings of social and economic evolution. Three great currents of movement should be noted, for we can understand the life history of any institution only by understanding the contemporary frame in which the passing scene is set.

One of these movements can be designated as *the continued technological advance of the industrial revolution* having its beginnings in an earlier day. The century just closed has witnessed this vastly accelerated movement making its contribution to the rapid change that has transformed the world in this general period, when the trend has been for man to give up working with tools of which he was the master and turn to working with machines, which are by way of becoming master of the man. While our seminary and college had little part in the forwarding of this technological movement, it has been greatly influenced by the social and economic changes arising therefrom. As one example, could be mentioned the development of transportation and communication which made possible a widened circle of patronage by which Mary Baldwin has developed into a national influence what otherwise would have been an impact upon a purely local situation.

It must be remembered further that the contribution of such an educational institution in this period would be the conservation of certain spiritual values, and that by projecting these into society a more intelligent and beneficial use of the vastly augmented resources and advantages made available by this technological movement was made possible. Thus such institutions as this have been able, by fostering certain cultural or spiritual appreciations to project into their regions of influence, which are vast, a scale of values that has prevented over-emphasis of the material and brought into sharper focus the spiritual values of life.

The second great movement of this general period has been, and is, *the acceleration of the world-wide movement towards human freedom*. More than a century and a half ago came the American Revolution, giving form to the United States of

America. Back and forth across the world this cause has swept—France, Mexico, South America, China, Russia—all through the blood and stress of war. The resulting political states had then only set the framework for the succeeding evolutions, social and economic, by which the more subtle rights of the common man have gradually been achieved. In some cases, as among the English speaking and thinking nations, the more conservative elements of society have yielded gradually—if at times unwillingly—to this movement upward by the common man so that the processes of evolution have had their slowly upward way without the throes of violent revolution. This has been true of our own country during the past seventy years, and particularly during the last ten years. However limited may have been the influence of Mary Baldwin upon this movement, she was by no means a disinterested spectator; and we dare affirm that the interest and influence of her educated women for the past century have been ever present and active, although in general not noticeably outstanding.

It is in the third great movement of the century that Mary Baldwin surrenders her varying roles of calm indifference, discreet interest, mild disapproval, or active participation, (and all these attitudes have been in evidence at various times). Now our infant, grown into maturer womanhood, becomes not only an active participant and leader in a movement growing world-wide in extent but comes to recognize herself, and to be recognized, as a leader in what has been termed possibly the greatest, most far-reaching movement of all—*the emergence and the formal higher education of woman*.

One is immediately aware of the obvious claim that this can be considered as only a part of the great Freedom Movement. True, doubtless, yet it is a part of such overwhelming significance, a part so clearly defined as to time and place, that it may well deserve this placing as a separate movement and influence.

A recent historian has said—and I am inclined to agree with him—that when the historian of a hundred or possibly a thousand years into the future comes to write of this period, Hitler *may* be given a paragraph, Emperor Hirohito a sentence, and Mussolini possibly a footnote; but that this movement toward the higher education of women will be accorded a large place in history's

annals, that it will be weighed as one of the significant movements of all time. The thinking appears to be this. The other movements of which we have spoken have changed men's occupations, their outlooks on life, their ways of self-expression. The third movement of which we speak—the higher education of woman—strikes, through the institution of the family, at the very heart of life and changes human nature—for human nature can be changed. When the family life begins to be changed, when the mother gains the new understandings, the new concepts, the new approaches, the new techniques of rearing and training children, and is permitted as in the democracies to exert the paramount influence in the early indoctrination and in the education of the child, something has occurred that can, by changing the child, change the course of humanity and of civilization. I shall not argue this point at length, but shall leave this with you as a thesis and as a seed thought.

What has been said in this connection is that we celebrate today the one hundredth anniversary of an institution that was among the first to give form and permanence to this, one of the most significant forces and movements of all time. For it is in the United States of America that formal higher education of women has found its form, gained its momentum, and reached its highest glory. She has returned this priceless gift to the parent countries and nations of the European continent, giving this boon more directly still to our sister nation and ally of the Orient, thus making the freedom and education, Christian education if you will, of woman a part, a dominant part, of the fulfillment of vast China's dream.

Many colleges for women have been born in these years. Many have died. May we then ask the question, why has this institution lived and flourished for one hundred years? May we search humbly for the answer to this question, and though we may not be too sure of the answer, we may learn much to help us understand our college and its life and work.

On this Centennial day we would look into the future of our college, but to do this intelligently we must first look into its past. We may linger there for the moment—but not for long, lest we find ourselves “walking slowly backward into the future with faces turned to the past,” as has been said of some. We shall

list some of the factors that have caused our school to live, with a lack of completeness, to be sure, yet with a rather generous inclusiveness.

First, there is the vision of the founders, with the somewhat accidental but none the less significant fusing and consequent intensification of two cultures—the New England Puritan and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, along with the natural stimulus and secondary influence of the Church of England Episcopal group also present in Staunton. Thus was conceived a spiritual body which has always been the essence of the institution.

The second factor was the location of the school in Staunton, in the Valley, in Virginia. This gave a physical setting of intense natural beauty, a healthful climate and natural accessibility from every direction. Nearness to other great institutions, as the University of Virginia, Washington and Lee, and Virginia Military Institute, gave also a salubrious educational climate—not to mention a provocative social setting.

The sturdy Scotch, English, and other European stocks had developed in the fertile and hospitable Valley a sturdy and conservative people who at once furnished generous patronage and, even to the present day, a wise and conservative business control. The location of the school in Virginia itself has had great significance. Whether we can agree that all culture in our country had its origin in Virginia and that all the best families stem from the Old Dominion (for there is still New England, and South Carolina, if you will), certainly we can agree that in practically every section of our land there comes to some the meuzzin call, when culturally and educationally the family face is bowed in solemn reverence in the direction of the source—Virginia. And so through the century children of Virginia families and their children and children's children have returned and are returning to Mary Baldwin, and Hampden-Sydney, and Charlottesville, and Lexington.

Another force that must be noted in the life of the seminary and college has been the impact of certain great personalities. Of these there are four whose contributions were great and whom we should honor today in a special manner. They are the Reverend Rufus William Bailey, the founder; Miss Mary Julia Baldwin, almost a second founder; Mr. William Wayt King, the

business man; and Dr. Abel McIver Fraser, who as Chairman of the Board of Trustees, held together the institution and its supporters by the very moral stature of the man, and in a statesmanlike manner guided the seminary through those years when it was in the throes of change and reorganization, finally serving as the first president of Mary Baldwin College.

There are many others, a vast number, whose faithfulness through the years calls today for praise and honor.

There have been, however, certain influences in the history of the college that are more subtle and intangible than those mentioned but which are none the less real and significant. The educational and social philosophies of the institution in different periods and under different leaders have shown a consistency and a continuity that particularly command attention. The educational philosophy of Miss Baldwin, for example, since hers was the longest administration, is of special interest and importance. It appears that hers was a wise synthesis of the two educational philosophies generally recognized today, the functional and the philosophical, or essentialist. Thus were combined the practical values of education as preparation for living and the cultural values of the liberal arts tradition.

The continuity also of the social philosophy of the school is particularly challenging in that it has always been highly democratic at heart even in the presence often of an aristocratic environment and influence.

These abiding philosophies throughout all of the first century along with an insistence always upon the basic value of sound scholarship have caused the college group to think in terms of the complete personality and have emphasized always the values of true democratic thought and living.

One other essential factor that appears to the student who is searching for the explanation of the long life of the college is found in the fact that, herself the daughter of the Christian Church, the institution has always had a clearly defined purpose, consistently held in the mind; namely, the preparation of Christian young womanhood that it might find opportunity for its highest expression in the Christian home. And this integrity of purpose has seemed to reappear in those who have, by living in that atmosphere, become the exponents of the ideals and purposes of

the institution. It has often been said that the words "Mary Baldwin girl" suggest a rather well defined type of person.

These are not all of the factors that could be found, but they appear to be the more important ones. I believe that it can be said that the century-long evolution—or synthesis—of these factors and forces has produced an institutional personality that is Mary Baldwin.

And now, what of the second century? Mary Baldwin rounds out her first hundred years of service in the higher education of women in a crisis that demands critical examination of all our institutions and practices. Mary Baldwin has not only survived national crises in the past, but has emerged from each crisis with a larger ideal for women's education, which found expression in an expanded program of study and social service.

In the darkest hour of the Civil War, Miss Baldwin assumed responsibility for the Seminary, thoroughly imbued with the thesis of Dr. Bailey, its founder and her own teacher, that a liberal education for women was even more essential for the perpetuation and progress of Christian civilization than that for men. With an appreciation of the increasing demand for educated women, Miss Baldwin was not content merely to save the Seminary from closing, as all other schools in Staunton had closed, but insisted, with the war still in progress, on expanding its curriculum. With the assistance of Dr. William H. McGuffey, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia, the program of studies was reorganized on the general plan of that of the University of Virginia to provide women with an education equal to that of men. Thus under the shadow of the University of Virginia with its liberal traditions of learning, "Miss Baldwin's School" immediately became famous in the South and began to attract patrons from other sections of the country seeking Virginia culture for their daughters.

Mary Baldwin Seminary, as the school had been renamed in 1895 in honor of Miss Baldwin, continued to follow her traditional system. As early as 1912 the alumnae had become concerned about the status of their Alma Mater. It required the crisis of the First World War, however, to break the established habits, to overcome the inertia, or perhaps the caution and conservatism

to which institutions are prone. The four-year college was realized in 1923.

Much yet remained to be done, however, before Mary Baldwin could meet the regional and national standards for a college of the first rank. We remember again the financial crash of 1929 and the consequent economic depression of the 1930's. In spite of the uncertainty of these years, however, Mary Baldwin raised her curriculum, secured a faculty of approved rating, increased her library, laboratories, and other educational equipment, and improved her program of physical and social life, with the result that within that decade she was approved by the highest educational authority, the Association of American Universities, as a college of the first rank. Miss Baldwin's ideal that her school should equal the best has been again attained. But the attainment is not a prize that can be grasped and held. It must be continuously pursued.

In every crisis of the century there has been a movement forward and upward, and so in the midst of a second World War, Mary Baldwin begins her second century, planning and building for the future, with the conviction that whatever that future may be, women with a liberal culture will be needed more than ever before. She is not only building for the future, but building the future, for it is now. In times of crisis there is a heightened consciousness, a quickened intelligence, a release of moral energies, that make change possible, the cutting away of outworn ideas and practices, the appreciation of what is vital and essential. Moreover, a crisis such as this proves the matter; Mary Baldwin has stood the test before, but only by advancing in a time of national stress. Today the challenge comes again to those who love the memories and traditions of the past and who value her services in the present, to make her fully equal to the needs and responsibilities of the future.

And so following this parallel of history we accept the challenge which is for us all a part of our heritage. And, as your leader, I believe that I speak for you now in this high and solemn moment of commitment. For the Board of Trustees I speak, pledging anew our loyalty to the vision and ideals that constitute Mary Baldwin. For the administration and faculty of the college,

I speak. For the students and those thousands of alumnæ that are scattered to the ends of the earth, I speak. For all these I dare pledge a loyalty to the task that is ours, commensurate with our responsibility. To all the friends of Mary Baldwin, to all who believe in the Christian, higher education of women—to all such, we issue the challenge and the invitation to be one with us in this hour of commitment.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. For the history of the seminary movement and other early developments in the higher education of women in the United States, the author has used the following: Woody, Thomas, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 2 vols. (New York and Lancaster, Pa., 1929); Lucien Giddens, *The Development of Colleges for Women in the South to 1885*, unpublished thesis, Vanderbilt University; and I.M.E. Blandin, *A History of the Higher Education of Women in the South* (New York and Washington, 1909).
2. Waddell, Joseph A., *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia*, 2nd edition, (Staunton, Va., 1902), 438-439.
3. *Staunton Spectator*, December 23, 1841.
4. Woody, *History of Women's Education*, I, 108, 341.
5. Waddell, Joseph A., *History of Mary Baldwin Seminary* (Staunton, Va., 1905), 5-6.
6. The Doctor of Divinity degree was conferred on him after he left the Seminary, but it is more convenient to use this title throughout.
7. Woody, *op. cit.* I, 392.
8. Facts about the Bailey family and the life of Dr. Bailey up to 1842 have been secured from the following sources: "Bailey—Thomas of Weymouth Branch," manuscript in the possession of Robert F. Campbell, Asheville, N. C., and letter of the same with facts about his grandfather, Rufus W. Bailey; *The Dictionary of American Biography*; George T. Chapman, *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College* (Cambridge, 1867); George Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 2 vols. (Columbia, S. C., 1883), II; biographical sketch of Rufus W. Bailey, written by his son, F. B. Bailey, and now on file in the Historical Foundation of the Southern Presbyterian Church, Montreat, N. C.
9. His address on "Character" was published in *The Patriarch*, I, (New York, 1841), 148-153.
10. Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, II, 481.
11. *Mary Baldwin Bulletin, Alumnae News Letter*, April, 1932, 5-6, radio address of President Jarman.
12. Waddell, *History of Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 7.
13. *Staunton Spectator*, September 29, 1842.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Smith, B. M., "Address on the Laying of the Corner Stone of the Augusta Female Seminary," published in his *The Exclusive Claims of Prelacy, Stated and Refuted* (Staunton, Va., 1844), 31-33.
16. *Staunton Spectator*, September 1, 1842.
17. Waddell, *History of Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 10.

18. *The Bluestocking*, 1928, article of Dr. A. M. Fraser on a Christian college.
19. *The Record of The Alumnæ Association of Mary Baldwin College*, 1896.
20. *Staunton Spectator*, June 20, 1844.
21. Copy of the Charter of 1845 in Mary Baldwin College archives.
22. Waddell, *History of Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 7.
23. Bailey, R. W., *Daughters at School Instructed in a Series of Letters* (Philadelphia, 1857), 207-208.
24. Bailey, R. W., *The Family Preacher* (New York, 1837), 47-50.
25. Bailey, *Daughters at School*, 204-205.
26. *Ibid.*, 212-213.
27. *Staunton Spectator*, September 29, 1842.
28. See Woody, *Women's Education*, I, 310, 321, *passim*.
29. *Ibid.*, 310.
30. Bailey, *Daughters at School*, 235.
31. Woody, *op. cit.*, I, 445, *passim*.
32. *Catalogue of the Augusta Female Seminary*, 1844, published with Smith, *Exclusive Claims of Prelacy*, 3.
33. Bailey, *Daughters at School*, 226.
34. *Ibid.*, 230.
35. *Ibid.*, 220.
36. *Ibid.*, 212.
37. *Ibid.*, 222.
38. Bailey, R. W., *The Scholar's Companion* (Philadelphia, 1863), iv.
39. *Staunton Spectator*, November 16, 1843.
40. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1844.
41. Bailey, *Daughters at School*, 226-227.
42. *Ibid.*, 227.
43. Smith, "Address on Laying the Corner Stone," 31.
44. *Ibid.*, 20.
45. Bailey, *Daughters at School*, 151-152.
46. *Ibid.*, 209.
47. The files of the *Staunton Spectator* contain much material on Smith's work for Virginia education. For a brief evaluation, see his life in *The Dictionary of American Biography*.
48. Smith, *op. cit.*, 28-30.
49. *Ibid.*, 30, footnote.
50. Woody, *op. cit.*, I, 302-305; N. G. Goodman, *Benjamin Rush, Physician and Citizen*, (Philadelphia, 1934), 307-320.
51. *Staunton Spectator*, September 1, 1847.
52. *Ibid.*, August 16, 1848.
53. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1844.
54. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 14.
55. *Staunton Spectator*, August 16, 1848.
56. *Catalogue*, 1843-1844, 7.

57. Giddens, Development of Colleges for Women in the South, 50.
58. Cole, A. C., *A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College* (New Haven, 1940), 39.
59. *Catalogue*, 1843-44, 9.
60. Woody, *op. cit.*, I, 434-441.
61. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 17-18.
62. *Alumnæ News Letter*, April, 1932, 5.
63. It is possible she was a governess for a time, but the writer has seen no other reference to this.
64. *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1930, 4-5.
65. *Ibid.*, April, 1932, 5-6.
66. *Campus Comments*, April 15, 1932.
67. *Staunton Spectator*, May 3, 1848.
68. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1844.
69. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1845.
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1845.
72. *Catalogue*, 1843-44, 10-12.
73. *Ibid.*, 12-13.
74. *Staunton Spectator*, April 19, 1848.
75. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 7.
76. *The Record*, 1898.
77. Letter of Dr. Bailey to Sarah Bell, February 1, 1848, in the college archives.
78. *The Record*, 1898.
79. *Staunton Spectator*, March 4, 1847.
80. Hoge, Arista, *The First Presbyterian Church, Staunton, Virginia*, (Staunton, 1908), 36, 250.
81. *Staunton Spectator*, July 16, 1851.
82. Bailey, R. W., *The Issue, Presented in a Series of Letters on Slavery* (New York, 1837), 109-110.
83. *Staunton Spectator*, March 20, 1850.
84. *The Republican Vindicator* (date omitted in note), letter of Dr. Bailey to *The Richmond Enquirer*.
85. Bailey, *The Issue*, 42.
86. *Ibid.*, 55.
87. Historical facts about Austin College taken from the inaugural address of Dr. Bailey, copy in the Mary Baldwin College archives.
88. Address found in Historical Foundation, Montreat, N. C.
89. James, Marquis, *The Raven, A Biography of Sam Houston* (Indianapolis, 1929), 424-425.
90. Williams, Amelia, *Following General Sam Houston* (Austin, Texas, 1935), 236.
91. Quoted in *The Patriarch*, vol. I (New York, 1841), iii.
92. *Ibid.*
93. *Ibid.*, iv.

94. *Campus Comments*, March 18, 1938.
95. Bailey, *Scholar's Companion*, vi-vii.
96. *Staunton Spectator*, October 5, 1853.
97. *Ibid.*
98. Hoge, *First Presbyterian Church*, 32.
99. *Ibid.*, 35.
100. Sketch of his life in *The Dictionary of American Biography*.
101. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 21.
102. *Ibid.*, 22.
103. *Staunton Spectator*, June 11, 1851. Copies of some letters of the Reverend William B. Browne have just come into the possession of the college through Colonel O. K. Tolley, a grand-nephew of Corbett, Md. These letters were written by Mr. Browne to his sister from Staunton during the years 1851 to 1855 and give interesting details of the ups and the downs of the Seminary in these early years. For some months Mr. Browne, his wife, Sarah, and his small son, Willie, lived in the Seminary, where they had a parlor, bedroom, and basement kitchen in the one building of that day, Main. Soon he rented a house in Staunton and took eight or ten girls to board. Before he left the contract had been let by the Board of Trustees for the construction of a new building as a residence for the principal and twenty to twenty-five girls. This plan was later modified and the annexes to Main built instead of the separate building. Mr. Browne declared that he had to get up at daybreak or before, feed his two cows, and make three fires in the Seminary before the beginning of the school day. He and his wife, he said, had to look after the girls like children to keep them out of mischief. There were problems of illness, too, influenza, dysentery, etc., and one of the most promising students died.

It will be recalled that the school had declined before Mr. Browne's arrival. The patronage of Staunton was now divided with three seminaries for young women here. Mr. Browne declared: "There is great rivalry here among the Seminaries of the different denominations and much sectarian feeling. The Episcopal school is at the present time at the top of the wheel. The Methodists are struggling up and trying by every means to get alongside of them, and we are pursuing the even tenor of our way...and very sure of ultimate success." In the second year the school opened with forty-nine with more anticipated up to sixty. Apparently, this enrollment was maintained. Mr. Browne's observations in later letters referred not to problems of the patronage but to the difficulties of inspiring youth with a proper appreciation of the privilege of education. Beginning with his wife and his sister, Fannie Snyder, as assistants, he soon had to employ another teacher. Miss Whelan of Philadelphia came, a woman "very ladylike and a capital teacher, albeit a little old-maidish." Before the end of the third year he declared that he would have to have two teachers besides Fannie (Mrs. Browne was now too busy with the boarding students to teach). Increase of music pupils made necessary the purchase of a new piano. Students were beginning to come from outside

Augusta County. He referred to Miss Inskip from Hampshire County, who lived 120 miles from Staunton. But Mrs. Howard, of Baltimore, whose daughter he sought to secure as a student, thought it was unwise to send her so far from home. Commencement brought examinations, a concert, and a party to the graduating class, as well as the collection of accounts, since he was his own business manager.

In addition to his duties, physical and educational in connection with his boarding house and school, Mr. Browne was busy in the community. He preached often at the city churches both Presbyterian and Methodist, and after Mr. Smith left, in 1854, he occupied the Presbyterian pulpit for some time. He also preached at neighboring country churches. The services of the school to Western State Hospital had already begun. He preached to several hundred there whom he declared "very attentive."

"This is the greatest country in the world," he wrote his sister, "with more limestone than you can think of in a week" (she was trying to promote a quarry in Maryland). Staunton he pronounced "as moral a town as I ever saw, and a stirring prosperous place." But Mr. Browne was restless. The western fever had caught him, and he wanted to go to California. As it turned out, however, he accepted a place to teach Latin in Centre College, Kentucky.

In a letter Colonel Tolley gives a brief biography of his great-uncle, who was born in Philadelphia in 1817. To quote from his letter: "Uncle William started out as a tanner, but in 1842 he lost his health, or thought he did, and began to study to become a Presbyterian clergyman. After preliminary training, he entered Jefferson College, now Washington and Jefferson College, in Pennsylvania. Here he graduated in 1847. He graduated in 1849 at Union Theological Seminary, majoring in Hebrew . . . while there he also taught Latin at Hampden-Sydney College. . . . He was licensed in 1849 and had a mission in Brooklyn, N. Y., until 1850, when he was minister in a church in Hillsboro, N. C. From there he went to Augusta Female Seminary, Staunton. He got that charge through the efforts of President Wilson's father, who was a very dear friend of his. He was recognized primarily as a teacher, as his sermons were more or less abstruse, and he had a tendency to preach over the heads of his congregation." After some years of teaching in Kentucky and many years of work as a minister in Kentucky, Indiana, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, he died in Milton, Pennsylvania in 1892.

104. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 24.

105. Hoge, P. H., *Moses Drury Hoge*, (Richmond, 1899), 31, 54.

106. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 26.

107. *Ibid.*, 24-25.

108. *Ibid.*

109. *Staunton Spectator*, June 22, 1853.

110. *Republican Vindicator*, June 12, 1854.

111. *Ibid.*, September 5, 1855.

112. *The Virginia Messenger*, July 19, 1856; *Staunton Spectator*, September 10, 1856.

113. *Staunton Spectator*, September 10, 1856.
114. *Republican Vindicator*, September 5, 1857.
115. *Staunton Spectator*, July 12, 1859.
116. *The Bluestocking*, 1926, historical sketch.
117. *Staunton Spectator*, August 14, 1860.
118. *Republican Vindicator*, May 9, 1854.
119. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1855.
120. *The Bluestocking*, 1926, historical sketch.
121. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 28.

CHAPTER II

1. *Staunton Spectator*, May 28, 1890.
2. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1881, quoted from *The Christian Observer; Valley Virginian*, June 19, 1873.
3. *The Record*, 1898.
4. Fraser, A. M., "Miss Baldwin," *Union Seminary Magazine*, April-May, 1899, 288.
5. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 47.
6. *The Record*, 1898, biographical sketch of Mary Julia Baldwin by Nellie Hotchkiss McCullough.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. Statement of Mrs. Hampton Wayt.
12. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 31.
13. Hoge, *The First Presbyterian Church*, 275-276.
14. *Staunton Spectator*, August 11, 1863.
15. *Mary Baldwin Alumnae Bulletin*, 1913, 49.
16. *The Record*, 1896.
17. *Staunton Spectator*, August 18, 1863.
18. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1864.
19. *The Record*, 1896.
20. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 39.
21. Letter in possession of Mrs. Hampton Wayt.
22. *Catalogue*, 1868-69, 16.
23. *The Augusta Female Seminary Annual*, 1893, 37-41.
24. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 29.
25. *The Record*, 1896.
26. Woody, *op. cit.*, II, 138; 143-144.
27. Knipp, Anna H. and T. P. Thomas, *A History of Goucher College*, (Baltimore, 1938), 2.
28. Woody, *op. cit.*, II, 161.
29. *Ibid.*, 184.

30. Giddens, *Development of Colleges for Women*, 26.
31. Woody, *op. cit.*, II, 184.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Knipp and Thomas, *History of Goucher College*, 30; 58-59.
34. *Catalogue*, 1868-69, 15. A brief circular in the form of a catalogue had been issued in 1867-68.
35. *Ibid.*, 11.
36. *Ibid.*, 19.
37. *Mary Baldwin Bulletin, Alumnæ News Letter*, December, 1938, 10-11.
38. *Catalogue*, 1868-69, 18.
39. *Ibid.*, 1870-71, 19.
40. *Record*, October, 1898.
41. Converse, Florence, *Wellesley College* (Wellesley, 1939), 21.
42. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1926, 17-18.
43. *Catalogue*, 1874-75, 23.
44. *Ibid.*, 1890-91, 20-25.
45. *Staunton Spectator*, June 10, 1866.
46. *Catalogue*, 1868-69, 17.
47. *Record*, 1896.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Circular*, August, 1864, in college archives.
50. Woody, *op. cit.*, II, 474-480.
51. *Catalogue*, 1868-69, 12.
52. *Ibid.*, 17.
53. Armistead, *Miss Baldwin, A Brief Memoir*, (Staunton, Va., 1925), 11.
54. Woody, *op. cit.*, II, 182.
55. *Catalogue*, 1896-97, 27.
56. *Ibid.*, 1891-92, 22.
57. *Ibid.*, 1890-91, 23.
58. *Ibid.*, 1893-94, 22, 24.
59. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1921, 34.
60. *The South in the Building of the Nation*, VII, *History of the Intellectual Life*, 115 *et seq.*
61. *Catalogue*, 1875-76, 26, and later issues.
62. *Ibid.*, 1888-89, 20.
63. *The South in the Building of the Nation*, VII, 119.
64. *Annual*, 1891, 3-8.
65. *Ibid.*, 6.
66. *Ibid.*, 7-8.
67. *Catalogue*, 1868-69, 13.
68. *Ibid.*, 1877-78, 20; 1888-89, 20.
69. *Ibid.*, 1890-91, 22.
70. *Ibid.*, 1893-94, 21.
71. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 79.

72. Letter of Hattie Barnes Bruton, April 22, 1929, in Alumnae Office.
73. Woody, *op. cit.*, II, 155.
74. *Catalogue*, 1869-70, 9-12.
75. *Ibid.*, 1874-75, 17.
76. *Ibid.*, 26.
77. *Ibid.*, 1876-77, 19.
78. *Ibid.*, 1896-97, 8-9.
79. *Ibid.*, 1895-96, 38.
80. Knipp and Thomas, *History of Goucher College*, 28.
81. *Catalogue*, 1890-91, 29.
82. *Ibid.*, 1871-72, 25.
83. *Ibid.*, 1891-92, 24.
84. *Ibid.*, 1889-90, 27, and other issues.
85. *Ibid.*, 1887-88, 22.
86. *Ibid.*, 1868-69, 13.
87. *Ibid.*, 1890-91, 34.
88. *Ibid.*, 1871-72, 24.
89. *Ibid.*, 1881-82, 17.
90. *Ibid.*, 1889-90, 23-24.
91. *Ibid.*, 1879-80, 19-20.
92. *Ibid.*, 1868-69, 15.
93. *Ibid.*, 1882-83, 21-22.
94. *Ibid.*, 1887-88, 26.
95. *Ibid.*, 1879-80, 9.
96. *Valley Virginian*, May 26, 1881.
97. *New York Ledger*, December 13, 1856, quoted in Cole, *Mount Holyoke*, 134.
98. Manuscript in the Alumnae Office.
99. *Staunton Spectator*, May 22, 1883.
100. Catalogue statements under "Social and Sanitary Government," 1875-76, 18.
101. *Annual*, 1894, 42.
102. *Catalogue*, 1888-89, 16-17.
103. *Annual*, 1892, 75.
104. *Staunton Spectator*, June 2, 1886.
105. *Catalogue*, 1885-86, 12.
106. *Annual*, 1891, 18, 44.
107. *Catalogue*, 1874-75, 17.
108. *Staunton Spectator*, August 25, 1874.
109. Woody, *op. cit.*, II, 103.
110. *Catalogue*, 1878-79, 17.
111. *Annual*, 1892, 32-33.
112. Knipp and Thomas, *op. cit.*, 32-33.
113. Converse, *Wellesley College*, 22.
114. *Catalogue*, 1881-82, 40.
115. *Ibid.*, 1868-69, 17.

116. *Ibid.*
117. *Ibid.*, 18.
118. *Ibid.*, 1883-84, 47.
119. Watters, Mary, *Chesapeake and Ohio Lines Magazine*, June, 1942, 15; 46-47.
120. *Catalogue*, 1884-85, 47.
121. *Staunton Spectator*, February 3, 1866.
122. *Ibid.*, June 10, 1866.
123. *Valley Virginian*, May 24, 1884.
124. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1882.
125. Statement of Mrs. Sue Stribling Snodgrass.
126. Chamberlain, Hope Summerell, *This Was Home* (Chapel Hill, 1938), 240.
127. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1915, 18-20.
128. Letter of Mrs. Anne Hotchkiss Howison to Mrs. Sue Stribling Snodgrass in *Alumnæ Office*.
129. *Annual*, 1893, 43.
130. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 47.
131. *Staunton Spectator*, January 29, 1867.
132. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1868.
133. *Staunton Spectator*, January 18, 1888; *Valley Virginian*, January 17, 1889.
134. *Annual*, 1892, 65.
135. *Ibid.*, 1893, 44.
136. *Valley Virginian*, May 26, 1881.
137. *Annual*, 1891, 6.
138. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 40.
139. *Record*, 1896.
140. *Ibid.*
141. *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1927, 13-14.
142. *Ibid.*
143. Y. W. C. A. Scrapbook, article on Miss Kemper.
144. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1920, 37-38.
145. Hoge, Peyton Harrison, *Moses Drury Hoge*, 52.
146. *Annual*, 1898, 60.
147. Letter to *Alumnæ News Letter*, April 29, 1929, in *Alumnæ Office*.
148. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1920, 17.
149. *Ibid.*, 1921, 40.
150. *Alumnæ News Letter*, March, 1935, 9.
151. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1921, 32.
152. Chamberlain, *This Was Home*, 239.
153. *Alumnæ News Letter*, March, 1937, 4.
154. *Annual*, 1893, 61-62.
155. *Record*, 1896.
156. Chamberlain, *This Was Home*, 241 *et seq.*
157. *Record*, 1896.

158. *Annual*, 1894, 58.
159. *Record*, 1896.
160. *Ibid.*, 1898.
161. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 29.
162. *Catalogue*, 1875-76; Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 29.
163. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 41.
164. *Ibid.*, 43.
165. *Ibid.*
166. Deed Book, No. 6, 409, in City Clerk's Office.
167. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 42.
168. Manuscript in Alumnæ Office.
169. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 46.
170. Letter in possession of Mrs. Hampton Wayt.
171. *Staunton Spectator*, June 18, 1867.
172. Weber, Latham B., "The Early History of Washington and Lee University," *Southern Association Quarterly*, V, (August, 1941), 373.
173. These percentages are computed from tables of enrollment by states tabulated by Dr. Thomas H. Grafton.
174. *Record*, 1896.
175. *Ibid.*
176. Chamberlain, *This Was Home*, 236-237.
177. *Ibid.*, 244.
178. *Staunton Spectator*, June 21, 1881.
179. *Catalogue*, 1868-69, 11; 1870-71, 18.
180. Records in City Clerk's Office.
181. *Catalogue*, 1890-91, 12.
182. Chamberlain, *This Was Home*, 231.
183. *Republican Vindicator*, June 11, 1875.
184. *Staunton Spectator*, June 15, 1875.
185. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1913, 7.
186. *Record*, 1896.
187. Statements of Mrs. Mattie Wayt Lee and Mrs. Hampton Wayt.
188. *Catalogue*, 1883-84, 11.
189. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1913, 8.
190. *Annual*, 1892, 52.
191. *Alumnæ News Letter*, March, 1937, 3.
192. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1917, 39-40.
193. *Catalogue*, 1872-73, 20.
194. *Ibid.*, 1895-96, 20.
195. *Ibid.*, 1896-97, 20-22.
196. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1926, 30.
197. *Catalogue*, 1890-91, 33.
198. Chamberlain, *This Was Home*, 246-247.
199. *Catalogue*, 1868-69, 16.
200. Giddens, Development of Colleges for Women, 82.
201. Knipp and Thomas, *History of Goucher College*, 44.

202. Cole, *Mount Holyoke*, 196, 210.
203. *Catalogue*, 1870-71, 19.
204. *Ibid.*, 1876-77, 10.
205. *Catalogue*, 1870-71, 24-25. Compare Woody, II, 198 *et seq.*
206. *Catalogue*, 1874-75, 20-21.
207. *Annual*, 1892, 5.
208. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1917, 40.
209. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1926, 30.
210. *Catalogue*, 1894-95, 17.
211. *Ibid.*, 1890-91, 17.
212. *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1934, 20.
213. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1917, 27.
214. Alumnæ Office archives.
215. *Catalogue*, 1890-91, 17-18.
216. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1917, 42.
217. *Annual*, 1891, 36-38.
218. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1926, 31.
219. *Alumnæ News Letter*, April, 1934, 16.
220. Woody, *op. cit.*, II, 202.
221. Cole, *Mount Holyoke*, 178, *passim*.
222. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1921, 18.
223. *Record*, 1896.
224. *Ibid.*
225. For example, see Converse, *Wellesley College*, 125 *et seq.*
226. *Catalogue*, 1873-74, 18.
227. *Ibid.*, 1883-84, 11; for further changes, see the succeeding catalogues under "Administration."
228. *Annual*, 1892, 74.
229. *Ibid.*, 1897, 42; *Recorder*, December, 1893.
230. *Catalogue*, 1891-92, 13.
231. *Annual*, 1893, 42.
232. *Recorder*, December, 1893.
233. *Annual*, 1893, 23, 47.
234. *Ibid.*, 1895, 14-16.
235. Converse, *Wellesley College*, 134.
236. *Annual*, 1898, 7 *et seq.*
237. *Ibid.*, 1895, 14-16.
238. *Valley Virginian*, December 25, 1873; *Staunton Spectator*, December 30, 1873.
239. *Valley Virginian*, January 17, 1889.
240. Fraser, "Miss Baldwin," *Union Seminary Magazine*, April-May, 1899, 290.
241. For example, *Staunton Spectator*, June 3, 1885; June 2, 1886.
242. *Catalogue*, 1891-92, 31.
243. *Ibid.*, 31-32.
244. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 54; *Annual*, 1891, 32.

245. *Record*, 1898.
246. Woody, *op. cit.*, II, 430 *et seq.*
247. Converse, *Wellesley College*, 144 *et seq.*; Knipp and Thomas, *History of Goucher*, 84 *et seq.*
248. See, for example, Knipp and Thomas, *History of Goucher*, 84 *et seq.*
249. *Record*, 1898.
250. *Staunton Spectator*, June 3, 1879.
251. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1870.
252. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1872.
253. *Annual*, 1893, 45.
254. *Ibid.*, 1892, 74.
255. *Ibid.*, 1893, 45.
256. *Ibid.*, 1894, 32.
257. *Valley Virginian*, June 1, 1882.
258. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1884.
259. *Staunton Spectator*, June 5, 1875, and June 20, 1871.
260. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1874.
261. *Ibid.*, November 17, 1874.
262. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1873.
263. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1874.
264. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1867.
265. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1867.
266. *Staunton Spectator*, April 21, 1874.
267. *Catalogue*, 1874-75, 25.
268. *Staunton Spectator*, March 18, 1879.
269. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1872.
270. *Annual*, 1891, 42.
271. *Valley Virginian*, February 26, 1891.
272. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1926, 31.
273. *Christian Observer*, quoted in *Staunton Spectator*, June 21, 1881.
274. *Valley Virginian*, June 5, 1879.
275. *Recorder*, December, 1893.
276. *Annual*, 1892, 79-81.
277. Chamberlain, *This Was Home*, 231.
278. *Alumnæ News Letter*, March, 1935, 14.
279. *Annual*, 1892, 50-51.
280. Chamberlain, *This Was Home*, 231.
281. *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1934, 16.
282. *Annual*, 1893, 42.
283. *Record*, 1896.
284. *Ibid.*
285. *Annual*, 1891, 37-38.
286. *Ibid.*, 1893, 44.
287. *Souvenir*, 1899.
288. *Annual*, 1898, 30.

289. *Ibid.*, 1891, 40.
290. *Ibid.*, 1893, 46.
291. *Ibid.*, 1891, 26.
292. *Ibid.*, 1898, 31.
293. *Ibid.*, 1894, 54.
294. Baker, Ray Stannard, *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters* (New York, 1927) Vol. I, 129-130.
295. *Annual*, 1894, 31.
296. *Ibid.*, 1891, 37.
297. *Ibid.*, 1893, 44.
298. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1917, 40.
299. *Annual*, 1895, 54-55.
300. Montgomery, Roselle Mercier, *Ulysses Returns and Other Poems*, (New York, 1925), 41-42.
301. *Record*, 1896.
302. *Annual*, 1894, 30-31.
303. *Ibid.*, 1895, 57.
304. *Ibid.*, 1892, 6; 1894, 43.
305. *Republican Vindicator*, April 11, 1879.
306. *Annual*, 1894, 44-45.
307. *Ibid.*, 1891, 43.
308. *Staunton Spectator*, April 21, 1874.
309. *Annual*, 1897, 13.
310. *Ibid.*, 1897, 49-50.
311. *Record*, 1896.
312. *Annual*, 1891, 47.
313. *Ibid.*, 1897, 50.
314. *Ibid.*, 1895, 62-63; 1896, 55.
315. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1925, 35.
316. *Record*, 1896.
317. *Annual*, 1893, 46.
318. *Record*, 1896.
319. *Staunton Spectator*, May 30, 1894.
320. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1919, 28.
321. *Mary Baldwin Souvenir*, 1899, and other *Annuals*.
322. *Annual*, 1892, 53.
323. *Ibid.*, 59.
324. *Ibid.*, 71.
325. *Ibid.*, 72.
326. Clipping in Alumnæ Office without title or date of the publication.
327. Fraser, "Miss Baldwin," *Union Seminary Magazine*, (April-May, 1899), 290.
328. *Ibid.*
329. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 55-56.
330. *Record*, 1896.
331. *Union Seminary Magazine*, April-May, 1899, 286.

332. *Ibid.*, 289.
333. Hoge, Arista, *First Presbyterian Church, Staunton, Va.*, 67.
334. Copy of will of Mary Julia Baldwin in college archives.
335. *Record*, 1898.
336. *Ibid.*, 1902.

CHAPTER III

1. Crawford, Mary Caroline, *The College Girl of America and the Institutions Which Made Her What She Is* (Boston, 1905), vi.
2. *Ibid.*, 236.
3. Unpublished sketch of Mr. King's life by Mrs. Sue Stribbling Snodgrass, to which the writer is indebted for some material on Mr. King.
4. Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Mary Baldwin College, July 2, 1929.
5. *By-laws*, revised and printed in 1914.
6. Minutes of Board of Trustees, *passim*.
7. *Ibid.*, April 13, 1899; October 9, 1900.
8. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1924.
9. Mr. King said five and mentioned one on New Prospect Streets, but the writer found no other reference to it in the minutes. The four houses that came from Miss Baldwin were the Church Parlors (Fraser), the Pancake, the Murray, and the Beckler (Bell) Houses. The present Science Building was also called the Beckler House, but it is not the same.
10. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 10, 1899.
11. *Alumna Bulletin*, 1925, 22.
12. Minutes of Board of Trustees, October 10, 1899.
13. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1904.
14. Report of the Business Manager, July 11, 1905.
15. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 21, 1907.
16. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1900.
17. *Catalogue*, 1900-1901, 16.
18. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 20, 1914.
19. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1914.
20. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1905.
21. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1899.
22. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1906.
23. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1902.
24. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1904.
25. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1905.
26. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1907.
27. *Ibid.*, January 18, 1908.
28. *Mary Baldwin Miscellany*, December, 1907.
29. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 19, 1909; Report of the Business Manager, July, 1909.
30. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 18, 1910.
31. Report of the Business Manager, July, 1910.

32. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 2, 1912.
33. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1907.
34. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 17, 1911.
35. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1923.
36. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1924.
37. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1913.
38. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1914.
39. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1919.
40. *Ibid.*, January 19, 1909.
41. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1913.
42. *Ibid.*, July 9, 1915.
43. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1912; July 13, 1922.
44. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1904.
45. *Ibid.*, August 14, 1919.
46. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1914.
47. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1923.
48. *Ibid.*, July 13, 1922; September 11, 1922.
49. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1924.
50. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1911.
51. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1900.
52. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1901.
53. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1905.
54. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1906.
55. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1922.
56. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1923.
57. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1913.
58. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1900.
59. Report of the Business Manager, July, 1911.
60. *Catalogue*, 1901-02, 16.
61. *Ibid.*, 17-18.
62. McAllister, J. Gray, *The Life and Letters of Walter W. Moore*, (Richmond, 1937), 236.
63. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1917, 38.
64. *Ibid.*, 1923, 29.
65. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 21, 1900; *Staunton Leader*, August 17, 1905.
66. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1913.
67. *Ibid.*, July 9, 1915.
68. *Ibid.*, January 18, 1908.
69. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1924.
70. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1913, 7-8.
71. Annual Reports of the Business Manager, 1911, 1912, and other years.
72. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 1, 1913.
73. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1917.
74. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1918.

75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1919.
77. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1929.
78. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1923.
79. Pamphlet on Mr. King, Publication of the Alumnæ Office.
80. *Ibid.*
81. Manuscript of Mrs. Sue Stribling Snodgrass in the Alumnæ Office.
82. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1925, 19 *et seq.*
83. *Ibid.*, July, 1927, 9.
84. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1923, 24.
85. *Catalogue*, 1897-98, 16.
86. Minutes of the Executive Committee, December 14, 1897, and January 11, 1898.
87. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 26, 1899.
88. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1907.
89. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1908.
90. *Ibid.*, January 18, 1910.
91. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1901.
92. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1902.
93. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1906.
94. *Catalogue*, 1904-05, 37.
95. *Ibid.*, 1912-13, 23
96. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 12, 1912.
97. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1915, 4-8.
98. *Ibid.*, 1913, 17.
99. *Ibid.*, 1913, 18.
100. Minutes of the Executive Committee, October 13, 1913.
101. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 2, 1912.
102. *Ibid.*, January 20, 1914.
103. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1915, 24.
104. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, February 26, 1915.
105. *Ibid.*, July 9, 1915.
106. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1915, 25.
107. *Ibid.*
108. *Ibid.*, 1921, 33-34.
109. *Ibid.*, 1923, 33.
110. *Ibid.*, 1916, 8.
111. *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1927, 10.
112. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 16, 1916.
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114. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1916.
115. *Staunton News-Leader*, May 5, 1941.
116. *Grand Rapids (Michigan) Press*, December 27, 1912.
117. *Mary Baldwin Miscellany*, January 12, 1912, 46-47.
118. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, November 18, 1912.
119. *Baltimore Sun*, December 29, 1912.

120. Issues of the *Baltimore Sun*, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, and *New York World*.
121. *Miscellany*, November, 1912, 25.
122. *Ibid.*, 39-40.
123. *Ibid.*, January, 1913, 34-37.
124. Quoted in *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1938, 25.
125. *Ibid.*, 26.
126. Baker, Ray Stannard, *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters*, III, 248.
127. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 21, 1913, newspaper copy of the address.
128. *Bluestocking*, 1914.
129. *Miscellany*, December, 1916, 41.
130. Montgomery, Roselle Mercier, *Many Devices*, 77, (New York, 1929). This poem is used with the permission of the publishers, D. Appleton-Century Company.
131. *The Augusta Seminary Annual*, 1898, 65.
132. *Ibid.*
133. Quoted in the *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1917, 32-33.
134. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 22, 1917.
135. *Ibid.*, September 25, 1917, and February 18, 1918.
136. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1918.
137. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1918.
138. *Ibid.*, November 7, 1918.
139. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1918.
140. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1918, and July 1, 1919.
141. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1918.
142. *Ibid.*
143. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1918.
144. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1919.
145. *Miscellany*, October, 1916, 34.
146. *Ibid.*, December, 1917, 76.
147. *Ibid.*, April, 1918, 68-70.
148. *Ibid.*
149. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, February 18, 1918.
150. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1918.
151. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1919.
152. *Catalogue*, 1915-16, 81. The various catalogues list the lectures and concerts.
153. *Miscellany*, April, 1918, 69-70.
154. *Ibid.*, April, 1919, 57.
155. *Ibid.*, December, 1918, 38.
156. *Ibid.*, December, 1917, 74.
157. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 22, 1918.
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159. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, August 13, 1917.

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161. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1919.
162. *Ibid.*, January 28, 1920.
163. *Miscellany*, April, 1918, 67.
164. *Ibid.*, 70.
165. *Ibid.*, April, 1917, 53.
166. *Ibid.*, April, 1918, 67.
167. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 16, 1923.
168. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1918, 1919, 1920; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 28, 1920.
169. *Miscellany*, April, 1918, 70.
170. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1918, 4.
171. *Alumnæ News Letter*, November, 1928, 10.
172. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1926, 4.
173. *Ibid.*, 1920, 38.
174. *Alumnæ News Letter*, November, 1926, 7.
175. *Ibid.*, April, 1928, 12.
176. *Miscellany*, February, 1919, 4-5.
177. *Ibid.*, December, 1919, 3-5; February, 1920, 3-5.
178. *Ibid.*, April, 1920, 6.
179. *Ibid.*, April, 1918, 64-65.
180. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 18, 1921.
181. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1921, 21.
182. *Ibid.*, 1916, 8.
183. *Ibid.*, 18.
184. *Ibid.*, 1917, 11.
185. *Ibid.*, 5.
186. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 18, 1920.
187. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1921, 30-35.
188. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 22, 1918.
189. *Ibid.*, August 4, 1919.
190. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1923, 23-28.
191. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 5, 1921.
192. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1921.
193. *Minutes of the Synod of Virginia* (Richmond, 1922), 46-48.
194. *Ibid.*, 46-51.
195. *Ibid.*, 1923, 172 *et seq.*
196. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, October 30, 1922, and May 26, 1923; letter of Mr. Peck filed with the minutes.
197. *Minutes of Synod*, 1923, 172, *et seq.* Also minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 26, 1923.
198. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 22, 1924.
199. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1924.
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201. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 22, 1924.

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203. *Ibid.*, August 28, 1924.
204. *Ibid.*, February 10, 1925.
205. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1925.
206. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1925, 7.
207. *World's Work*, XLIII, January, 1922, 289-290.
208. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 16, 1923.
209. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1927.
210. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1928.
211. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1929.
212. *Ibid.*
213. *Ibid.*, January 19, 1926.
214. *Minutes of the Synod*, 1924, 245.
215. *Ibid.*, 1924, 294-297.
216. *Ibid.*, 1926, 79-81.
217. *Ibid.*, 1927, 154.
218. *Ibid.*, 162.
219. *Ibid.*, 1928, 338-341.
220. *Ibid.*, 1928, 297.
221. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, October 6, 1928.
222. *Minutes of the Synod*, 1928, 297.
223. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, October 6, 1928.
224. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1929.
225. *Minutes of the Synod*, 1929, 463-465.
226. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 22, 1929.
227. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1929.
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230. *Ibid.*, October 6, 1928.
231. *Miscellany*, April, 1910, 21.
232. *Ibid.*, December, 1923, 6.
233. Hudson, W. E., *Dr. Fraser and His Sermons* (New York, 1920), 17. Biographical facts are taken largely from this source.
234. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 18, 1919.
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236. *Ibid.*, October 6, 1928.
237. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1928.
238. Hudson, *Dr. Fraser*, 35.
239. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 19, 1908.
240. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1921, 19-20.
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242. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, March 21, 1930.
243. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1917.
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246. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 22, 1924.

247. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1923.
248. *Catalogue*, 1923-24, 13-15.
249. *Ibid.*, 23.
250. *Minutes of the Synod*, 1923, 172.
251. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 2, 1929.
252. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1929.
253. *Catalogue*, 1928-29, 16.
254. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 17, 1928.
255. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1923.
256. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1928.
257. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1929.
258. *Ibid.*, January 18, 1927.
259. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1919.
260. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1906.
261. *Ibid.*, January 28, 1920.
262. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1923.
263. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1929.
264. *Ibid.*, July 9, 1915.
265. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1924.
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267. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 22, 1901.
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269. *Catalogue*, 1917-18, 97.
270. *Minutes of Synod*, 1925, 378-380.
271. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 20, 1902.
272. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1901.
273. Minutes of the Executive Committee, May 9, 1916; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, *passim*.
274. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 17, 1928.
275. *Ibid.*, May 24, 1898.
276. Cole, *Mount Holyoke*, 252.
277. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, March 24, 1914.
278. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1924.
279. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1926.
280. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1921.
281. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1925.
282. *Ibid.*, July 17, 1926.
283. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1921, 20-21.
284. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 22, 1901.
285. *Miscellany*, February, 1902, 40.
286. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 22, 1901.
287. *Bluestocking*, 1913.
288. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1924, 19.
289. Letter of Mrs. Anne Hotchkiss Howison, May 12, 1913, to Mrs. Snodgrass in *Alumnæ* archives.
290. *Bluestocking*, 1909.

291. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, August 4, 1919.
292. *Ibid.*
293. Manuscript of Miss Annie Tate in the Alumnae Office.
294. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 22, 1912.
295. *Staunton Daily Leader*, February 16, 1916.
296. *Ibid.*, June 31, 1907.
297. *Ibid.*, March 4, 1911.
298. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1907.
299. *Miscellany*, April, 1924, 58.
300. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 28, 1926.
301. *Staunton Daily Leader*, April 15, 1916; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 20, 1925.
302. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 21, 1922.
303. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 2, 1912.
304. *Miscellany*, December, 1901, 16.
305. Letter of Rachael B. Borland in Alumnae archives.
306. Catalogue, 1903-1904, 29.
307. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 22, 1901.
308. *Catalogue*, 1905-1906, 16.
309. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, August 3, 1917.
310. *Ibid.*, January 28, 1920.
311. *Miscellany*, December, 1907.
312. *Catalogue*, 1924-25, 51-53.
313. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 18, 1927.
314. *Staunton Leader*, October 24, 1905.
315. Reniers, Perceval, *The Springs of Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1941), 266 *et seq.*
316. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 22, 1901.
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318. *Catalogue*, 1897-98, 39.
319. *Miscellany*, November, 1909.
320. *Ibid.*, April, 1910.
321. *Ibid.*, November, 1910.
322. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 21, 1913.
323. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1915.
324. *Catalogue*, 1915-16, 50-51.
325. *Miscellany*, October, 1915, 78-79.
326. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 22, 1918.
327. *Alumnae Bulletin*, 1917, 5-6.
328. *Ibid.*, 1921, 15-16.
329. *Catalogue*, 1919-20, 57; 1926-27, 58.
330. *Miscellany*, December, 1920, 42.
331. *Catalogue*, 1916-17, 16.
332. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, May 20, 1924.
333. *Miscellany*, December, 1901, 16.
334. *Souvenir*, 1899.

335. *Minutes of the Synod*, 1923, 172 *et seq.*
336. *Souvenir*, 1899.
337. *Bluestocking*, 1903.
338. *Miscellany*, December, 1924, 35.
339. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 19, 1926.
340. *Bluestocking*, 1905.
341. *Ibid.*, 1910.
342. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 28, 1920.
343. *Bluestocking*, 1927, 136.
344. *Miscellany*, March, 1928, 46.
345. *Bluestocking*, 1924.
346. Files of *Miscellany*.
347. *Souvenir*, 1899.
348. *Bluestocking*, 1900.
349. *Miscellany*, December, 1921, 40.
350. *Ibid.*, June, 1910.
351. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 1, 1913.
352. *Miscellany*, December, 1907.
353. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 19, 1926.
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355. *Ibid.*
356. *Ibid.*, February, 1902.
357. *Ibid.*, February, 1904.
358. *Ibid.*
359. *Ibid.*, May, 1912, 6.
360. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 20, 1925.
361. *Campus Comments*, December 17, 1928.
362. *Bluestocking*, 1912, 44.
363. *Miscellany*, January, 1913, 38.
364. *Ibid.*, November, 1913, 29.
365. *Ibid.*, January, 1914, 42.
366. *Ibid.*, November, 1910.
367. *Ibid.*
368. *Bluestocking*, 1912, 103.
369. *Ibid.*, 1914.
370. *Miscellany*, February, 1902, 39.
371. *Annual*, 1898, 63-68.
372. *Miscellany*, November, 1913.
373. *Ibid.*, December, 1901, 43.
374. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 16, 1923.
375. *Miscellany*, October, 1916.
376. *Bluestocking*, 1927, 137.
377. Files of *The Miscellany* from 1916; *Bluestocking*, 1924.
378. *Miscellany*, April, 1922, 3-4.
379. *Staunton Leader*, April 8, 1905.
380. *Ibid.*, March 4, 1911.

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383. *Ibid.*, December 11, 1913.
384. *Ibid.*, April 12, 1908.
385. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1916.
386. *Bluestocking*, 1914; *Souvenir*, 1899.
387. *Staunton Leader*, May 28, 1912.
388. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1913, 36-37.
389. *Staunton Leader*, May 24, 1914.
390. *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1928, 13.
391. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1920, 26.
392. *Souvenir*, 1899, 38.
393. *Bluestocking*, 1912, 108.
394. *Staunton Leader*, April 30, 1913.
395. Figures of enrollment from the various catalogues.
396. *Miscellany*, November, 1913, 32.
397. *Staunton Leader*, March 23, 1914.
398. *Staunton Dispatch-News*, February 17, 1912.
399. *Miscellany*, December, 1901, 39-40.
400. *Bluestocking*, 1921.
401. *Ibid.*, 1905.
402. *Ibid.*, 1927.
403. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 23, 1907.
404. Cole, *Mount Holyoke*, 243, 315.
405. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 18, 1910.
406. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1923.
407. *Ibid.*, January 19, 1909.
408. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1928.
409. *Ibid.*, Report of the Business Manager, 1908-1909.
410. *Miscellany*, March, 1911.
411. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 19, 1926.
412. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1923.
413. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1921, 18.
414. *Catalogue*, 1912-13, 16.
415. *Miscellany*, February, 1920, 39.
416. *Bluestocking*, 1908.
417. *Catalogue*, 1908-1909, 18.
418. *Ibid.*, 1905-1906, 19.
419. *Souvenir*, 1899.
420. *Miscellany*, December, 1919, 22.
421. *Catalogue*, 1917-1918, 19.
422. *Ibid.*, 1905-1906.
423. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1921, 17.
424. *Bluestocking*, 1923-24.
425. *Catalogue*, 1922-23, 65.
426. *Bluestocking*, 1912, 102-103.

427. *Ibid.*, 1917.
428. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 16, 1923.
429. *Catalogue*, 1922-23, 61.
430. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 27, 1928.
431. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1924.
432. *Ibid.*, January 27, 1928.
433. *Miscellany*, March, 1909.
434. *Ibid.*, February, 1918.
435. *Ibid.*, April, 1923.
436. *Staunton Leader*, March 12, 1911.
437. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, August 17, 1917.
438. *Miscellany*, February, 1904.
439. *Ibid.*, November, 1912.
440. *Ibid.*
441. *Ibid.*, November, 1912, 37.
442. *Ibid.*, December, 1923, 46-47.
443. *Bluestocking*, 1927.
444. *Ibid.*, 1902.
445. *Miscellany*, January, 1913.
446. *Ibid.*, February, 1927.
447. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 16, 1923.
448. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1916.
449. *Miscellany*, April, 1919.
450. *Ibid.*, June, 1910.
451. Published in *Many Devices* by Mrs. Montgomery.
452. *Miscellany*, April, 1921.

CHAPTER IV

1. Quoted in the *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1929, 1.
2. *Minutes of Synod*, 1929, 422-423.
3. *Ibid.*, 1927, 175.
4. *Ibid.*, 1935, 477.
5. *Ibid.*, 1936, 79.
6. *Ibid.*, 1937, 173 *et seq.*
7. *Ibid.*, 1938, 293 *et seq.*
8. Copy of the Charter of 1939 in the college archives.
9. *Minutes of Synod*, 1938, 295.
10. *Ibid.*, 294.
11. *Mary Baldwin College, A Century of Service*, Address of Dr. Jarman to the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia, September 9, 1942, 11.
12. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 18, 1910.
13. *Alumnæ Bulletin*, 1923, 10.
14. Report of the President, 1933. At the meeting of the Board of Trustees in October, 1942, Nancy Wallace Henderson, of Wilmington,

N. C., graduate of the class of 1936, Edmund D. Campbell, Washington, D. C., great-grandson of the founder and son of the late Dean Harry D. Campbell, of Washington and Lee, a former member of the Board, and the Reverend Dunbar Ogden, Jr., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Staunton, Va., were nominated for membership on the Board. Mrs. Henderson is the first graduate of Mary Baldwin College to be placed on the Board of Trustees.

15. Waddell, *Mary Baldwin Seminary*, 23-24.

16. Alderman, E. A. and others (editors), *Library of Southern Literature* (Atlanta), XV, 422.

17. *Ibid.*, 441; also *Dictionary of American Biography*.

18. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 21, 1930.

19. *Alumnæ News Letter*, November, 1929, 6.

20. Report on the Audit, 1929-30.

21. *Ibid.*, 1941.

22. *Ibid.*, 1930, 1941.

23. *Ibid.*

24. Report of the President, 1938-39.

25. Minutes of the Executive Committee, December 14, 1933, and July 5, 1934; Report on the Audit, 1935.

26. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, February 20, 1936.

27. Report on the Audit, 1940.

28. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 18, 1935, and February 18, 1937; Report on the Audit, 1938.

29. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, November 26, 1936.

30. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1941.

31. Minutes of the Executive Committee, August 11, 1932.

32. *Alumnæ News Letter*, February, 1940, 13.

33. Report of the President, May 25, 1931.

34. *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1930, 25.

35. *Campus Comments*, November 7, 1930.

36. *Ibid.*, November 14, 1930.

37. *Mary Baldwin Bulletin*, March, 1931.

38. *Campus Comments*, January 9, 1931.

39. Report of the President, May 25, 1931.

40. *Alumnæ News Letter*, February, 1940, 13.

41. Report of the President, 1931-32.

42. *Ibid.*

43. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, September 10, 1937.

44. Report of the President, 1931-32.

45. Report of the Dean of Instruction, 1938-39.

46. *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1931, 24.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Mary Baldwin Bulletin*, October, 1931.

49. Report of the President, 1933-34.

50. *Campus Comments*, May 10, 1930.

51. *Alumnæ News Letter*, August, 1935, 15.
52. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, February 20, 1936.
53. *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1932, 5.
54. *Campus Comments*, January 12, 1935.
55. *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1936, 7.
56. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 1, 1930.
57. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1933.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1938, 27.
60. *Ibid.*
61. Minutes of the Executive Committee, November 15, 1940.
62. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, June 28, 1915.
63. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1914.
64. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1929.
65. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1930.
66. *Alumnæ News Letter*, April, 1932, 8.
67. Catalogues and Reports of the President.
68. *Campus Comments*, June 8, 1942.
69. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, March 10, 1938.
70. *Catalogue*, 1941-42, 17.
71. Smith, *op cit.*, 17.
72. *Catalogue*, 1929-30, 16.
73. *Ibid.*, 1929-30, 18; 1931-32, 39.
74. *Ibid.*, 1929-30, 28.
75. *Ibid.*, 1941-42, 38-39.
76. *Ibid.*, 39.
77. *Ibid.*
78. Report compiled for submission to Phi Beta Kappa Committee;
Catalogue, 1941-42.
79. *Catalogue*, 1941-42, 62.
80. *Alumnæ News Letter*, April, 1934, 8-9.
81. *Ibid.*, March, 1935, 9.
82. Report of the Registrar, 1937.
83. *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1939, 22.
84. Report to Phi Beta Kappa.
85. *Alumnæ News Letter*, July, 1930, 22.
86. *Ibid.*, August, 1935, 15.
87. *Ibid.*, July, 1937, 21.
88. *Campus Comments*, October 29, 1932.
89. Figures of enrollment from catalogues.
90. *Alumnæ News Letter*, April, 1934, 19.
91. Report of the Registrar, 1933-34.
92. *Ibid.*, 1936-37.
93. *Campus Comments*, October 7, 1936.
94. *Ibid.*, September 30 and October 7, 1933.
95. *Campus Comments*, March 17, 1934.

96. *Miscellany*, June, 1935, 8.
97. *Alumnæ News Letter*, January, 1938, 14.
98. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, July 2, 1929.
99. Report of the President, January, 1930.
100. *Ibid.*, 1931.
101. *Ibid.*, 1933-34.
102. *Ibid.*, January, 1931.
103. Report of the Registrar, 1934-35.
104. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, February 21, 1935.
105. *Catalogue*, 1941-42, 33-34.
106. *Campus Comments*, May 4, 1929.
107. Report of the President, January, 1930.
108. *Ibid.*, February, 1932.
109. *Campus Comments*, November 8, 1929.
110. *Ibid.*, November 14, 1930.
111. Report of the Dean, 1939-40.
112. Minutes of the Student Government Association, September 14, 1929.
113. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1938.
114. *Students' Handbook*, 1941-42, 14.
115. *Ibid.*, 1939-40, 16.
116. *Ibid.*, 1941-42, 15.
117. *Ibid.*, 1929-30, 9-10.
118. *Ibid.*, 1931-32, 20-21.
119. *Campus Comments*, March 11, 1932.
120. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1940.
121. *Ibid.*, December 13, 1940.
122. *Handbook*, 1941-42, 36.
123. *Ibid.*, 19.
124. *Campus Comments*, January 17, 1936.
125. Minutes of the Student Council, November 16, 1937.
126. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1931, *passim*.
127. *Ibid.*, 1929-30, 20-21.
128. Minutes of the Student Government Association, December 11, 1929.
129. *Handbook*, 1932-33, 29.
130. *Ibid.*, 1941-42, 26.
131. *Ibid.*, 38.
132. *Ibid.*, 1934-35, 30.
133. *Campus Comments*, May 28, 1934.
134. *Handbook*, 1929-30, 13.
135. Minutes of the Advisory Board, March 22, 1934.
136. *Handbook*, 1935-36, 39.
137. *Catalogue*, 1941-42, 24.
138. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, January 28, 1920; *Campus Comments*, April 25, 1931.

139. *Campus Comments*, February 25, 1935.
140. *Ibid.*, November 11, 1938.
141. *Ibid.*
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143. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1929.
144. *Bluestocking*, 1931.
145. *Campus Comments*, March 4, 1934.
146. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1932.
147. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1935.
148. *Ibid.*, February 11, 1933.
149. *Ibid.*, April 14, 1934.
150. *Ibid.*, October 21, 1933.
151. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1935.
152. *Ibid.*, September 29, 1934.
153. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1932.
154. *Ibid.*, February 20, 1942.
155. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1934.
156. *Ibid.*, February 11, 1933.
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158. *Ibid.*, February 14, 1941.
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160. Report of the Dean, 1941.
161. *Ibid.*, 1937.
162. *Ibid.*, 1934.
163. *Catalogue*, 1929-30, 75.
164. *Ibid.*, 1941-42, 25.
165. *Campus Comments*, November 8, 1929.
166. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1931.
167. Constitution of the Y. W. C. A., Article III, Section 4.
168. *Campus Comments*, November 25, 1933.
169. Y. W. C. A. Reports to the Presidents' Forum, 1941, 1942.
170. *Ibid.*, 1942.
171. *Campus Comments*, March 14, 1930.
172. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1932.
173. Minutes of Y. W. C. A., October 29, 1933, and enclosure.
174. *Campus Comments*, October 16, 1931.
175. *Ibid.*, February 14, 1930.
176. Report of the Presidents' Forum, 1939-40.
177. *Campus Comments*, February 27, 1931.
178. Files of *Campus Comments*.
179. *Campus Comments*, November 22, 1935.
180. *Ibid.*, February 14, 1935, and March 5, 1937.
181. *Ibid.*, April 9, 1937.
182. *Ibid.*, October 12, 1934.
183. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1935.
184. *Bluestocking*, 1941, 118.

185. *Ibid.*, 1937.
186. *Campus Comments*, May 9, 1930; and other issues.
187. *Ibid.*, April 18, 1931.
188. *Ibid.*
189. *Ibid.*, November 26, 1932, and October 7, 1936.
190. *Ibid.*, February 21, 1936.
191. *Ibid.*, October 29, 1937.
192. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1942.
193. *Ibid.*, October 14, 1936.
194. *Bluestocking*, 1938.
195. Report of the Dean, 1931-32.
196. *Campus Comments*, November 15, 1929.
197. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1937.
198. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1940.
199. *Bluestocking*, 1935.
200. *Campus Comments*, February 7, 1935.
201. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1931.
202. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1936.
203. *Bluestocking*, 1941, 141.
204. *Campus Comments*, May 22, 1942.
205. *Ibid.*, March 4, 1930.
206. *Miscellany*, Winter issue, 1931, 3.
207. *Ibid.*, November, 1930, 34.
208. *Campus Comments*, October 15, 1932.
209. *Ibid.*, November 27, 1931.
210. *Miscellany*, Winter issue, 1932, 38; March, 1934, 36.
211. *Ibid.*, March, 1933, 34-35.
212. *Campus Comments*, February 26, 1932.
213. *Ibid.*, February 9, 1941.
214. *Ibid.*, February 9, 1940.
215. *Ibid.*, November 15, 1940.
216. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1940.
217. *Ibid.*, February 17, 1934.
218. *Campus Comments*, November 15, 1932.
219. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1940.
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